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A COMPANION TO BYZANTINE ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS

Edited by
VASILIKI TSAMAKDA

BRILL

A Companion to Byzantine Illustrated Manuscripts

Brill's Companions to the Byzantine World

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A Companion to Byzantine Illustrated Manuscripts

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Preface

Even if only a small percentage of the medieval Greeks could read and write, books occupied a central place in Byzantine civilization. First, Christianity is a religion of the book. Second, the historical importance of Byzantium lies not only in its original contributions to art and science but also – as it is well known – in its decisive role in preserving, studying and transmitting Graeco-Roman culture. In this context manuscripts played an important part, so that Classical science and literature are known primarily or in some cases only through Byzantine copies. For more than ten centuries Byzantium maintained this heritage for future generations and saved it from loss.

The great majority of the books produced in Byzantium were not illustrated. Those that were deserve special notice. Just like written texts, illustrations bear witness to Byzantine material culture, imperial ideology and religious beliefs, as well as to the development and spread of Byzantine art. In this sense illustrated books reflect the society that produced and used them. Being portable, they could serve as diplomatic gifts or could be acquired by foreigners. In such cases they became "emissaries" of Byzantine art and culture in Western Europe and the Arabic world. Most of them are kept today in libraries outside the former Byzantine territories; quite a few remain unpublished.

This volume aims to provide an overview of Byzantine manuscript illustration. The kind of text accompanied by miniatures and the content of the illustrated books was chosen as the criterion for its presentation and consequently determined the structure of the volume. As a general rule only manuscripts written in Greek – the official language of the Byzantine Empire – will be discussed, but manuscripts written in other languages will be considered where necessary.

While chronological studies on the development of Byzantine book illumination already exist (e.g. the opulent publication of A. Džurova[1]), we lack a comprehensive overview of the material divided in text categories, which informs us about which texts were illustrated in Byzantium and how. Such studies were undertaken in extensive form only for certain groups of illustrated manuscripts, like the illustrated Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus or the illuminated Psalters. There are, beside this, numerous investigations of single manuscripts or of particular aspects of Byzantine book illumination. The present volume aims thus to fill a gap and to provide experts and non-specialists

1 Džurova, A., *Byzantinische Miniaturen: Schätze der Buchmalerei vom 4. bis zum 19 Jahrhundert*, Regensburg 2002.

alike with comprehensive, up-to-date guidance. It considers the illustration as a part of the book and not primarily or merely as art historical material.

The volume begins with three introductory chapters: an overview on the state of research and current research problems as well as the perspectives for future research, followed by an introduction to Codicology and Palaeography, which are necessary methods and skills for the investigation of Byzantine book illumination. The material is subsequently divided in two categories, secular and religious illustrated manuscripts, each encompassing several chapters. As readers will notice, only certain texts were illustrated in Byzantium and the reasons for their decoration varied: illustrations could serve purely aesthetic needs, they were useful for understanding or explaining the text, they offered visual comments on the basis of the text or independently from it, and some miniatures also added a layer of interpretation to the text. In general, the content of the text or the difference in content was decisive for the kind of illustration and had certainly some impact on the form they took.

The chapters on the various groups of secular and theological illuminated manuscripts provide basic information on the following aspects: the content of each text and its author, if known; the possible role of the textual transmission for the assessment of its illumination; the illustration system(s), the relationship between text and images, the date and provenance of the manuscripts; the origins and development of the illustrations and the question of the overall "design", which could vary from edition to edition; the function and importance of the miniatures; the variables which could affect the illumination; the commissioner(s) and users of the illustrated books. An important question is whether there was a distinct form of illustration for certain categories. Attention is also paid to the manifold relationship between the various groups of illustrated manuscripts. The chapters also offer an overview on the various scientific approaches and methods regarding each manuscript group presented here and point to questions which still remain open.

Although it was not possible to consider all extant kinds of illustrated manuscripts, we do hope to have created a useful instrument for interested readers and to inspire further scholarly discussion. It can serve as a point of reference for those who would like to become better acquainted with this particular branch of Byzantine culture.[2]

2 Manuscripts marked with an *asterisk are available in digitized form on the Internet. The respective URL links are listed on the website *Pinakes: Textes et manuscrits grecs* (Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes, Paris) (last accessed 06.04.2017).

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Abbreviations

ByzAD	Bender, L./Parani, M./Pitarakis, B./Spieser, J.-M./Vuilloud, A., *Artefacts and Raw Materials in Byzantine Archival Documents/Objets et matériaux dans les documents d'archives byzantins*, URL: <http://www.unifr.ch/go/typika>
CPG	*Corpus Christianorum. Clavis Patrum Graecorum. Volumen II: Ab Athanasio ad Chrysostomum*, ed. by M. Geerard, Turnhout 1974
LCI	Kitschbaun, E. (ed.), *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, 8 vols., Freiburg im Breisgau 1968-1976
ODB	Kazdhan, A.P. (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium,* 3 vols., New York 1991
PG	*Patrologiae cursus completus: omnium ss. Partum, doctorum, scriptorumque ecclesiasticorum*/accurante I.-P. Migne. Patrologia Graeca (vols. 1-161), Paris e.a. 1857-1866
PLP	Trapp, E. (ed.), *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit* (Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Byzantinistik, 1), 13 vols., Vienna 1981-1996

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PART 1

Introduction

CHAPTER 1

The Use and Function of Illustrated Books in Byzantine Society

Jean-Michel Spieser

The abundantly illustrated book developed in the late antique world when the codex replaced the scroll.[1] Although the oldest preserved copies are Latin manuscripts, the illustrated book became an essential element in Byzantine civilization, in which the importance of books in general and the regard they enjoyed are well known.[2] While the place of illustrated books, in comparison with the total number of manuscripts produced in the Byzantine world, is of relatively little importance from the standpoint of quantity, many pieces of evidence show how much they were appreciated. Few estimates of the proportion of these books relative to the entirety of manuscripts have been made. One may draw upon an attempt made by J. Lowden based on the manuscripts preserved in Great Britain.[3] An estimate for the Bodleian Library at Oxford permits us to think – allowing perhaps a considerable margin for error – that a little less than 18% of Byzantine manuscripts contains at least some decorative elements. If limited to what are more restrictively known as illustrated manuscripts, that is to say ones with human figures and not merely decoration, Lowden concludes that 3.7% of Byzantine manuscripts preserved in Great Britain are illustrated. These numbers are not yet compared with those of other collections, but whatever might be their degree of uncertainty, they suffice to show that such manuscripts represent a small minority of Byzantine production. This proportion must be further diminished if one acknowledges

* I wish to thank Ioanna Rapti and Elisabeth Yota for all the suggestions and information they have provided for the finalization of this text.

1 There are basically two manuscripts of Virgil that one can cite: *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 3225 and *Vat. lat. 3867; see Wright, *Vatican Vergil*; id., *Vergilius Romanus*, as well as a few preserved leaves from a manuscript known as "the Itala of Quedlinburg" (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. theol. lat. fol. 485), which, in any case, contains a Book of Kings: Lowden, "Beginnings of Biblical Illustration", pp. 40-3 along with previous references. See also chapter 14 in this volume.

2 Cavallo, "Il libro comme oggetto", pp. 395-9. See also Hunger, *Schreiben und Lesen in Byzanz*; Tsamakda, "Die byzantinische Gesellschaft"; Belting, *Das illuminierte Buch*.

3 Lowden, "Illustrated Manuscripts", pp. 90-1.

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that illustrated copies, especially those which are richly illustrated, were preserved in a greater proportion than those which contained only texts. In the preserved documents from Byzantine archives, many books are listed in inventories, wills, or other documents, but only three manuscripts explicitly mention miniatures.[4] In his will, dated to 1059, Eustathios Boilas emphasizes the pleasure he took in having an illustrated gospel book in his library.[5] One cannot, of course, draw precise conclusions from this small number: the inventories of monasteries did not necessarily specify that certain manuscripts had miniatures, and even less so that they contained geometric decoration. The sumptuousness of a great number of bindings which, for their part, are often described with great precision, suggests the presence of additional illuminated manuscripts. Just as there are only a few systematic catalogues of illustrated manuscripts which would permit a general overview,[6] the specific use of these manuscripts has elicited hardly an interest. One finds only a few suggestions that allow reflection on this question, apart from a few recent examples to which we shall return. It is striking to consider that K. Weitzmann, when he makes an assessment of the study of miniatures, attributes to it seven goals, which he calls seven circles. Its objectives, defined according to the methods of textual criticism, move from the publication of catalogues to the discovery of narrative illustration in Greco-Roman art, but he does not at all refer to the use of illustrated books or the impact they might have on the reader.[7] The same old indifference is found in the contrast between two publications which touch on similar themes. In 1969, when G. Galavaris, under the direction of Weitzmann, studied the illustrations of the liturgical homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus, his entire consideration bore on the miniatures themselves, on their origin, on their possible passage from one text to another, on the reconstruction of an archetype, even from a stylistic point of view.[8] But one does not find there any reflection on the use of these manuscripts, any comparison between manuscripts with regard to that which, precisely from this point of view, could be implied by the quality and richness of the illustrations. A different approach

4 *ByzAD*, Synthèse, s.v. Biblion.

5 Ibid., artefact #344. The two other examples are, in the library of Patmos, a manuscript containing the Ethics of St. Basil, doubtlessly along with a portrait of Basil, ibid., artefact #3556; and a gospel book listed in the inventory of Eleousa monastery in Stroumitza (presentday Veljusa) with portraits of the four evangelists, ibid., artefact #2026.

6 Weitzmann, "The Study of Byzantine Book Illumination", pp. 9-10. But the new catalogue of manuscripts of Princeton takes into account both the description of texts and that of illustrations: Kotzabassi/Patterson Ševčenko, *Greek Manuscripts at Princeton*.

7 Weitzmann, "The Study of Byzantine Book Illumination".

8 Galavaris, *Liturgical Homilies*. For some supplementary remarks, see below.

was now used, 35 years later, i.e. in the study of the illustrations of the homilies of John Chrysostom.[9] Insofar as the sources give hardly any direct indications, it is necessary to rely on function and the reason for the presence of illustrations in order to understand the use of these manuscripts.

It may seem obvious that illustrations in scientific manuscripts are always useful for the comprehension of the text, but this term "scientific manuscripts" covers very different realities. *A priori*, an illustration seems absolutely necessary at least in the majority of them, a fact which has engendered the idea that these texts were already illustrated from their first edition. To mathematical, geographical, or astronomical diagrams – simple line drawings which permit the visualization and better comprehension of the corresponding expositions – one can add treatises on tactics and siegecraft. This kind of illustration existed from an ancient date – from the Hellenistic period at least – but various testimonies suggest that indispensable illustrations were displayed during reading in a separate, independent form.[10] Nevertheless some drawings found their place in papyri at a relatively early date. Philo of Byzantium, in the 3rd century BC, indicates that he placed drawings (σχήματα) "in the book itself" in order to facilitate comprehension.[11] An allusion to Vitruvius evokes the figure that explains the doubling of the surface of a square in the manuscript itself,[12] while several papyri contain figures of the same type.[13]

Didactic concern is evident in the case of the illustration of hippiatric treatises.[14] The images in the two illustrated manuscripts of this type of treatise are placed between the title and the beginning of the chapter. They illustrate in a general way a passage of the text that follows, most often a symptom or a treatment, but these images cannot be understood without reading the text. They were completely useless from a practical point of view. It has been supposed that these figures served as a kind of "bookmark" allowing one to find a desired text. The simplicity of these images, sometimes interpreted as due to the clumsiness of the miniaturist, allowed them to play this role more easily. The same

9 Krause, *Homilien*. See also below.

10 Stückelberger, *Bild und Wort*, pp. 11-2; Lazaris, "L'illustration des disciplines médicales", pp. 104-9.

11 Philo of Byzantium, *Mechanike syntaxis*, 5, A, 87, ed. Y. Garland, p. 300, l. 18-21, cited by Stückelberger, *Bild und Wort*, p. 21 and n. 25. See ibid., pp. 96-7.

12 Stückelberger, *Bild und Wort*, p. 12 and n. 4.

13 Ibid., p. 19, fig. 7 (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, P. Vind. gr. 19996, from the 1st century BC) and p. 20, fig. 8 (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, P. Berol. 11529 of the 2nd century BC).

14 For the development that follows, see Lazaris, *Art et science vétérinaire*, especially pp. 63-126 and pp. 136-203; for the hippiatric manuscripts, see also McCabe, *Horse medicine*.

function should be attributed to certain images that depart from the ordinary and that set themselves apart by their strangeness.[15] One could go further and surmise that they were also an aid to memory and that they facilitated memorization of the text, which is perhaps the aim of some details related to the affliction considered in the corresponding chapter or to its treatment.[16]

But didactic concern is not incompatible with aesthetic elaboration and, from when this concern appears, one observes a great variety in the implementation and the quality of the illustration. Certain manuscripts containing treatises on siegecraft have illustrations executed with great care and clarity, which go above and beyond a simple diagram and a concern for intelligibility. This is particular the case with a manuscript of the 11th century of an anonymous author, most probably from the middle of the 10th century, transmitted under the name of Hero of Byzantium.[17] Analogous examples are found in many kinds of texts, for example the Zodiac painted on fol. 9r of the manuscript of the *Geography* of Ptolemy, preserved in the Vatican (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1291; Figs. 12-14). Its date was disputed and it was usually assigned to the years 741-775. But recent palaeographical examination convincingly suggests a date shortly after the reign of Nikephoros I (802-811).[18]

The necessity for medical and pharmaceutical manuscripts to be illustrated seems just as evident as in the preceding examples. In other words, from the moment that such books existed, images were an essential element. Their illustration also goes back at least to the Hellenistic period, as shown by a text of Pliny and some illustrated papyrus fragments that survive.[19]

The most celebrated example of this genre is the manuscript of Dioscorides (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vind. med. gr. 1; Figs. 23, 28, 30-1)

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15 See Lazaris, *Art et science vétérinaire,* pp. 111-8; see figs. 10-1 and fig. 6.

16 Ibid., pp. 97-8. For specific examples, ibid., pp. 140-203. See still also the two classic books on the image as an aid to memory: Yates, *L'art de mémoire*, and Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*.

17 Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1605: see Sullivan, *Siegecraft*. *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 2442 is another example of a manuscript containing texts of the same nature and similarly illustrated: cf. the entry of B. Mondrain in Durand, *Byzance*, cat. no 264, pp. 353-4.

18 See Janz, "The Scribe and the Date of the Vat. Gr. 1291", especially p. 169. This date is accepted by Anne Tihon; see Ptolemy, *Handy Tables*, ed. A. Tihon, p. 34. For the dating to 741-775, see Ševčenko, "Search", p. 279, n. 2 with the previous references. See also Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1087 from the 15th century, fol. 310.

19 Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 25.8, trans. W.H.S. Jones; *Berkeley, The Bancroft Library, P. Tebtunis 679 (2nd century AD); *London, Wellcome Library, MS 5753 (P. Johnson) (*c.*400 AD) (Fig, 27). See Stückelberger, *Bild und Wort*, pp. 79-80 and fig. 38 as well as pl. 38.

made for Juliana Anicia at the beginning of the 6th century.[20] It is particularly important, not only on its own, but also in comparison with later manuscripts that take up the same texts and which are sometimes copies of the Vienna manuscript. These pharmacological texts are a repertory particularly of medicines against poisoning and venoms obtained from plants, but also some from animals or from the mineral realm. The miniatures of the Vienna manuscript are of excellent quality and often allow one to recognize the element in question. But this book is not only a herbarium designed for the recognition of plants, whether at the moment of picking them or of preparing them. The recipient of the manuscript suggests another purpose for this high-quality illustration: perhaps an encyclopedic aim, meant to satisfy a taste – real or imagined – for knowledge that was attributed to her. But the desire to make of this tome a beautiful and precious object is also an essential motivation. Nevertheless, whatever the initial aim of its production, around 1400 it was to be found in the monastery of St. John Prodromos in Petra and was being used in its hospital.[21] For these texts, the quality of the illustration did not only fall within the field of aesthetic pleasure; it was necessary, for evident reasons, in order to usefully complement the text.

The equilibrium between quality of illustration and the price paid for this purpose varies considerably from one manuscript to another. Sometimes purely decorative illustrations are added next to scientific images, as in the manuscript of the *Theriaca* of Nicander preserved in Paris, where several scenes inspired by antiquity enliven the text.[22] In contrast, in a manuscript of Dioscorides dated to the end of the 8th or the beginning of the 9th century, the illustration, though very plentiful, is much less sophisticated than in the Vienna manuscript, while still allowing one to recognize the medicinal plants that are represented.[23] In other pharmacological manuscripts the quality of illustration is very varied and, in some cases, the images could hardly have served as anything more than visual markers.[24]

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20 Mazal, *Wiener Dioskurides*. See now also Brubaker, "The Vienna Dioskorides".

21 Cavallo, "Il libro comme oggetto", pp. 402-3. S. also Durr, *Image toxicologique*, pp. 406-7.

22 *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. suppl. gr. 247: see the entry of M.-O. Germain in Durand, *Byzance*, cat. no. 260, pp. 349-50; Kádár, *Survivals*, pp. 37-43 and pls. 1-19. There is a facsimile edition of this manuscript: Touwaide, *Theriaka y Alexipharmaka*.

23 *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 2179: see the entry of B. Mondrain in Durand, *Byzance*, cat. no. 256, pp. 345-6.

24 On three manuscripts of Pseudo-Dioscorides, *New York, The Morgan Library and Museum, M. 652, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 284, and *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 2183 (all three from the 10th century), see Durr, *Image toxicologique*.

Serving as a visual aid for reading and marking the beginning of texts also occurs in the ornamental decoration found in numerous manuscript types and, often, in a much more refined manner than the above-cited examples. That is the role of decorative bands as well as that of "gates" (πύλαι) at the beginning of an important break in the manuscript, and likewise of initials. The differences in the quality and richness of these decorative elements vary greatly and are tied to the price of the manuscript. Paradoxically, one realizes this role more easily in modest manuscripts: the most elaborate decorations can make one completely forget that they could also have a practical use, as in the cruciform lectionary of New York where images and text, arranged in the form of a cross, combine in creating the decorative effect (Fig. 100).[25] While in a manuscript in Paris the titles of the epistles of Paul are highlighted by frame that is decorated but relatively sober, the frontispiece of the Apocalypse makes one forget the verses it contains due to the richness of the decoration.[26] These examples confirm that, as soon as there is true illustration – that is to say, when it goes beyond simple diagrams – and whatever the more or less utilitarian character of the illustration, other considerations enter into play.

Among the many sets of manuscripts where aesthetic concerns (never completely absent) and the bringing out of articulations of the content of the manuscript and of the sense of the text concur, those destined to be read during the liturgy are particularly numerous. Two sets, of the manuscripts of the homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus and of the homilies of John Chrysostom, may serve as examples, but other series with comparable content, such as the metaphrastic *menologia*, should also be taken into consideration.[27] A rather significant number of the manuscripts of these two Church Fathers were more or less richly illustrated; they also allow us to highlight other points of interest. Among these homilies, the most homogeneous groupings – and the ones that seem to have been most often read – are also the ones most often illustrated, thus facilitating use and giving pleasure to readers' eyes. For John Chrysostom, these groupings consist of the homilies commenting on the Gospels of John and of Matthew

25 *New York, The Morgan Library and Museum, M. 692: Anderson, *Cruciform Lectionary*.

26 *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 224, 11th century: Durand, *Byzance,* p. 355. The frontispiece of the Apocalypse is found on fol. 222v: see Cutler/Spieser, *Byzance médiévale,* p. 363 fig. 289.

27 Ševčenko, *Metaphrastian Menologion*. These manuscripts also share, along with other manuscripts used in the liturgy, large size, which in this case reaches 30 × 41.7 cm for the most luxurious one (*London, British Library, Add. 11870: for this manuscript, ibid., pp. 118-25). See below for the gospel books. For an overview of the liturgical books, see Ševčenko, "Illuminating the Liturgy".

and those on Genesis.[28] To these groups, one should add a relatively standardized series that was often called by the title "Pearls of Chrysostom" in the Middle Byzantine period.[29] In the case of Gregory of Nazianzus, the most heavily illustrated manuscripts are those containing a collection of 16 homilies intended for reading during the liturgy on certain feasts.

The most frequently-occurring decoration of the homilies of John Chrysostom does not differ fundamentally from what has been remarked upon above: decorative bands or frames at the beginning of a homily and decorated initials at the beginning of a text, which often incorporate narrative scenes relevant to the text or sometimes are fantastical. It is also often the case that the illustration that introduces the first text or texts of a manuscript is more elaborate than the following ones, which stems from a different preoccupation. The same decorative procedures are used in manuscripts of these homilies destined for private use. This is the case, for example, with regard to Athos, Pantokrator Monastery, cod. 22, which has a rich floral decoration and anthropomorphic initials, and in which the homilies are grouped in a manner more or less arbitrary, a fact that seems to exclude liturgical use.[30] In Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Coislin 77, with purely ornamental decoration that is partly in gold, the homilies (which are, incidentally, in part inauthentic) are sometimes accompanied by indications of the day on which they are supposed to be read.[31] But others are accompanied by the note, "Read whenever you wish" (ἀνάγνωσις ὅταν θέλεις), which seems to constitute solid evidence for intended private use of the manuscript. Seven of these manuscripts contain full-page miniatures.[32] These miniatures are in general grouped at the head of their respective manuscripts and are author portraits, showing Chrysostom, most often in the company of St. Paul or other holy figures. They are obviously not meant to facilitate reading and we shall return later to their uses and purposes. The decoration that is added to these full-page miniatures does not differ fundamentally from that of manuscripts with purely ornamental decoration, although it may be more abundant, more elaborate, and richer. But this difference should not be overestimated. The aforementioned Pantokrator 22, by its luxurious character and by the abundance and quality of its decoration, confirms the closeness of the two series.

28 Krause, *Homilien*, pp. 139-42.

29 Ibid., pp. 81-3, with the preceding references, especially to Canart, "Jean Nathaniel", p. 433, n. 63. See also chapter 25 in this volume.

30 Krause, *Homilien*, pp. 125-33 and 172-3.

31 Ibid., p. 173 (and n. 1167).

32 Ibid., p. 185.

The quality and the quantity of the illustration hardly permit one to distinguish between those intended for liturgical use and those intended for private use. It is other criteria that allow their differentiation, even if a secure conclusion is not always possible. One sees it most clearly in the manuscripts containing the series of 16 homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus used in the liturgy, the only ones by this Father of the Church to have been systematically studied from the perspective of their illustrations.[33] Even though the primary destination of this selection of homilies was to be read during the liturgy, some of the manuscripts that contain them were made for private use. This seems certain for Athos, Dionysiou Monastery, cod. 61 where one sees, on the verso of fol. 1, Gregory of Nazianzus offering the book to a person of high rank who however remains anonymous.[34] Its decoration is relatively rich, in the form of miniatures at the head of each homily as well as illuminated initials and decorative bands, but its small size (21.2 by 15.4 cm) show that it could not be used in the context of the divine office. Its well-preserved state suggests that its use was not too intense, which corresponds better to a private than to a liturgical use. It is certainly also for private use that Moscow, State Historical Museum, Synod. gr. 61, itself also richly decorated, was destined.[35] It has been used more than the preceding manuscript, but its small dimensions (19.4 × 14.9 cm) confirm that it was privately used.[36] The reduced dimensions of a given manuscript almost certainly imply this, but those of a greater size do not permit a secure conclusion without other evidence. Some manifest traces of use, whereas others seem to have been carefully guarded. The fact remains that, in the Byzantine world, texts intended for the divine offices could just as well be owned individually and thus be read outside the offices, even by laypeople, as demonstrated by the gospel book owned by Eustathios Boilas.

Sinai, Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sin. gr. 339 is a particularly well-preserved manuscript of the homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus.[37] It leads us on to other reflections. The colophon indicates that it was made in order to be donated to a monastery, suggesting that it was intended for liturgical use. But

33 Galavaris, *Liturgical Homilies*. It is necessary to deal separately with the study of *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 510 by Brubaker, *Vision and meaning*. See more below.

34 For this manuscript, see Galavaris, *Liturgical Homilies*, pp. 205-7; Pelekanidis, *The Treasures of Mount Athos*, vol. 1, pp. 102-15 (figs. 104-17) and pp. 415-18. See also the entry of S.N. Kadas in Karakatsanis, *Athos*, cat. no. 53, pp. 200-1, with the previous references.

35 Galavaris, *Liturgical Homilies*, pp. 229-31.

36 Lowden, "Luxury and liturgy", p. 271, gives it as an example of a manuscript that has seen use.

37 Weitzmann/Galavaris, *Sinai*, pp. 140-53. See also Anderson, "Sin. gr. 339".

taking account of its state of preservation, one might ask whether it was in reality so used. We are thus dealing rather with a prestige gift, intended to honor the recipient person or institution, but which also glorified the donor who had commissioned it. The question of donors is important. It is not by chance that practically all the illustrated menologia date from the second half of the 11th century, a period when monasteries were founded by grandees and soon after the codification of the liturgy with the accompanying standardization of daily hagiographical readings.[38]

Illustrations underscore this double function of homage to the recipient and promotion of the donor. The recipient might be represented. This seems to have been the case always, or very often, in the case of manuscripts offered to the emperor. Basil I is represented, after Christ, on one of the first folios of the homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus (*Par. gr. 510; Fig. 132), no doubt commissioned by patriarch Photios for Basil but perhaps also for the future Leo VI.[39] The presence of the recipient is sometimes very strong, as in the homilies of John Chrysostom offered to Nikephoros III Botaniates (*Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Coislin 79; Fig. 140). The emperor is represented on the four miniatures that open the volume.[40]

But illustration could also represent the donor. The image of a given emperor figures often in manuscripts commissioned by him and of which he eventually made a gift. Basil II is depicted at the beginning of the Psalter (Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Marc. gr. Z. 17) that he had commissioned for himself.[41] In Sinai, Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sin. gr. 364, which contains 45 homilies on the Gospel of Matthew by John Chrysostom, it is the donor, Constantine IX Monomachos, who has himself depicted with the empress Zoe and her sister Theodora. The manuscript is definitely a gift of the emperor to the monastery

38 Ševčenko, *Metaphrastian Menologion*, p. 206.

39 Brubaker, *Vision and meaning*, pp. 201-38, in particular pp. 236-8; see also ibid., pp. 410-2. See also below.

40 On this manuscript, see Spatharakis, *Portrait*, pp. 107-18, and the entry of J. Durand in id., *Byzance*, cat. no. 271, pp. 360-1. The identity of the donor of this manuscript continues to be disputed, as are the circumstances of this gift destined, according to the most common interpretation, for Michael VII. For the different propositions, see Spatharakis, *Portrait*, pp. 107-18 and pp. 244-5; Dumitrescu, "Coislin 79"; Kalopissi-Verti, "Painter's Portraits", pp. 132-3; Yota, "Donateur", p. 272. For an argument based on careful examination of the manuscript and tending to show that it was indeed from the beginning meant for Nikephoros and not Michael, see Krause, *Homilien*, pp. 181-3. See also chapter 25 in this volume.

41 Cutler, "The psalter of Basil II".

of St. George of Mangana which he founded.[42] It is also as donor that Alexios I Komnenos is depicted twice at the beginning of the manuscript of the *Dogmatic Panoply* of Euthymios Zigabenos (*Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 666).[43] In this case, he is more than a donor, since the text that it contains was written at his request, as we learn from Anna Comnena in the *Alexias* and from a laudation of the emperor in the manuscript itself.[44] His depiction twice in the first few folios is meant to demonstrate his piety, but also to recall that he was the initiator of the text and of the manuscript. The quality of the latter, in particular of its illustrations, suggests that it is the original meant for the emperor, as opposed to a manuscript preserved in Moscow (Fig. 158) which is a copy of that of the Vatican.[45] But its final destination, i.e. the library where it was supposed to be kept, remains uncertain.

Is it necessary to ask oneself to whom or for what purpose was intended the double portrait of John VI Kantakouzenos (1347-53) which is one of the miniatures of *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 1242, fol. 123v (Fig. 1), a luxury manuscript that contains four theological treatises of which he is the author.[46] The manuscript was copied, under the supervision of John VI himself, at the monastery *ton Hodegon* at Constantinople, and doubtless was meant to remain there. In contrast to the preceding examples, this portrait is not placed at the beginning of the book. Here, the portrait of the donor is assimilated to the portrait of the author, as the scroll that the author-emperor, dressed in his monastic garb, holds in his hands, bears the words that begin the text "μέγας ὁ Θεός τῶν χριστιανῶν". At the same time, the double portrait recalls the course of his life by showing him as both emperor and monk. It is not without importance that the title of the treatise is also preceded by his double identity. It thus asserts his imperial past. The double portrait is placed underneath a depiction of the Trinity in the form of the three angels being hosted at the table of Abraham. In a subtle manner, this representation of the Trinity, where the angel in the middle is given a halo marked by the shape of the cross, alludes to the text that follows, an apologetic work against Islam where Kantakouzenos defends the doctrine of the divinity of Christ.[47] But he also places himself

42 Weitzmann/Galavaris, *Sinai*, pp. 65-8.

43 For a recent article on the *Dogmatic Panoply* and references to studies of the manuscript, see Rigo, "Panoplie dogmatique". See also chapter 30 in this volume.

44 Anna Comnena, *Alexias*, XV, 9, 1, ed. D. Reinsch/A. Kambylis, 15, IX, p. 489.

45 Moscow, State Historical Museum, Synod. gr. 387. Cf. Spatharakis, *Portrait*, pp. 128-9 and chapter 30 in this volume.

46 On this manuscript, see Spatharakis, *Portrait*, pp. 129-39; cf. the entry by M.-O. Germain in Durand, *Byzance*, cat. no. 355, pp. 461-4.

47 Spatharakis, *Portrait*, pp. 135-6. See now also Drpić, "Art, Hesychasm, and Visual Exegesis".

under the protection of the Trinity. The image expresses equally the desire for and the expectation of this protection. Is its placement also supposed to suggest that the reader of the text that follows pray or at least spare a thought for the salvation of the one depicted?

These images of imperial donors in the manuscripts participates in the same routine as the images of lower-ranked donors, whether found in manuscripts, on icons, or on the walls of churches. They recall the generosity of the donor toward the beneficiaries, they display his or her piety as well as wealth, and at the same time, they are the sign of a gift to God, to Christ, to the Theotokos, to a saint; a gift that offers the hope of salvation as recompense. This is what is expressed by the numerous images of donors at the feet of a holy figure to whom they offer a book. The most famous is, without a doubt, the patrician Leo, donor of one of the rare complete Bibles (although only the first volume is preserved), *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Reg. gr. 1 (fol. 2v; Fig. 63), but it is far from being the only example.[48]

For all these donor images, we must once more emphasize the multiplication of levels of meaning, which constitute as many reasons for the images' existence. This observation, namely that certain images in the manuscripts can play the same role as images on other surfaces, permits new conclusions. In the aforementioned manuscript of the theological works of John Kantakouzenos, the magnificent full-page Transfiguration on the verso of fol. 92v was certainly chosen by John VI himself, as an affirmation of his support for Hesychasm. But this image could concurrently be viewed by a reader of the manuscript as an icon, that is to say as an image serving to assist meditation and devotion.

The same function of imagery can be discerned in the illustrations of the *tetraevangelia* (codices containing the complete text of all four Gospels), at least in one group of them, as well as in the illustration of psalters, or in any case of the psalters known as "aristocratic".[49] One group of tetraevangelia is

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For further consideration of this double portrait, see Belting, *Das illuminierte Buch*, pp. 84-8.

48 A series of reproductions can be found in Spatharakis, *Portrait,* pl. 17 (the nun Theotima in Sinai, Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sin. gr. 61), pl. 18 (the monk Sabbas in Athos, Dionysiou Monastery, cod. 65), pl. 26 (a certain Basil, not identified, in Jerusalem, Monastery of Megali Panagia, s.n.), pl. 45 (an anonymous dignitary in Athos, Great Lavra, cod. A 103), pl. 52 (a *protospatharios* Basil in Athos, Koutloumousiou Monastery, cod. 60). For *Vat. Reg. gr. 1, see Mathews, "Epigrams"; Canart/Dufrenne, *Die Bibel des Patricius Leo*; id./ead., "Vaticanus Reginensis".

49 For these psalters, see Cutler, *Aristocratic Psalters*. We are definitely lacking an overview of psalters with marginal illustrations. For the oldest ones, from a little after the end of iconoclasm, see below.

illustrated by a relatively small number of miniatures that form veritable scenes.[50] One particularly clear example, although exceptional, is provided by the tetraevangelion Istanbul, Patriarchal Library, cod. 3, where seven full-page miniatures, accompanied by epigrams, are placed at the beginning of the manuscript.[51] The distribution of miniatures, frequently those of the great liturgical feasts, among the different gospels was most often based on the text read at the liturgy of the corresponding feast. But in the perspective adopted in the present analysis, it is necessary to insist on the fact that the number of feasts so illustrated and the choice of subjects vary considerably from manuscript to manuscript. These variations result from the choices of the commissioner. They reflect aspects of his personal devotion. It is necessary to recognize here the same process as that which pushed the founders of monasteries to privilege, in Typika, some feast or other or the prominence given to certain icons in the church by means of lighting.[52] In the case of manuscripts intended for private use, the role of these images, and thus the contribution of the illustrations above and beyond the text, is as an aid for the devotions of the commissioner. In the case when the manuscript was offered to a monastery, the donor thereby expressed his piety, a message intended for the monks, who were obliged to commemorate the donor, or a message to Christ or to the saints in the hope of obtaining salvation. The act of making the book was thus just as important as its practical use.

In contrast, certain tetraevangelia are illustrated with narrative cycles.[53] The most abundantly illustrated, *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 74 (Fig. 94) and *Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Laur. Plut. 6.23, present miniatures in unframed spaces, inserted into the text and thus forming illustrated bands, so to speak.[54] They present a virtually complete narrative illustration. This system is thus very close to that used in the Madrid Skylitzes (*Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Vitr. 26-2, from the 3rd quarter of the 12th century, Fig. 40), with its bands of images that interrupt the text, and which is the only illustrated Byzantine historical manuscript.[55] These two tetraevangelia

50 The remarks that follow are largely based on Yota, *Harley 1810*, pp. 218-49. Also, on the function of images in the Armenian *tetraevangelia*, see Rapti, "Peinture", pp. 176-7.

51 On this manuscript, see Nelson, *Text and Image*.

52 For remarks on this subject, see Spieser, "Templon", pp. 140-52.

53 Yota, *Harley 1810*, pp. 232-41.

54 For *Par. gr. 74, see Omont, *Évangiles*; for *Laur. Plut. 6.23, see Velmans, *Le Tétraévangile de la Laurentienne*; Tsuji, *Byzantine Gospel*. In the 14th century, the same system of illustrated bands is found in the *tetraevangelion* of Tsar Ivan Alexander, dated to 1356 (*London, British Library, Add. 39627): see Shivkova, *Tetraevangeliar*.

55 Tsamakda, *Skylitzes*. For two Byzantine chronicles illustrated in Slavic translations – that

are exceptional, and they have the most extensive illustration; the others, even though they have narrative images, are less richly illustrated. As with liturgical cycles, variations are numerous, and have to do with the number of images, their layout, their form (framed or not), the choice of scenes depicted and their placement.[56] The more limited number of images rules out their systematic use as a guide and finding aid within the text. The choice was instead that of the commissioner, who had an attachment to certain passages of the gospel text, which he wished to be able to visualize, the image thus also being able to serve as a bookmark for the rereading of favorite texts, while the number of images would depend on the price. These narrative images also draw our attention to the pleasure of visualizing the text, which will be evoked again below.

Illustrated octateuchs – luxury books, but also scholarly ones, as shown by the exegetical *catenas* (commentaries) that they contain – are close, in terms of illustration, to gospels illustrated with narrative cycles.[57] This type of narrative illustration, which punctuates the text according to a more or less even rhythm, is already attested in Late Antiquity, as shown by the Cotton Genesis (*London, British Library, Cotton Otho B. VI; Fig. 66) – in this respect different from the Vienna Genesis (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vind. theol. gr. 31; Figs. 67-68)[58] – as well as the two manuscripts of Vergil which have come down to us and the extant fragments of the Ambrosian Iliad (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, F 205 inf.; Figs. 45-46).[59] Among the six extant illustrated octateuchs, one is fundamentally different from the others, *Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Laur. Plut. 5.38 (Fig. 72), now assigned to the 13th century, which seems to have been intended for liturgical usage. Its dimensions, the fact that the biblical text is not surrounded by catenae, that one finds in it indications of the days for the reading of certain passages, and that it is less abundantly illustrated, suggest this use.[60] The other octateuchs, generally

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of Constantine Manasses in Bulgarian (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. slav. 2, from the 14th century), and in Russian that of George the Monk (*Moscow, Russian State Library, F. 173 1, no. 100), as well as for some fragments going back to Late Antiquity, see ibid., p. 30-31 and chapter 5 in the present volume.

56 See chapters 17 and 18 in the present volume.

57 For an overview, see Lowden, *The Octateuchs*, taken up again and with more precision in his article "Illustrated Octateuch Manuscripts". For a fundamentally different approach, extensively critiqued by Lowden, see Weitzmann/Bernabò, *The Byzantine Octateuchs*.

58 For this manuscript, see below.

59 For the Cotton Genesis, see Weitzmann/Kessler, *The Cotton Genesis* and chapter 11 in this volume; for the manuscripts of Vergil, see above n. 1. For the Ambrosian Iliad, see Bianchi-Bandinelli, *Iliad* and chapter 6 in this volume.

60 Perria/Iacobini, "Gli Ottateuchi in età paleologa", p. 72 and 82; Lowden, "Illustrated Octateuch Manuscripts", p. 114.

of large size, were, if we take into account their probable cost, doubtless commissioned by members of the Byzantine aristocracy, and can be considered as intended for reading. Illustrations are included without it being apparent what their use or function was.[61] A comparison with the moralizing Bibles of the West, where the images seem to have served as a springboard for commentaries, evince the difference in the role of images. One can say that the moralizing Bibles were books of images that suggested commentaries.[62] In the illustrated octateuchs, on the contrary, one has the impression that the images were content simply to be there. J. Lowden claims to be convinced that these illustrations did not have for their sole object the pleasure of the reader and thinks that further research will allow progress on this question.[63] But can we be sure?

For all of the genres of manuscripts examined up until now, the role of illustration, in other words the reason which led a commissioner to choose to have a text illustrated and the specific use which should have resulted, often remains hazy. Several directions offer themselves for reflection, without there always being a clear distinction between one or another purpose. Yet several times already the notion of the pleasure of the reader, connected to the idea of the embellishment of the book by illustration, has presented itself.

A few isolated examples and certain types of manuscripts are borderline cases, in different forms, of this singular role of images and of illustration. Let us first look at the gospel books (lectionaries).[64] As with manuscripts as a whole, the number of illustrated gospels represents only a small percentage of known manuscripts. An estimate of about 5% has been proposed.[65] This small number is easily understandable since these books contained the passages to be read during the liturgy and thus in principle had primarily a practical use. But at the same time, since it was considered a symbol of Christ, carried at the head of the procession of clergy during the "Small Entrance" and then placed on the altar, it could not be a prosaic object. This explains the luxurious bindings that are known from rare preserved examples, such as the binding of the gospel of the Skevophylakion of the Great Lavra and from the descriptions

61 The illustration of secular manuscripts and certain tetraevangelia, mentioned above, as well as the only known instance of an illustrated Book of Kings (*Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 333) can be analyzed similarly: see Lassus, *Livre des Rois*.

62 Lowden, "Illustrated Octateuch Manuscripts", p. 151.

63 Ibid., p. 151.

64 For gospel books, see chapters 17-19 in the present volume.

65 Lowden, "Luxury and liturgy", p. 275, following Aland, *Kurzgefasste Liste*, pp. 205-318 and id., *Materialen*, pp. 30-7.

found in wills and inventories.[66] It is possible, yet remains debated, that the most luxurious of these gospels, at least, were not moved during the liturgy and that the lections were read out of another book.[67] The presence of illustrations, including figural as well as purely ornamental decoration – to which was often added gilded script in order to reinforce the precious character of the text – seems thus completely paradoxical, even if some scholars have thought that, in their diversity, they were associated to readings made on the occasion of certain feasts.[68]

The choice of a beautiful book, of an exceptional object, for manuscripts which were intended for practical use, even if such use would be rendered difficult, appears in another very specific group, that of liturgical scrolls.[69] About a hundred have been preserved, of which about 10% are illustrated. Most contain the complete text of the Liturgy of St. Basil or of St. John Chrysostom. One very rich example, of the Liturgy of St. Basil, is provided in Athos, Dionysiou Monastery, cod. 105.[70] Its length of seven meters makes its handling difficult and renders it fragile. This scroll could not have been used on a daily basis. Others contain texts intended for recitation on certain specific days, for example the scroll Athos, Dionysiou Monastery, cod. 101, with texts for the liturgy of Pentecost and Epiphany.[71] In another, there is the office for the eve of Pentecost and the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts.[72] These were perhaps used solely for the corresponding liturgy, hence very seldom.[73] It is difficult to say whether those which contain a complete liturgy were in fact never used or only once or

66 For a reproduction of the Lavra binding, see Lowden, *Jaharis Lectionary*, p. 18 fig. 17; see also, on this manuscript, Pelekanidis, *The Treasures of Mount Athos*, vol. 3, pp. 217-9 and figs. 1-8. For descriptions of bindings, see *ByzAD*, Synthèse, s.v. Biblion. It is not impossible that the binding of the Biblioteca Marciana, used since the 14th century for Latin liturgical manuscripts, was originally the binding of a gospel book: see the entry by A. Eastmond in Cormack/Vassilaki, *Byzantium: 330-1453,* no. 82, p. 402 (see the plates on pp. 138-9).

67 Lowden, *Jaharis Lectionary*, pp. 17-8.

68 Dolezal, *Lectionary*.

69 The following remarks are based substantially on Lowden, "Luxury and liturgy", pp. 267-9. For these scrolls, see also Grabar, "Un rouleau liturgique". For the use of liturgical scrolls, cf. Gerstel, *Beholding the Sacred Mysteries*, p. 29. See also chapter 21 in the present volume.

70 Pelekanidis, *The Treasures of Mount Athos,* vol. 1, pp. 134-8 (figs. 150-8) and pp. 426-7.

71 Ibid., p. 426 and fig. 149.

72 Grabar, "Un rouleau liturgique", p. 167.

73 Lowden, "Luxury and liturgy", p. 269, analyzes Moscow, State Historical Museum, Synod. gr. 429 similarly; it contains only the Akathistos Hymn in its entirety and perhaps dates around 1355-1364. At that time, the hymn was only chanted in its entirety once a year; see also below, chapter 23.

twice a year, on the occasion of a feast or event of particular importance. The choice to make the book a precious object was to the detriment of its practical use.

Do these characteristics constitute a true contradiction?[74] The illustrations contained in rarely used manuscripts of difficult access are, in a certain way, of just as low visibility as the friezes of the Parthenon or the highest parts of the Column of Trajan. But they arise from a similar approach. Despite their quality, they were not made to be seen; but they had to exist. They were offered in homage; homage, in the ancient examples, to Athena and to the emperor, and in the case of the Byzantine manuscripts to God and Christ. But it was not only to Christ that one offered a magnificent volume. The offering was made in relation to an institution, a church or monastery that was being honored by the gift. Furthermore, this donation came from a person who, in principle, also drew honor and glory from it; his image, even if it was not necessarily present and the mention of his name sufficed, inspired prayers for his salvation and, at least, gave the sense of having escaped oblivion.[75] The illustration rendered the manuscript more precious – which would seem necessary for its use as a symbol of Christ – and at the same time it strengthened the prestige and the memory of the donor.

The image, and in a more general way the illustration – because we must unite in the same movement of thought both figural scenes and ornamental decoration – appear as the primary vectors of the quality and the prestige of a manuscript. But this quality did not have as its sole aim the desire for prestige. The donors of rich manuscripts knew that these would be pleasing, even if, by reason of their very quality, they were rarely opened and rarely viewed. They knew it, for they belonged to the same culture and had probably commissioned other illustrated books for their own use and had drawn from them the same kind of pleasure. The same is also true for relatively modest books, modest at least in comparison to the rich lectionaries or the liturgical scrolls that we have just discussed. One need just recall the pleasure of Eustathios Boilas when he mentions in his will the gospel that he owned and which he had

74 See also the reflections on this subject by Lowden, "Luxury and liturgy", pp. 277-8.

75 Yota, "Donateur", p. 285. Even emperors or members of the imperial family could commission manuscripts without having their image included. See for example: a New Testament commissioned by Michael VII (Moscow, Moskovskij Gosudarstvennyj Universitet, gr. 2 [Inv. 2280]) and the works of John Klimakos, commissioned by his brother Andronikos (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, B 80 sup.): see Yota, "Donateur", p. 267 with reference to Evangelatou-Notara, "Χορηγοί" and to Spatharakis, *Corpus*, pp. 29-30 (for the Moscow manuscript).

probably commissioned.[76] This idea has already been mentioned, namely that the book in itself had a purpose first of all for the donor or commissioner, whatever may have been its final use. A very particular case is a good example of this: the manuscript of the homilies of St Gregory of Nazianzus in Paris (*Par. gr. 510; Figs. 132-135) is, in a certain way, a paradox. Whatever may have been the manuscript's destination, it was conceived under the aegis of Photios, a highly cultured figure, but it was addressed to one who was hardly cultured at all, Basil I. Next to images that were clearly intended to flatter the emperor,[77] some of the subtle connections between the illustrations and the text could not but have brought great pleasure to the designer and donor while completely escaping the recipient.[78] We should mention here, as an example of the psalters with marginal illustration, the Khludov Psalter (Moscow, State Historical Museum, Sobr. A.I. Khludova 129d), of which the subtle allusions have also been noted, but of which we ought also to note – stepping back for a moment from the grave tone which seems to impose itself when we discuss Byzantine art – the vigorous, even exuberant, imagination of some of the images it contains.[79] The patriarch who had perhaps conceived its design, whether it was Methodios or Photios, and the scriptorium where it was executed did not make it as a propaganda tool, contrary to what one might think. Such a manuscript had no public circulation and would not have been commonly accessible even inside the monasteries where this specific manuscript or other related copies ended up. Again, it is the fact itself of the creation of a manuscript responding to the expectations of the person who commissioned it that seems at least as important as its final use.

It is necessary to return to the importance attributed to the image, to the concept of what, to use a contemporary term, one may call a "coffee-table book." This aspect is revealed in all its breadth in several cases where the priority is very clearly accorded to the illustration. In a manuscript of Dioscorides from the 14th century, preserved at Padua, this goal is achieved through collaboration between the commissioner and the painter.[80] How ought we otherwise to explain the layout of this manuscript, in which the illustrations were executed first and the text was later written in carefully around the images?

76 Cf. above.

77 Brubaker, *Vision and meaning*, pp. 158-200.

78 For Basil I and reading, see Lemerle, *Humanisme*, pp. 205-6.

79 For this psalter and those related to it, see Corrigan, *Visual Polemics*; Bernabò, "Teatro a Bisanzio".

80 Padua, Biblioteca del Seminario vescovile, cod. 194; see the entry by R.S. Nelson in Evans, *Byzantium: Faith and Power* (*1261-1557*), cat. no. 315, pp. 525-6 and Mioni, "Un ignoto Dioscoride".

The initiative must have come from the commissioner and the painter was thus perhaps simply the one who executed the task. But, taking into account the final achievement, it seems possible to speak, at least, of a shared sensibility. The predominance given to images is even clearer in the "Joshua Roll" (Fig. 69).[81] This manuscript, exceptional as regards its material form, is a scroll composed, in its present state, of 15 connected parchment sheets. This form is downright unusual, not to say bizarre, in the middle of the 10th century, the date to which it is attributed. There seems to be a scholarly consensus on the idea that it is a very faithful copy of a roll of papyrus that was in poor condition, dating to Late Antiquity, perhaps to the 6th century, a time when this form of manuscript was already unusual. Thus it has been claimed that there appears, in this undertaking, the desire to make a sort of facsimile, a faithful reproduction of a much older manuscript.[82] Instead of the modern idea of facsimile, which may seem anachronistic, one can also suggest that of "bibliophilia", which is certainly likewise anachronistic. This was an exceptional object that someone wished to make. The initiative, wholly original in the Byzantine world, is doubtless to be attributed to the entourage of Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, if not to him directly. It is certainly not too rash to say that the book as such, i.e. its images, was more important than the story of Joshua or reflections and meditations on his story.

But the 10th century did not discover this choice of making – to stay with the same terminology – a "coffee-table book" where the image was more important than the text. Already Late Antiquity, as is evident from the supposed model of the Joshua Roll, knew such arrangements which found their place among other deluxe manuscripts. The most luxurious are those whose parchment was dyed purple. In the Vienna Genesis also, even if it is in a lesser degree than the Joshua Roll, the text is to a degree sacrificed to the benefit of the image: in order to keep a constant tempo of images, the biblical text was not copied in its entirety.[83] Similar to these examples with respect to the importance given to the image, but with a different intention, in a different register,

81 *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Pal. gr. 431.

82 The bibliography on the Joshua Roll is vast. See in particular, with references to older work, Kresten, *Il rotolo di Giosuè* and Lowden, *The Octateuchs*. The most recent interpretation, Wander, *The Joshua Roll,* proposes that it is a copy of an original from the time of Herakleios, and that the original as well as the copy were sketches for a historical column on the model of the imperial columns of Rome and Constantinople in Late Antiquity. These conclusions seem nevertheless very hypothetical. On the Joshua Roll see also chapter 12 in the present volume.

83 On the Vienna Genesis, see Mazal, *Wiener Genesis*, pp. 86-92 (for the adaptation of the text to the needs of illustration) and Zimmermann, *Wiener Genesis*.

in a less luxurious size (measuring 12.6 × 9.5 cm), and at a much later date, we should mention the menologion without text which belonged to Demetrios I Palaiologos Angelos Doukas, despot of Thessaloniki (1322-1340).[84] But here it is without a doubt the image as an aid to devotion that is at the root of this image which thus becomes the equivalent of a series of icons.

Therefore, several reasons account for the existence of illustrations in manuscripts, corresponding to different uses one might make of them. It is necessary to emphasize that, in many situations, the use of illustrated manuscripts and that of non-illustrated manuscripts did not differ fundamentally. For books that had to serve in the context of the liturgy or of private devotional reading such as, for example, the gospels or the homilies of John Chrysostom or Gregory of Nazianzus, the illustration itself was not of great import (if one leaves aside the idea of finding pages more easily which, in these manuscripts, was perhaps only an added bonus). The same is also true with regard to the possession of a tetraevangelion, of a psalter, or, on a different note, of a secular text. In the Byzantine world images in manuscripts played a more specific and important role as aids to devotion, prayer, and reflection, and as means of marking the sacred character of a book or a text. To this end, images capable of being used as icons are found in various manuscripts, and particularly in tetraevangelia, gospels, and psalters.[85]

Yet all these elements that explain the development of an illustration are not sufficient to require it. More economical means than costly decoration existed to mark the subdivisions of a book. Hence it is necessary to add some reflections on what caused or justified the commissioning of a "coffee-table book", whether for the commissioner's own use or to give as a gift. We leave aside for a moment the promotion of the donor, inasmuch as the act of offering would have no meaning unless the recipient were to feel pleasure in having it and using it, including the situation in which its precious character – in the event, perhaps its fragility – causes the recipient to place it for safety in a library from which it emerges only rarely. In the first place comes, undoubtedly as a commonplace and expected factor, the aesthetic pleasure of the image. Its

84 *Oxford, Bodleian Library, Gr. theol. f. 1; see Hutter, *Corpus,* vol. II, pp. 1-33 and III, 1, p. 351; Spatharakis, *Corpus*, no. 237; and now also Hutter/Menaza, *Menologion bizantino de Oxford*.

85 For a reference series of illustrated books intended for private religious use, see Cavallo, "Il Libro comme oggetto", pp. 413-4. He mentions in particular a tetraevangelion of the 14th century, Athos, Vatopedi Monastery, cod. 937 (Pelekanidis, *The Treasures of Mount Athos*, vol. 4, pp. 304-8 and figs. 248-67); another from the 13th century, Athos, Iviron Monastery, cod. 5 (Pelekanidis, *The Treasures of Mount Athos,* vol. 2, pp. 296-303 and figs. 11-40); and the psalter Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, 78 A 9.

presence is obvious in all of the manuscripts where an illustration appears. We might almost say that this aesthetic factor is found in its pure state when the illustration is essentially narrative in content and does not seem to have any other purpose than itself, as in certain biblical manuscripts and in the rare secular illustrated texts, mentioned above.[86] But it is necessary to add to this pleasure of narrating-by-image – completing, visualizing the text, maybe taking its place – the pleasure afforded by non-figural ornamentation, which plays a vital role in other manuscripts (in this case essentially of religious character) but whose purpose is different from that of devotional images which the same manuscripts may contain. The sumptuousness of these ornamentations has nothing to do with the ancient tradition, even if a portion of the basic motifs originates in the ancient repertory. The precious character of these manuscripts, which owes at least as much to the ornamentation as to the figural images,[87] enhances the sacred character of the books, which is also manifested by the prestige bindings of gospel books meant to be placed on the altar.[88] Through these same characteristics, the books, or at least the most precious among them, became heirlooms, not exhausting this word in its current weak sense, but designating items, like those mentioned by M. Godelier in another context, which one does not use, but of which one cannot divest oneself.[89] With these considerations, we pass beyond the immediate context of the Byzantine world; here is not the place to debate the connections between aesthetic pleasure, beauty, and sacred character. We must acknowledge that such pleasure of the reader exists and is meaningful even when it is accompanied by other aims, such as luxury display intended to bring pleasure to oneself or to honor the one to whom the book is offered, the intention to please God or Christ or a holy person through the institution to which one offers a book, or the goal of rendering homage to God directly by a book such as a deluxe gospel that would be placed on the altar. It would lead us too far afield to investigate what, in these illustrated manuscripts, stems from a universal human element tied to image and illustration and what is proper to the culture in which they developed. But it is good to recall that Byzantine illustrated manuscripts could not but be cultivated in a favorable milieu where the conditions of education and culture, of social prestige, and of economic means were combined, allowing them to be conceived, executed, and appreciated at once.

86 Cf. above.

87 For a reflection on the importance of ornamentation, see Grabar, *Mediation*.

88 See, on this aspect, the remark of Ševčenko, *Metaphrastian Menologion*, p. 205, showing that the illustration of menologia serves more to accompany than to illustrate the text.

89 Godelier, *L'énigme du don*.

CHAPTER 2

The Study of Byzantine Illustrated Manuscripts since Kurt Weitzmann: Art Historical Methods and Approaches

Ioli Kalavrezou and Courtney Tomaselli

Byzantine manuscripts, especially illustrated ones, have been objects of interest and fascination ever since they were brought to the west during the Middle Ages. With their bright and colorful images and golden embellishments, the most luxurious of these illustrated manuscripts were valued not only by collectors for their material and aesthetic qualities but also by humanist scholars for their texts. After the conquest of Constantinople by the Ottomans in 1453, Byzantine manuscripts became more widely available for purchase. For example, King Francis I of France sent the humanist antiquarian and scholar, Pierre Gilles, to Constantinople in 1544 to buy as many Byzantine manuscripts from the Ottomans as he could locate.[1] As a result of such expeditions, as well as private collecting initiatives, today many of the finest Byzantine manuscripts are housed in the major libraries of Western Europe such as the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris and the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana in Rome.[2]

Modern academic study of these collections of illustrated manuscripts began in the 19th century with scholars such as Nikodim Kondakov and J.J. Tikkanen, both of whom published important foundational studies employing differing approaches to the material. Kondakov drew on illustrations from manuscripts from a wide variety of textual genres to develop an aesthetic history of Byzantine Art.[3] Tikkanen focused his efforts on an intensive study of one particular type of illustrated text, the psalter.[4] Other texts of interest, as for example the Octateuchs, captured the minds of this first generation of Byzantinists. Today illustrated manuscripts are studied not only for their

1 Gilles' primary mission was unsuccessful due to the untimely death of King Francis I. He did, however, study the topography of Byzantine Constantinople. Gilles, *Constantinople*, trans. K. Byrd, pp. xiii-xiv, xx.

2 There are over 4,000 Greek manuscripts in each of these libraries, while both the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana in Florence and the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana in Venice have approximately 1,200. Olivier, *Répertoire*; Nelson, "The Italian Appreciation", p. 209.

3 Kondakov, *Histoire de l'Art Byzantin*.

4 Tikkanen, *Psalterillustration,* vol. I.

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inherent value but also because they provide valuable social and historical information. That is, new approaches have led scholars to advance beyond the straightforward relation of text and image to questions of patronage, workshop practices, political commentaries and other such issues, which offer insights into traditions and customs in Byzantine society over the centuries.

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, seeking out, cataloguing, and publishing manuscript miniatures comprised a large part of early scholarly efforts, as many of the institutional catalogues and initial publications of images that we now take for granted had not yet been published. Iconographic studies, such as those by Gabriel Millet or Jean Ebersolt, were as important for the number of manuscript images published as they were for their nascent contribution to the study of Byzantine iconography.[5] Efforts to discover and to publish new manuscripts continued throughout the 20th century and remain a concern for manuscript scholars.[6] In fact new manuscripts continue to be found.[7]

Initially the study of illustrated manuscripts was possible only through either the published reproduction of their images as drawings or paintings or by seeing the individual manuscripts in person. A watershed moment for the study of illustrated Byzantine manuscripts occurred in the 1920s with the rise of photography as a medium for the dissemination of images in publications. Miniatures could be examined in great detail without necessitating extensive travel, greatly opening up access to and awareness of these manuscripts and their illustrations. Henri Omont's publication of the manuscripts of the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris (1929), with its extensive corpus of manuscript miniatures chosen for publication in photographic form, was an especially important contribution.[8]

These early scholars and their publications laid down the foundations upon which Kurt Weitzmann would build. After publishing a chronological study of the development of style in Byzantine manuscripts, *Die byzantinische*

5 Millet, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'évangile*; Ebersolt, *La miniature byzantine*.

6 The Library of Congress mounted a number of expeditions to locations such as Jerusalem and Saint Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai after World War II with the goal of photographing their manuscript collections for microfilm. Clark, *Checklist of Manuscripts in Jerusalem;* id.., *Checklist of Manuscripts in Mount Sinai*. Princeton University and the University of Michigan (Ann Arbor) sent a series of expeditions to Saint Catherine's Monastery from 1956-1965. Weitzmann/Galavaris, *Sinai*.

7 Collections of manuscripts, such as those at the Ivan Dujčev Centre in Sofia, Bulgaria, became accessible in the 1990s with the widespread fall of communist regimes. Džurova, *Manuscrits grecs enluminés*; ead., *Répertoire*.

8 Omont, *Miniatures*.

Buchmalerei des IX. und X. Jahrhunderts, he was invited to take a position at Princeton University.[9] There, he and his colleagues began to collaborate on publications of a variety of manuscripts with the intension of making available all images from single manuscripts or groups of manuscripts with the same content.[10] Weitzmann's methodology for the study of Byzantine manuscripts was influenced by approaches used in 19th and 20th-century textual criticism.[11] His approach assumed that cycles of images followed the same lifespan as those of texts, degrading over time through the process of copying to produce recensions (variations) from the original work. The goal of this approach was to determine what he believed was the prototypical cycle of images created for a particular text centuries earlier by comparing all its extant copies (versions). Theoretically, in this way scholars could reconstruct earlier books and images that are now lost. Weitzmann and several of his students applied this approach in a number of studies published under the series "Studies in Manuscript Illumination".[12]

Another series that provided scholars with complete reproductions of images from largely unpublished illustrated manuscripts was the "Bibliothèque des Cahiers Archéologiques" edited by André Grabar.[13] Also fundamental to the dissemination of manuscript images was the publication of large groups of manuscripts from Mount Athos, which were printed in color and accompanied by basic information about the codices, the location of the miniatures in relation to the text and descriptions of the illustrations. Volumes with high-quality color reproductions of manuscript images have reshaped the study of illustrated manuscripts, allowing art historians to fully realize the exceptional appearance and detail of this art. Also individual monographs began to be published in color, which made their study much more accessible as for exam-

9 Weitzmann, *Buchmalerei des IX. und X. Jahrhunderts*.

10 For "The Illustrations of the Manuscripts of the Septuagint" series see Weitzmann/Kessler, *The Cotton Genesis*; id./Bernabò, *The Byzantine Octateuchs*; DeWald, *Vaticanus Graecus 1927;* id., *Vaticanus Graecus 752*.

11 Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex,* pp. 182-92 ("The Relationship between Text Criticism and Picture Criticism"); *The New Testament,* ed. B.F. Westcott/F.J.A. Hort.

12 Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*; id., *Greek Mythology*; id., *The Joshua Roll*; Martin, *Heavenly Ladder*; Galavaris, *Liturgical Homilies*; Weitzmann, *Sacra Parallela*.

13 For relevant volumes in the series "Bibliothèque des cahiers archéologiques" see Dufrenne, *Pantocrator 61*; Der Nersessian, *Londres, Add. 19.352*; Velmans, *Le Tétraévangile de la Laurentienne*; Grabar, *Les manuscrits grecs enluminés*; Lassus, *Livre des Rois*; Cutler, *Aristocratic Psalters*.

ple the publication of the illustrated manuscripts of Mount Athos.[14] In today's world the digital facsimile, and its availability online, is the culmination of the drive to make manuscripts and their images more accessible.

With the increasing availability of this material through these series of publications and new catalogues, scholars began to look more closely at the role and place of the miniatures in relation to the texts and to the codex as a whole, as for example the publication of the illustrated chronicle of Skylitzes by Vasiliki Tsamakda.[15] New avenues, new questions for investigation, could now be addressed. Weitzmann's approach and the subsequent publications by some of his students, while exploring questions of origin for the images in these codices, made accessible numerous illustrated manuscripts of different kinds. On the other hand, with this method the manuscripts were not given the attention they deserved as individual created objects. The looking back for prototypes prevented, so to speak, the looking forward to investigate, for example, why they illustrated a specific text or had certain themes or types of iconography not necessarily found in earlier versions of the same text. John Lowden specifically challenged Weitzmann's methodological approach in his study of the Octateuchs. In addition to questioning the reconstruction of lost illustrated manuscripts, he pointed out that not all alterations to images can or should be viewed as errors. Artists were not always trying to make exact copies of their models, but could and did adapt them as necessary.[16]

Manuscripts like gospel books and lectionaries, which would have been read during the liturgy, began to be explored in relation to the service itself. Lectionaries, for example, were studied more closely to determine what impact the liturgy might have had on their illustrations. Beyond the known transformation of the Last Supper into a "liturgical" Communion of the Apostles, referencing the Eucharistic liturgy, in 11th-century manuscripts other scenes were compositionally more hieratic and symmetrical with frontal figures, visually evoking formal performances. The 11th-century lectionary Athos, Dionysiou Monastery, cod. 587 (Fig. 104) has a number of scenes, especially those depicting Christ, where symmetry is paramount. Scenes directly referencing liturgical moments are also introduced as, for example, the depiction of the Elevation of the Cross in Hagia Sophia, or Christ teaching among the Doctors where he is seated on a *synthronon* as if in the apse of a church.[17]

14 Pelekanidis, *The Treasures of Mount Athos*; Vocotopoulos, *Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts*.

15 Tsamakda, *Skylitzes*. On this manuscript, see also chapter 5 in this volume.

16 Lowden, *The Octateuchs*.

17 Pelekanidis, *The Treasures of Mount Athos*, vol. 1, figs. 199, 203, 206, 239, 252 and others.

Some scholars focused on the image cycles inspired by both gospel narrative and the church festal cycle that now could also be found in books intended for liturgical usage.[18] Others looked at gospel prefaces and liturgy.[19] Turning to psalters, Anthony Cutler determined that a number of 11th-century examples were enriched with images of liturgists such as Basil and Chrysostom, as well as many individual saints. This phenomenon may also be observed in church decoration and devotional objects of the same period.[20] Thus it could be shown that manuscripts also displayed the new iconographic trends in the programmatic illustration of their texts. Scholarly interest and investigation into the role of the liturgy in manuscript illustration, especially in the production of lectionaries, has continued and numerous studies have further contributed to the important place that liturgies had in the inspiration and creation of new images.[21]

A puzzling relationship between text and image in a small group of manuscripts from the period shortly after Iconoclasm gave rise to new ways of thinking about how illustrations could relate to a text. Three psalters have among their literal illustrations images that act as commentary, not to the text they accompany, but on issues related to recent historical events. These events focused on the theological debates surrounding the role of the image in Christian theology. In her study of the Khludov psalter, Kathleen Corrigan noted the intensely polemical, anti-iconoclast nature of this iconography.[22]

Manuscripts that had unusual iconography and did not appear to conform to the standard text/image relations further drew the attention of scholars. Leslie Brubaker was able to demonstrate the even more complex role given to the full-page illustrations accompanying an imperial copy of the homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus.[23] Here the images seem to relate more to the sermons

18 Tsuji, "Paris. gr. 74"; id., "Byzantine Gospel"; Der Nersessian, "Recherches".

19 Galavaris, *Liturgical Homilies.*

20 Cutler, "Liturgical Strata".

21 Lowden, "Luxury and Liturgy"; Dolezal, *Lectionary*; ead., "Illuminating the liturgical word"; Evangelatou, "Liturgy". For an overview of the various types of illustrated liturgical books see Ševčenko, "Illuminating the Liturgy".

22 Corrigan, *The Ninth Century Psalters*; ead., *Visual Polemics*. In addition to the Khludov psalter (Moscow, State Historical Museum, Sobr. A.I. Khludova 129d), published in facsimile-like reproduction by Ščepkina, *Miniatjury*, there is also the psalter Athos, Pantokrator Monastery, cod. 61 published by Pelekanidis, *The Treasures of Mount Athos,* vol. 3, pp. 134-51 and the fragmentary psalter in *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 20. Dufrenne, *Pantocrator 61.*

23 Brubaker, *The Illustrated Copy*; ead., "Politics, Patronage and Art"; ead., *Vision and Meaning*.

of the contemporary patriarch and various political and theological controversies than to the homilies present in the manuscript. Elaborating on the earlier study by Serarpie Der Nersessian, Brubaker was able to show how the images could act as commentary and exegesis, infusing standard texts with new meanings that addressed contemporary socio-political and theological issues.[24] Illustration was also employed as an independent and additional commentary in the 11th-century psalter *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 752. In this manuscript the images are inserted within the *catena*, the commentary text that accompanies the psalms. Although they take their queues from phrases in the commentaries, they draw associations with contemporary imperial and ecclesiastical issues, more specifically ones that relate to the Schism of the churches of 1054.[25]

As the recognition and study of unusual imagery increased, scholars gradually questioned the identity and possible motivations of the patrons who commissioned these works. A number of manuscripts have portraits of individuals who have in the past been seen as patrons.[26] This is most likely the case for the manuscript known as the Leo Bible (*Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. gr. 1), which contains a full-page image depicting Leo Sakelarios offering his book to the Virgin (Fig. 63).[27] However, especially in the case of imperial portraits, these were usually visual commemorations of the recipient of the manuscripts and not donor portraits.

Portraiture is rare in manuscripts and does not provide the best way to study manuscript patronage. Scholars turned to different criteria to unearth a manuscript's patron. In a study of 13th-century manuscript patronage, Hugo Buchthal and Hans Belting sought to associate a stylistically similar group of 15 liturgical manuscripts with a single patron whose monogram appears in one of them (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1158; Fig. 99).[28] Scholars immediately began to attribute other manuscripts to this group in the years following the book's publication.[29] After the number of manuscripts attributed to this group rose to 22, including a high proportion of lectionaries, Robert Nelson and John Lowden suggested that the evidence for this group no longer supported the notion of a single patron assembling a short-lived atelier, instead

24 Der Nersessian, "Paris Gr. 510".

25 Kalavrezou/Trahoulia/Sabar, "Critique of the Emperor".

26 Spatharakis, *Portrait*.

27 Mango, "The date of Codex Vat. Regin. Gr. 1"; Canart, *La Bible du Patrice Léon*.

28 Buchthal/Belting, *Patronage*.

29 Hutter, *Corpus*, vol. 3.1, pp. 344-5; Maxwell, "Another Lectionary"; Marava-Chatzinicolaou/Toufexi-Paschou, *Catalogue*, vol. 2, pp. 70-80.

they proposed a more fluid collaboration between craftsmen and individual patrons.[30]

Many other manuscript scholars have continued to take up the question of patronage as part of their analyses. In some cases a manuscript's patron (ktetor) is specified, often in a colophon or dedicatory inscription.[31] Or the patron, if not directly listed, might be deduced through some contribution to a manuscript's contents. For example, the Seraglio Octateuch contains a reduced version of the *Letter of Aristeas*, which Isaac Komnenos, son of Emperor Alexios I, specified that he edited for this manuscript in the title he gave to his paraphrase.[32]

Far more subtle clues from a manuscript's internal evidence have been used to propose potential patrons, sometimes with great success. In her publication on the Paris Gregory (*Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 510; Figs. 132-135), Leslie Brubaker turned to the subtle but distinctive clues left in the manuscript's images and specially marked passages of texts. By considering contemporary writings and historical circumstances, she was able to decisively demonstrate that the patron of the manuscript must have been Patriarch Photios of Constantinople.[33] This approach, which looks beyond the manuscript itself to external sources of evidence, has continued to produce fruitful results. Recently, Kathleen Maxwell intensively investigated a 13th-century illustrated bilingual gospel book in the context of its historical milieu. She suggested that the manuscript was commissioned by the Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos as a diplomatic gift following the 1274 Council of Lyon and the attempted union of churches.[34]

The Theodore Psalter (*London, British Library, Add. 19352) is one of the few manuscripts for which the patron, scribe, artist, and exact date of production are known. It was made in 1066 at the Studios Monastery in Constantinople by the monk Theodore of Caesarea, who acted as both scribe and artist. We have this information because the psalter preserves its colophon, which is uncommon for Byzantine manuscripts. Its patron and immediate recipient was the current abbot of Stoudios, Michael. He is portrayed within the psalter offering

30 Nelson/Lowden, "The Palaeologina Group".

31 Spatharakis, *Corpus*.

32 Uspenskij, *L'Octateuque de la bibliothèque du Sérail,* pp. 1-33; Anderson, "The Seraglio Octateuch".

33 Brubaker, *Vision and Meaning,* pp. 201-38 and 400-16. Early on, Meyer Schapiro emphasized the importance of considering why a particular work might have been produced at a particular point in time in his article on the Joshua Roll. See Schapiro, "The Place of the Joshua-Roll".

34 Maxwell, *Between Constantinople and Rome*.

his commission to Christ and there is a prayer offered on his behalf before the odes.[35]

From the production of the Theodore Psalter we learn of a scribe who was also skilled in the art of painting. Several art historians have been able to demonstrate that Theodore was not an exception, and have published on a number of manuscripts for which the scribe was also the artist.[36] Robert Nelson studied the work of the well-known 13th-century scribe Theodore Hagiopetrites, who painted only the initials and decorative ornaments and not the Evangelist portraits in his manuscripts. Of his 17 known manuscripts all but one are signed by him, which makes him unusual.[37]

One of the early studies on workshop practices for the illustration of manuscripts was carried out by Ihor Ševčenko on the splendid codex in the Vatican, the Menologion of Basil II (*Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1613; Figs. 118-119).[38] Through a careful codicological study he was able to determine the process the painters used to divide among themselves the ambitious task of producing 430 illustrations. It was possible to determine this because each illustration is accompanied by the name of the artist in the margin. Ševčenko was able to show that each painter received a bifolio and was responsible for painting two illustrations on each side of the parchment. When bound, the images on each folio had recto and verso painted by the same artist. This was probably an imperial request and thus a very special production with eight painters working simultaneously.

The two illustrated manuscripts of the homilies of Iakovos Kokkinobaphos (*Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 1208 [Figs. 141-142] and *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1162) introduce an example of author and painter collaborating to create a new illustrative program for a newly produced text. The monk Iakovos, who authored six homilies on the life of the Virgin, worked with the artist now known as the Kokkinobaphos Master to produce a fully illustrated copy of these homilies for a member of the imperial court, the Sebastokratorissa Eirene, sister-in-law to Emperor Manuel I Komnenos. These images are interspersed within the text to create narrative and exegesis that relies on both the textual and the visual to produce a totality of meaning. Author and artist must have worked together closely for this project to have been implemented so successfully.[39]

35 Barber/Lowden, *Theodore Psalter*.

36 Corrigan, "Constantine's Problems"; Hutter, "Decorative Systems".

37 Nelson, *Theodore Hagiopetrites*.

38 Ševčenko, "The Illuminators".

39 Hutter, *Die Homilien*; Hutter/Canart, *Marienhomiliar*; Anderson, "The Illustrated Ser-

Scholars in recent decades, while continuing to investigate issues such as text/image relationship and patronage, and to mine manuscript images for their visual evidence of other topics, have begun to employ new methodological lenses through which to view illustrated manuscripts. Some have focused on specific yet understudied elements of manuscript illustration such as elaborated initial letters. Traditional approaches such as stylistic analysis and the careful distinguishing of morphological changes, especially of non-figural initial letters, continue to remain vital tools for their study. These have allowed scholars to better understand the transmission of forms over time and geographical space.[40]

But initial letters have increasingly received attention as important and even necessary components of meaning that could reflect larger currents of thought or even social trends in Byzantine society. A recent publication by Emma Maayan-Fanar is devoted entirely to the study of aniconic initial letters and their spread in the late 9th century, which is attributed to the intellectual milieu of post-iconoclastic Byzantium.[41] The repertoire of elaborated initials related to hunting developed in the two Kokkinobaphos manuscripts are testimony to the popularity of hunting and falconry amongst the 12th-century Byzantine aristocracy.[42] And anthropomorphic and zoomorphic initial letters that flourished in 11th and 12th-century manuscripts have also garnered attention for their often-vital exegetical roles.[43] In one recent study by Karin Krause, a careful examination of the anthropomorphic initial letters (of 11th and 12th century) in manuscripts of the homilies of John Chrysostom determined that segments of his writings that were newly incorporated into the liturgy were those most likely to receive illustrated initials.[44] Their concurrent appearance in lectionaries and their visual role in the physical performance of the liturgy are now being examined as scholars consider the interaction of these images with the viewer.[45]

It is important to mention that illustrations in Byzantine manuscripts have long been utilized as tools in research not specifically focused on the manuscripts or their images. They are selectively mined for the visual information

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mons"; Linardou, *Reading two Byzantine illustrated books*; ead., "The Kokkinobaphos Manuscripts Revisited".

40 Anderson, *Two Twelfth-Century Centers*; Brubaker, "The Introduction of painted initials"; Džurova/Velinova, "La parole et l'image".

41 Maayan-Fanar, *Revelation through the Alphabet*.

42 Anderson, "The Illustrated Sermons", pp. 96-100.

43 Evangelatou, "**The exegetical initials**"; ead., "From Word into Image".

44 Krause, *Homilien*.

45 Nelson, "Empathetic Vision"; Betancourt, *The Proleptic Image*.

they provide to art historical studies on a seemingly endless variety of topics that examine a variety of media. One noteworthy example is their use in studies that attempt to reconstruct elements of Byzantine everyday life and culture that aren't well documented in the material record. Due to a lack of preservation, studies of Byzantine dress, especially imperial and aristocratic dress, often rely heavily on manuscript images.[46] A recent publication that attempts to reconstruct aspects of the lives of ordinary women in Byzantium, especially their appearance, relies heavily on a variety of manuscript sources for incidental visual evidence.[47]

Other art historians have attempted to apply methodological frameworks from fields outside of art history to the study of Byzantine illustrated manuscripts, as has been the case for the study of other media. Although the systematic application of theories and methodologies from the field of gender studies has never been attempted for Byzantine illustrated manuscripts, interest in and awareness of them has led a number of manuscript scholars to consider issues of gender as part of their work. Female patronage and education are at the center of many such investigations, notably those related to illustrated homilies of Iakovos of Kokkinobaphos, at least one of which was produced for a powerful female aristocrat. Sebastokratorissa Eirene's agency in the manuscript's commissioning has been addressed in a few studies that also consider how her literary or theological interests may or may not be articulated through certain aspects of the iconography.[48] Most recently, Maria Evangelatou delved into what the two illustrated manuscripts might reveal regarding gender dynamics and tensions.[49]

The visual construction of feminine identity in its various guises has also been the subject of several recent studies that touch on issues of patronage and the life-experiences of high-ranking women.[50] Conversely, Bjørnholt and James have considered visual expressions of Byzantine masculinity through an investigation of several miniatures from the Madrid Skylitzes (*Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Vitr. 26-2; Fig. 40).[51] Deliberate investigation of narrative images of women in manuscripts has revealed how their bodies might be altered as visual exegesis to the text. For example, Eve's body is shown sexless

46 Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality of Images*, especially chapters 1-3; Ball, *Byzantine Dress*.

47 Meyer, *An Obscure Portrait*.

48 Anderson, "Anna Komnene"; Linardou, "The Couch of Solomon"; ead., "Mary and her Books"; Evangelatou, "Pursuing Salvation".

49 Evangelatou, "Threads of Power".

50 Hilsdale, "Constructing a Byzantine 'Augusta'"; Hennessy, "The Lincoln College Typikon".

51 Bjørnholt/James, "The Man in the Street".

before her expulsion from paradise in some Octateuch miniatures; after her expulsion her body has breasts.[52]

Concern for pictorial agency and reception has also increased. Manuscript images do not simply have a relationship with the texts they accompany; they also have one with the book's viewer and reader. Some images were specifically designed to interact with their viewers and construct a particular kind of experience. How these performative images functioned, and their connection with a manuscript's intended audience, has also become an area of increased interest.[53] A viewer's experience was not restricted to the visual but was multisensory, as texts were most often read aloud and might be accompanied by specific actions, particularly if they were liturgical.[54] Images were also employed to shape and drive narrative, historical or fictional, and through this have an impact on the outside world.[55] These new approaches, from investigating understudied manuscript elements to considering the agency of images, provide promising new avenues of inquiry. Our understanding of Byzantine illuminated manuscripts will grow ever more multifaceted as manuscript scholars continue to develop these and turn to other as yet untried methodologies.

Both the rising awareness of the illustrated manuscript as a distinct material object and of the important information to be gleaned from codicological and paleographic analyses seem to have led to two marked trends in recent manuscript scholarship: monographic studies and interdisciplinary collaborations. There have been a few recent major publications focusing on the style and iconography of a wide variety of manuscript images over large temporal and geographical areas.[56] However, most current major publications and dissertations (excepting catalogues) focus on either one specific manuscript or several of the same genre. But unlike the early series that concentrated primarily on iconographic and stylistic identification and the tracing of miniature cycles, these new studies take into account a wide variety of approaches, many of

52 Meyer, "Eve's Nudity"; ead., "Refracting Christian Truths".

53 In an article on the illustrated theological works of Emperor John VI Kantakouzenos, Ivan Drpić considers beyond how Hesychasm and the political and theological events of the mid to late 14th century informed the production of its illustrations, how some images were specifically designed to interact with their viewers and construct a particular kind of experience: Drpić, "Art, Hesychasm, and Visual Exegesis".

54 Nelson, "Empathetic Vision"; Barber, "In the Presence of the Text".

55 Trahoulia, "Pictorial narrative"; Boeck, "Displacing Byzantium"; ead., *The Art of Being Byzantine*.

56 Džurova, *Byzantinische Miniaturen,* revised edition of ead., *La miniatura bizantina*; Popova/Zakharova/Oretskaya, *The Byzantine miniature*.

which have been discussed above. Most importantly, they attempt to situate the manuscript or group of manuscripts within its specific historical setting.[57]

Such emphasis on the manuscript as a whole has led to a number of collaborative studies involving experts from a variety of disciplines. One of the first publications of this type was devoted to the Barberini Psalter (*Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. gr. 372), and included chapters written by specialists in art history, paleography and codicology.[58] It remains standard to include experts from these particular fields. A few recent efforts have gone beyond this to include scientists, who employ techniques such as spectrophotometric analysis and add yet another valence to the understanding of illuminated manuscripts.[59] Collaborations such as these serve as a reminder of the increasingly diverse skill set that a scholar of Byzantine illuminated manuscripts must possess.

This chapter has repeatedly invoked the illustrated homilies of Iakovos of Kokkinobaphos. The history of their study is a microcosm of the overall field. Over the years these manuscripts have undergone investigation in light of everything from style and iconography to gender relations and the 12th-century intellectual environment. And there remains space for continued study. Their illustrations are multivalent and complex, as is so much Byzantine imagery. Information gleaned from new avenues of inquiry has not necessarily superseded previous scholarship, but has instead greatly augmented our understanding of these manuscripts and the milieu in which they were produced. But in some ways the study of Byzantine illuminated manuscripts has changed little since its inception in the 19th century. Iconographic and stylistic analyses continue to be fundamental, regardless of whatever subsequent methodology might be employed. Careful looking remains at the heart of scholarship as the current generation of art historians builds on previous work and wields an increasingly diverse set of skills, enriching and expanding our understanding of these wonderful objects.

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57 In addition to Kathleen Maxwell's book on Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 54, select publications and dissertations by one author since 2010 include: Boeck, *Imagining the Byzantine Past*; Kominko, *The World of Kosmas*; Wander, *The Joshua Roll*; Lazaris, *Art et science vétérinaire*; Toumpouri, *Barlaam et Joasaph*. An exhaustive bibliography is out of the scope of this chapter. For a more extensive bibliography of publications see Appendix 1 in Parpulov, "The Study of Byzantine Book Illumination", pp. 217-21.

58 Anderson/Canart/Walter, *The Barberini Psalter*. See also Barber/Lowden, *Theodore Psalter*; Bernabò, *La collezione di testi chirurgici*; Canart, *La Bible du Patrice Léon*.

59 Bernabò, *Il Tetravangelo di Rabbula*; Anderson, *The Christian Topography*.

CHAPTER 3

Codicology and Palaeography

Sofia Kotzabassi

The civilisation of Byzantium and the history of the book are intimately linked. In Byzantine days books, in the form of scroll or codex (the two forms existing then), not only existed as independent objects but were depicted in the wall-paintings decorating churches and in illuminated manuscripts, either as independent objects or in the hands of Christ, the Evangelists, the Apostles, the prophets, the hymn writers, the Church Fathers.[1]

Writing Materials

In the early Byzantine period books were mainly written on parchment, although the Byzantines also continued to use papyrus, a writing surface made from the stem of the papyrus reed, which grows chiefly in Egypt. Pliny the elder in his *Natural History* describes how papyrus-makers laid out strips of papyrus side by side, their edges slightly overlapping, then covered them with more strips laid at right angles to the first in the same manner.[2] These were then pounded with a wooden mallet to release the natural glue from the fibrous strips and thus felt the whole into a sheet of writing material that, once smoothed, was ready for use.

Papyrus was cheaper than parchment, and in the East continued to be used even after the Arab conquest of Egypt, mainly for public and private documents and letters, while in the West the Roman Curia used it until the 11th century. Meanwhile, the Byzantines were using parchment for copying works of literature by the 4th century, the most likely reason being that parchment is a stronger and more durable material than papyrus, a product of vegetal origin that survived well in the dry climate of Egypt but not elsewhere.

Parchment was made from the processed skins of certain animals, preferably young. The skin was first soaked for several days in a lime solution, then scraped to remove the hair and any clinging flesh. It was then stretched on a

1 Hunger, *Schreiben und Lesen in Byzanz*, pp. 12-6.

2 See Hendriks, "Pliny, Historia Naturalis"; Holwerda, "Plinius über die Anfertigung von 'charta'".

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frame to dry, before being smoothed with pumice stone and bleached with chalk.[3] The best quality parchment in Byzantium came from calfskin; cows, goats and sheep were also used, but these parchments were less prized because they were darker and coarser. For even finer quality and a particularly attractive product, especially when the material was to be used for costly illuminated manuscripts, the parchment was made from the skins of unborn animals. Manuscripts of such quality were considerably more expensive, because so many skins were required to produce the quantity of parchment needed and the usable (i.e. free of skeletal holes) area of each was so limited.[4]

Besides being costly, parchment was also relatively hard to obtain since there were not always enough skins available. In an interesting comment in one of his letters to Theodora Raoulaina, the niece of Michael VIII Palaiologos (1261-1282) and a noted manuscript copyist, the scholarly patriarch of Constantinople Gregory II of Cyprus wrote that he was unable to copy the manuscript (mentioned in the text) at that time because people were observing a period of fasting and thus there were no skins on the market.[5]

It was the superior durability of parchment compared to other writing materials, however, that made the Byzantines continue to use it even after paper had become widely available, in the early decades of the 13th century. The parallel use of the two materials is attested not only by the surviving manuscripts but also by the words of scholarly letter-writers. Patriarch Gregory of Cyprus, who in the letter to Theodora Raoulaina mentioned above spoke of copying a manuscript of Demosthenes on parchment, elsewhere asks to have some (Eastern-type, bombycine) paper sent to him.[6]

Paper had, of course, been discovered centuries earlier, in China. It was introduced to Byzantium by the Arabs, who began using it in the early part of the 9th century.[7] Economic and practical reasons led to its widespread use in the Palaiologan era: it was cheaper and handier, and thus more serviceable

3 Schreiner, "Zur Pergamentherstellung".

4 On the costs of manuscript production in Byzantium, see Schreiner, "Kosten der Handschriftenherstellung in Byzanz".

5 Gregory of Cyprus, *Letters*, ed. S. Kotzabassi, p. 159, letter 18.32-7: τὸ δὲ βιβλίον τὸν Δημοσθένην ἐπισκήπτειν τῷ γραφεῖ ἐπιτάττεις, ἄστικτον τηρεῖν διόλου καὶ ἀκηλίδωτον. Ἔσται γε οὕτω, καὶ ἐπισκήψομεν ἀλλ᾽ ἐπειδὰν τοῦ μετεγγράφειν ἐνσταίη καιρός, νυνὶ δὲ οὐκ ἐνέστηκεν, ὅτι μηδὲ ἔαρ ἔτι, οὐδὲ κρεωφαγοῦσιν ἄνθρωποι, οὐδὲ δέρρεις προβάτων, εἰς γραμμάτων ὑποδοχήν, ἐσεῖται δὲ ὅμως ταῦτα μετὰ μικρόν, καὶ τότε καὶ γράφειν ἐπιβαλοῦμεν, ἄφθονα τὰ τῶν γραμμάτων ἔχοντες ὑποκείμενα. For Theodora Raoulaina as a commissioner of manuscripts see below, p. 50 note 83.

6 Gregory of Cyprus, *Letters*, ed. S. Eustratiades, p. 78, letter 78.

7 Irigoin, "Les débuts de l'emploi du papier"; see also Oikonomides, "Writing Materials".

to the scholars of that age, who often copied the manuscripts they needed themselves.

Two types of paper were used in Byzantium: the Eastern and the Western type.[8] The first (bombycine) was the kind of paper the Byzantines had adopted from the Arabs. It was made from vegetable fibres (linen, jute, etc.) macerated to produce a pulp that when spread out and dried created sheets of paper.[9] The Western-type paper that the Byzantines imported from Italy was made in much the same way. The main difference between the two was that the Western type was dried on framed screens of fine wire mesh that left its mark on the resulting sheet of paper, which when dry had a pattern of vertical ribs (chain lines, vergures) and wavy horizontal lines (laid lines, pontuseaux). From the final quarter of the 13th century the Italian paper mills introduced a design into the mesh, representing the manufacturer's mark; this became known as the watermark.[10]

Western-type paper is slightly yellowish, with laid lines that are fairly widely spaced in the 14th century (a score measuring between 34 and 52 mm across) but become denser *c.*1380, and almost always has a watermark. By the post-Byzantine period a fairly white and glossy quality of Western-type paper was being made. Eastern-type paper, by contrast, is thick, dark, soft, sometimes more absorbent, uniform in structure, and never has a watermark. Horizontal lines can occasionally be seen, but they are irregularly spaced and never parallel, usually appearing in converging pairs of three. Western-type paper wholly replaced the Eastern type after about the middle of the 14th century, while parchment remained in limited use.[11]

By the mid-Byzantine era Byzantium's imperial chancellery was using Eastern-type paper for its documents, except for correspondence with foreign rulers.[12] On the other hand, several surviving imperial documents of the late Byzantine period are written on parchment.[13]

8 Irigoin, "Papiers orientaux et papiers occidentaux".

9 Irigoin, "Les premiers manuscrits grecs"; id., "Les débuts de l'emploi du papier", and id., "Papiers orientaux et papiers occidentaux", pp. 45-54.

10 In some Byzantine manuscripts *c.*1300 we find Western-type paper with no watermark. Irigoin, "La datation"; Harlfinger, "Wasserzeichen".

11 For cases of parallel use of parchment and paper, or of Eastern-type and Western-type paper, see below, p. 40 note 23.

12 The earliest example of an imperial document written on Eastern-type paper is one written by Constantine IX Monomachos in 1052 for the Great Lavra Monastery on Mount Athos.

13 See Oikonomidès, "Le support matériel".

In some cases a scarcity of writing materials combined with a saving disposition led scribes to re-use parchments. Manuscripts that for a variety of reasons were not being used, whether because they had been damaged or because their contents were of no further interest or use (e.g. legal texts), were subjected to a special abrading process to erase the existing text and create a new blank surface. These manuscripts are called palimpsests. The re-use of parchments is more common in certain provinces of the Byzantine empire, such as Palestine, Mount Sinai and Southern Italy where, perhaps for economic reasons, new parchment was not available. Sheets of parchment from scrolls were also used in the same way, cut to size for binding in a codex and the existing text erased.[14]

This treatment could not, of course, restore the parchment to its original condition. Traces of the older writing (inferior script) would remain, discernible to a greater or lesser degree depending on the treatment and the quality of the parchment, either from the scratch marks left by the pen or from residues of metallic substances in the ink used by the earlier scribe. Since for maximum legibility the new text was often written across rather than over the older script, it is often possible to read all or part of the inferior script. One of the most famous examples of this practice is the Archimedes Palimpsest, a manuscript from which works of Archimedes were erased and replaced by a Byzantine *Euchologion*.[15]

In recent decades new multispectral scanning technology has greatly facilitated the reading of palimpsests that scholars a century ago were trying to read using chemical means, which in some cases destroyed the manuscripts.[16]

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14 See the case of the Princeton, University Library, Garrett MS. 24, which is written on leaves cut from older scrolls, as is evident from the dimensions of the book, the arrangement of the text on the recto and the verso, and the stitching uniting the parts of the parchment; see Kotzabassi/Patterson Ševčenko, *Greek Manuscripts at Princeton,* pp. 126-30; see also Perria, *Graphis*, pp. 200-2.

15 For this palimpsest see The Archimedes Palimpsest, Christie's New York, New York 1998 and the website <http://www.archimedespalimpsest.org>; Netz/Noel, *The Archimedes Codex*.

16 See Gruskova, *Untersuchungen zu den griechischen Palimpsesten*; <http://www.rinascimentovirtuale.eu/node/1> (Rinascimento Virtuale/Digitale Palimpsestforschung: A project for the rediscovery and dissemination of Greek palimpsests); Crisci, *I palinsesti di Grottaferrata*; Tchernetska, "A Hand-List of the Greek Palimpsests"; Lucà, *Libri palinsesti greci*. For other examples see Hunger, *Schreiben und Lesen in Byzanz*, pp. 20-2.

Forms of Book

The Byzantine age knew two types of book. The older of these is the scroll, a form associated with papyrus, which for centuries was the predominant writing material in the East and the Byzantine Empire. A papyrus scroll was made by gluing together sheets of papyrus (made as described above) in a long strip with the horizontal fibres on one side and the vertical fibres on the other. Since it was easier to write following than against the grain of the page, the scroll was prepared with the horizontal fibres on the inner side of the scroll (recto) and the vertical on the outer (verso); initially, this side was left blank. Scrolls were commonly made from about 20 sheets of papyrus, but could be of different sizes depending on the size of the sheets and the length of the text to be inscribed (from 3.5 to 10 metres). To read the text, the reader would hold the rolled-up scroll in his left hand and unroll it bit by bit with the right, re-rolling each "page" as he read it.

The need to use both hands to read a scroll was one of the reasons why another form of book came into being in the first centuries of the Christian era. This was the codex, which among other things made looking up passages easier, because the reader could leaf through the book quickly.[17]

According to the *Vita* of Constantine the Great, immediately after the founding of Constantinople Eusebios was bidden by the emperor to order 50 parchment scrolls for the city's churches.[18] By the 5th-6th century the codex had become the predominant form. The scroll remained in use for the emperor's golden bulls, and for liturgical texts. We thus have scrolls from the middle Byzantine period and the late and post-Byzantine eras, mainly with the three divine liturgies (the Liturgies of St Basil, of St John Chrysostom, and of the Presanctified Gifts),[19] while scrolls are depicted in manuscript illuminations and in wall-paintings in the hands of prophets, hymn-writers, co-officiating hierarchs, etc.

A codex is formed of one or more stacks (or "gatherings") of folded sheets of papyrus, parchment or paper; these are called quires. The quires, which are

17 Roberts/Skeat, *The Birth of the Codex*; McCormick, "The Birth of the Codex".

18 Wendel, "Der Bibel-Auftrag Kaiser Konstantins".

19 See e.g. the Scroll with the Divine Liturgy of Saint Basil in Athens, National Library of Greece, cod. 2759 (see Drandaki/Papanikola-Bakirtzi/Tourta, *Heaven and Earth,* cat. no. 67) (compare chapter 21 in this volume) or the famous illustrated Joshua Roll, named after its content, i.e. the sixth book of Old Testament (*Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Pal. gr. 431) of the 10th century (see Weitzmann, *The Joshua Roll*; Mazal, *Josua-Rolle*; Kresten, *Il rotolo di Giosuè*; Wander, *The Joshua Roll*). See also chapter 12 in this volume.

usually formed as quaternia (four bifolia) but can also be ternia (three bifolia), quinia (five bifolia), or sexternia (six bifolia), are placed one above the other and stitched together.[20] The assembled quires would then be bound between a pair of wooden panels and covered with a sheet of leather stretched over the outside of both boards and the spine of the book.[21]

The number of quires could vary from one book to another, but each codex was usually made up of quires with the same number of folia. Some codices have additional folia with illuminations, usually placed at the beginning of the book or at the beginning of each section, e.g. at the beginning of each Gospel in a Tetraevangelon; these could have been taken from older manuscripts.[22] In codices of the 13th and 14th centuries we also find instances of mixed quires: that is, parchment and paper combined (usually the outer folia of the quire are parchment and the inner paper), or parchment quires combined with paper quires, or quires combining Eastern- and Western-type paper.[23]

Before beginning to copy a text, the scribes prepared the writing surface by ruling lines on it, tracing on each sheet vertical lines to mark the margins and horizontal base lines for the lettering to rest on (in some early minuscule scripts the letters hang from the lines rather than standing on them). To do this they marked off a line of tiny holes in the margins of the page, using a pair of compasses, and then traced lines between them with some sharp object (without using ink, as is seen in some Western manuscripts). The format they gave to the page depended on the type of text they were copying (usually two columns for liturgical texts, homilies, hagiological works, Gospel lectionaries, and one column for classical works, texts to be glossed, e.g. philosophical texts, series, etc.) Early (4th/5th-century) manuscripts of the Bible, like the Codex Sinaiticus (S) and the Codex Vaticanus (B),[24] have three or four columns, which

20 For the structure of the codex see Maniaci/Andrist/Canart, *La syntaxe du codex*; see also Perria, *Graphis*, pp. 202-8.

21 For bookbinding see below, pp. 42-3.

22 See e.g. codex Princeton, University Library, Garrett MS. 6, dating from the 12th century, where five illuminations from an older manuscript of the 9th century have been inserted; see Kotzabassi/Patterson Ševčenko, *Greek Manuscripts at Princeton*, pp. 36-7.

23 See the case of Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Pal. gr. 211 which was written (and some of the content is his own work) by the eminent theologian and scholar of the 14th century Nikolaos Kabasilas, who used both paper and parchment (see Kotzabassi, "Ein neues Autographon", esp. p. 189) or that of Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 2207 in which both Eastern- and Western-type paper were used (see Lilla, *Codices Vaticani graeci*, pp. 168-74).

24 Codex Sinaiticus (S) is now in the British Library (*London, British Library, Add. 43725; see also its website <http://www.codexsinaiticus.org>) and the Vaticanus (B) in the Vati-

is probably a hang-over from the use of papyrus. Fine quality manuscripts, where the scribe was not concerned with economising on parchment, usually have broad margins.[25] Leaves with full-page illuminations are not ruled, in fine quality manuscripts at least, but there are exceptions.

Ruling patterns rarely exist in paper manuscripts, and where they do they usually define only the outer margins, since the laid lines help the scribe write evenly.

Byzantine scribes, as C.R. Gregory has observed, had an eye to the aesthetic result of their labours. Thus, in parchment manuscripts they placed the bifolia they had prepared so that the first leaf of the codex was always the smoother and lighter coloured flesh side,[26] and facing pages were always of the same kind (two lighter or two darker).

For some very special manuscripts, the parchment was dyed purple and the text written in gold or silver ink. Among the best known purple codices extant today are the famous 6th-century Codex Purpureus Petropolitanus (Saint Petersburg, Russian National Library, gr. 537),[27] leaves of which are preserved in the libraries of the Monastery of St John the Theologian in Patmos, the Byzantine and Christian Museum in Athens, the Museum of Byzantine Culture in Thessaloniki, the British Library, the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York, and the Austrian National Library in Vienna, and three illuminated codices, the *Genesis* in the Austrian National Library (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vind. theol. gr. 31; Figs. 67-68),[28] the Codex Rossanesis (Gospels; Rossano, Museo Diocesano di arte sacra, cod. 1)[29] and the Sinope Codex (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. suppl. gr. 1286),[30] are illuminated.

Although in most cases the scribes did not number the pages of their manuscripts, they did number the quires, to help the bookbinder arrange them in the correct order. Quaternia were numbered with Greek numerals, which were called *custodes* (guardians), and were written either in minuscule or majuscule characters. The numbers were placed in the upper right or left or bottom right corner or in the middle of the first folio (recto) and usually in the bottom right

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can Library (*Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1209).

25 The ruling patterns used in Greek codices have been collected by J.-H. Sautel based on the file prepared by J. Leroy; see Sautel, *Répertoire de réglures*.

26 This observation, known as the *lex Gregory*, was made by C.R. Gregory during his study of New Testament manuscripts; see Gregory, "Les cahiers des manuscrits grecs".

27 See the facsimile edition Tselikas, *Porphyrous codex*.

28 Zimmermann, *Wiener Genesis*.

29 Cavallo/Gribomont/Loerke, *Codex purpureus Rossanensis*.

30 Grabar, *Évangéliaire de Sinope*.

corner of the last verso of the quire.[31] In some later manuscripts, numbering was omitted and instead the first word of the following quaternion was written, horizontally or vertically, on the last verso of the preceding one (*réclamants*).[32]

Bookbinding

Once the lettering and illumination of the manuscript was complete, the codex went to the bookbinder. Binding was essential to protect the codex from wear. The Byzantines used a different technique from that employed by Western bookbinders.[33] The quires were stitched in such a way as not to create bulges on the spine. This was achieved by making a cut at the point where the needle passed through, while two "cheeks" secured the threads at the top and bottom of the spine. The block of quires was then attached to the wooden boards that formed the outer cover of the codex. On three sides of the wooden boards there was a groove, which in some cases held the book's peg-and-strap fastenings; these were usually strips of leather, simple or braided, which were secured to the corresponding wooden board to hold the codex closed, for these books had a tendency to open, especially when written on parchment. The spine was covered with cloth, which extended part way over the wooden boards, and the leather covering was placed over this. The leather covering was usually simply tooled with a geometric pattern; stamped decoration appears in the 15th century. Codices were placed horizontally on the shelves and supported, to protect the end sheets, on metal bosses (posts, amygdala, rosettes) in the corners and/or the centre.[34]

Unfortunately, the number of original Byzantine bindings extant is very limited, most having been destroyed or replaced. The number of costly "treasure" bindings is even smaller, although for these we do have the information provided by depictions in illuminations and wall-paintings.[35] In these bindings

31 Placing the *custodes* in the margin meant that they could be lost if the margin was trimmed when the book was rebound.

32 This custom reflects Western influence.

33 For Byzantine bindings see Van Regemorter, "La reliure des manuscrits grecs"; ead., "La reliure byzantine" (both are now reprinted in ead., *Binding Structures in the Middle Ages*, pp. 71-105, 247-312); Grosdidier de Matons/Hoffmann, "La couture des reliures byzantines"; Szirmai, *Medieval Bookbinding*, esp. pp. 62-92; Canart/Grosdidier de Matons/Hoffmann, "L' analyse technique"; see also Perria, *Graphis*, pp. 217-9.

34 For the technical terms relating to Byzantine bookbinding see Atsalos, "Sur quelques termes".

35 Hunger, *Schreiben und Lesen in Byzanz*, pp. 32-5.

the wooden boards were covered with embroidered silk or velvet cloth, like some they have the monogramm of the Palaeologans,[36] or with ornamental silver panels that in some cases are combined with enamel work and/or gemstones, or ivory panels decorated with scenes of the Bible or icons of saints etc., like some manuscripts now in the Treasury of St Mark's and the Marciana Library in Venice, which obviously came from Constantinople.[37]

Dating the Manuscripts

Scribes and Annotations

There are different ways of dating Byzantine manuscripts. The simplest, of course, is based on bibliographical or patronal annotations on the manuscript. Some scribes placed a colophon at the end of the codex, with their own name and that of the person who commissioned the work.[38] Such notes are often accompanied by a record of the date when the copy was made (year from the creation of the world, indictional year, day and month) and sometimes by such additional information as the name of the emperor or patriarch, or the abbot of the monastery, or some other important public figure of the day. The annotations preserved on codices belonging to Archbishop Arethas of Caesarea (late 9th-early 10th century) are especially interesting, for in addition to the names of the scribe and the purchaser they also include the cost of the manuscript.[39]

Where they include a date, such notes (which may be metrical) provide the only sure means of dating a manuscript. But they are found on relatively few manuscripts, either because they were written on the last pages and have been lost, these being most susceptible to damage, or because subsequent owners deliberately removed evidence of their origin.

Writing Materials and Watermarks

If there is no annotation (even a later addition that could serve as a *terminus ante quem* for the manuscript), dating is based on the writing material and script style. The oldest paper manuscripts date, as we have seen, from the 13th century. Eastern-type paper fell out of use early in the 14th century, replaced

36 See e.g. the codices Meteora, Transfiguration Monastery, cod. 1 and Grottaferrata, Biblioteca della Badia greca, Z.d.1 [gr. 347]. For these and further examples see Irigoin, "Un groupe de reliures byzantines"; Hoffmann, "Une nouvelle reliure byzantine".

37 Hunger, *Schreiben und Lesen in Byzanz*, pp. 34-5 and Hunger, "Bucheinband".

38 Hunger, *Schreiben und Lesen in Byzanz,* pp. 96-9; Perria, *Graphis*, pp. 186-9.

39 Hunger, *Schreiben und Lesen in Byzanz*, pp. 41-2.

entirely by the Western-type paper that was being imported into Byzantium from the second half of the 13th century. Watermarks are determinant in dating manuscripts from the 14th century on, for there exist important collections of watermarks that are based not only on documents but also on dated Greek manuscripts and, given a watermark that matches one in the collection, help date the paper to within roughly five years.[40]

Scripts

The second way of dating a manuscript is by the script. Greek lettering evolved significantly over the period between the 2nd/3rd and the 16th/17th century. For the first millennium manuscripts were written primarily in majuscule, which is defined as the script which is contained between a pair of theoretical horizontal lines.

The main types of majuscule script are the biblical majuscule or biblical uncial (*maiuscola biblica*), the ogival majuscule (*maiuscola ogivale*), the Alexandrian majuscule and the liturgical majuscule. Unlike the ogival, where the letters are elongated and angular, the biblical and liturgical majuscules are rounded styles. The biblical appears earlier, and took its name from the fact that it was the style of script that was used for the major Bible manuscripts of the 4th and 5th centuries.[41] The ogival script, which appeared in about the 7th century and remained in use until the 9th, has two forms: the upright (*diritta*) (Fig. 2) and the sloping (*inclinata*) (Fig. 3).[42] It was used for both theological and secular texts. In the Alexandrian majuscule there is a marked contrast between very narrow (A, E, O, Σ, Y) and wider letters (Δ, H, K, M, N, Π, Φ, Ω).[43] The rounded liturgical script appears in the 9th century and was used exclusively for liturgical manuscripts.[44]

Alongside the majuscule there began to appear a minuscule script, where the letters are contained between four theoretical lines; this is considered to

40 This is how long a mill's stock of paper with a particular watermark is estimated to have lasted. For watermarks collections see, e.g., Briquet, *Les filigranes*; Mošin/Traljić, *Filigranes des XIIIe et XIVe siècles*; Harlfinger, *Wasserzeichen aus griechischen Handschriften*; Piccard, *Die Wasserzeichenkartei* and <http://www.landesarchiv-bw.de/web/44595>); <http://www.watermarkarchive.org/watermarkinitiativ>; <http://www.ksbm.oeaw.ac.at/wz/lit/rep.htm>.

41 Cavallo, *Ricerche*; Orsini, *Manoscritti in maiuscola biblica*; Perria, *Graphis*, pp. 32-42.

42 Crisci, "La maiuscola ogivale diritta"; Leone, "La 'onciale ogivale'"; Perria, *Graphis*, pp. 47-52.

43 Irigoin, "L'onciale grecque de type copte"; Porro, "Manoscritti in maiuscola alessandrina".

44 Orsini, "Genesi e articolazioni della 'maiuscola liturgica'"; Perria, *Graphis*, pp. 52-4.

have evolved from the cursive hand.[45] The use of diacritics and of spaces between the words in the minuscule script facilitates reading, while the smaller size of the letters means that less writing material is required.

It used to be thought the minuscule script was devised in the scriptorium of the Studios Monastery, since the oldest dated manuscript (from 836), the Uspenskij Gospel (Saint Petersburg, National Library of Russia, gr. 219), came from that monastery.[46] However, the discovery of other contemporary manuscripts in minuscule script from Palestine and the Sinai shows that the script evolved in parallel both in Constantinople and elsewhere.[47]

The early minuscule script is purely minuscule, that is, all the letters have a different shape from the majuscule form. The types of minuscule script that appeared in the 9th and 10th centuries are defined on the basis of the research work of major 20th-century scholars, most notably H. Hunger and J. Irigoin. The main types are the *eckige Hakenschrift*, an angular hooked script, the *Keulenschrift* (Fig. 4) and the *minuscule bouletée*[48] or patristic script (*Kirchenlehrerstil*).

The slightly back-sloping *eckige Hakenschrift* has sharp, hook-like angles, uses many contractions and abbreviations, and reflects its origins as a papyrus script. A characteristic example of this type of script is found in the manuscripts of the scribe Anastasios (*Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 1470, *anno* 890) (Fig. 5).[49]

The *Keulenschrift* (10th c.) is an upright script with markedly different thin and thick letters, the shape of the latter resembling a femur, whence the name of the script.[50]

The script H. Hunger called *Kirchenlehrerstil*, because it appeared in patristic manuscripts of the 10th and 11th centuries, and J. Irigoin *minuscule bouletée*, is also an upright script, characterised by the little dots at the ends of the strokes.[51] This script is closer to the *Perlschrift* that became the predominant minuscule script of the 11th and 12th centuries.[52]

45 Hunger, *Schreiben und Lesen in Byzanz*, p. 101.

46 Čereteli, "Tetraevangelium von Porphyrius Uspenskij"; Mango, "L'origine de la minuscule"; Perria, "Scrittura e ornamentazione"; Fonkič, "Aux origines de la minuscule stoudite"; Perria, *Graphis*, pp. 69-75.

47 De Gregorio, "Materiali vecchi e nuovi"; Harlfinger, "Weitere Beispiele frühester Minuskel".

48 Irigoin, "Une écriture du Xe siècle"; Perria, *Graphis*, pp. 91-2.

49 Hunger, *Studien*, p. 28; Perria, "La minuscola 'tipo Anastasio'", vol. 1, pp. 271-318; Perria, *Graphis*, pp. 80-1, 104.

50 Hunger, *Studien*, p. 28.

51 Hunger, *Schreiben und Lesen in Byzanz*, p. 102; id., "Minuskel und Auszeichnungsschriften".

52 Hunger, "Die Perlschrift", esp. p. 31; Perria, *Graphis*, pp. 92-6.

The *Perlschrift* (Fig. 6) is a rounded script with symmetrical letters, which rarely uses contractions or abbreviations. The letters form groups like pearls on a string, whence the name of the script.

Towards the end of the 11th century majuscule letter shapes began to find their way into these book hands and the minuscule began to lose its uniformity. In the second half of the 12th century narrow letters alternated with fat ones, the use of abbreviations increased, and the manuscripts became progressively harder to read. This process culminated in the middle of the 13th century, leading to the appearance in the second half of that century of what is known as the *Fettaugenschrift*, so called because of the large round letters α, ο, σ, υ, ω, that, in stark contrast to a series of extremely narrow ones, like ε, η, κ, λ, ν and ρ, look like the drops of fat that rise to the surface of a bowl of soup.[53] This type of minuscule script is associated with the *Beta-Gamma* type, so called from the strikingly large size of those particular letters.[54]

There are many manuscripts from the Palaeologan period that were written by scholars rather than professional scribes, while scribes of the imperial chancery also copied manuscripts for private individuals. The first group includes manuscripts written by Gregory of Cyprus, Theodora Raoulaina, Manuel-Maximos Planoudes, Nikephoros Gregoras, Demetrios Kydones and others, as well as works of other writers that were copied by them.[55]

Among the scribes of the imperial chancery who were commissioned by high-ranking Byzantine officials to copy manuscripts are the scribe who copied the manuscripts of Nikephoros Choumnos,[56] Michael Klostomalles, who copied the manuscripts of Theodore Metochites,[57] and Manuel Tzykandyles, who copied for John VI Kantakouzenos.[58]

At the same time there were also professional scribes who copied manuscripts in a hand imitating an older style of writing, particularly 12th-century scripts. These are mainly parchment manuscripts of both secular and ecclesiastical texts. This category includes the scribe who wrote a series of manuscripts of classical authors which were copied at the end of the 13th century

53 Hunger, "Die sogenannte Fettaugenmode"; Perria, *Graphis*, p. 135.

54 Ibid., p. 113; Hunger, "Archaisierende Minuskel"; Perria, *Graphis,* pp. 134-5.

55 See indicatively the article by Harlfinger, "Autographa in der Palaiologenzeit"; Perria, *Graphis*, pp. 149-51.

56 See following note.

57 Lamberz, "Das Geschenk des Kaisers Manuel II", esp. pp. 158-9; id., "Georgios Bullotes", here pp. 44-7; Perria, *Graphis*, pp. 152-3.

58 Mondrain, "Jean VI Cantacuzène et ses copistes".

and the early part of the 14th,[59] and the well-known late 13th-century copyist of illuminated manuscripts Theodore Hagiopetrites.[60]

A new type of script that appeared in the second half of the 14th century and is associated with the Hodegon Monastery in Constantinople yielded a number of important and highly legible manuscripts distinguished by the characteristic shape of certain letters, such as ζ and ξ, and combinations of letters, such as ετ, εξ, and others (Fig. 7).[61] The exponents of this script also used the same type of bibliographical note, a Byzantine twelve-syllable line of the form "Θεοῦ τὸ δῶρον καὶ Χαρίτωνος πόνος" (This is God's gift and Chariton's labor), while a fair number of examples of this type of script dating from the 16th century come from Athonite scriptoria. Some similarities with the *Hodegon* style may be traced in the hand of a well-known scribe and collector of manuscripts of the late 14th and early 15th century, John Chortasmenos, whose name is associated with the refreshing of an important illustrated manuscript, the famous Vienna Dioscurides (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vind. med. gr. 1; Figs. 23, 28, 30, 31).[62]

The *Hodegon* style was typically used in the post-Byzantine era for liturgical manuscripts, in both codex and scroll form, many of them illuminated, while it may be seen as a forerunner of the type of script used by Lucas of Buzau, Matthew of Myra and their associates, who produced many illuminated manuscripts in the late 16th and early 17th century.[63]

Alongside the minuscule script there are types of majuscules that were used either for book titles or chapter headings or for copying entries and commentaries. These types are called *Auszeichungsmaiuskel* and there are three of them: the Alexandrian, the Constantinopolitan and the inscriptional.[64] The scribes used a specific type of *Auszeichungsmaiuskel* for each type of textual script, evidently for aesthetic reasons. The Constantinopolitan type was used when the main text was written in *eckige Hakenschrift* or *Keulenschrift*, the Alexandrian with the *Perlschrift* script, and the inscriptional for column headings and chapter numbering.

59 Prato/De Gregorio, "Scrittura arcaizzante", esp. pp. 62-72; Perria, *Graphis*, pp. 137-8.

60 Nelson, *Theodore Hagiopetrites*.

61 For the Hodegon style see Politis, "Eine Schreiberschule".

62 Gerstinger, *Codex Vindobonensis med. gr. 1*. On this codex, see also chapter 4 in this volume.

63 See Gratziou, *Die dekorierten Handschriften*; Zoumbouli, *Luc de Buzau*.

64 Hunger, *Studien*, p. 112 and id., *Schreiben und Lesen in Byzanz*, pp. 112-6; Perria, *Graphis*, pp. 153-4.

Decoration

The ink used to copy Byzantine manuscripts was brown. Black ink is usually associated with manuscripts from the geographical area of Syria, Palestine and Cyprus, or with later manuscripts. Frequently, however, especially in manuscripts written by professional scribes or with certain minimal aesthetic requirements, the titles and the initial letters were written in red ink (the shade varying with the scribe and the period). The red lettering was not done as the manuscript was copied, but afterwards, as is evident from the marginal notes left in some manuscripts by the scribe to tell the rubricist what letters to insert. The initials could simply be slightly larger than the rest, or they could be decorated (sometimes with the same colour of ink), or they could be shaped like a hand giving a blessing or like some animal.[65] This was also the stage at which the ornamental headpieces were added: these could be a simple line with decorative flourishes or an ornate composition, often Π-shaped, which was called a pyle.[66] This form of ornament was fairly common in the homilies of ecclesiastical writers. Some categories of manuscript almost always have some sort of decoration: for example, manuscript Gospel books, which are illustrated at the beginning with the canons of Eusebios, usually in the form of a pyle, and could contain full-page illuminations with portraits of the four Evangelists.[67] Collections of the homilies of the great Church Fathers, e.g. St Basil and St Gregory the Theologian, whose homilies were liturgical lectionary material, were ornamented in the same way.[68]

Decoration and/or illumination was also used for many liturgical manuscripts, such as codices with the three Liturgies[69] or the Akathist Hymn.[70] Many of the manuscripts of the *Ladder* of John Scholastikos are decorated

65 Initials in the shape of animals used to be considered an indication that the manuscript came from southern Italy.

66 See Hunger, *Schreiben und Lesen in Byzanz*, pp. 56-8.

67 See ibid., pp. 55-6. See also chapters 17 and 18 in this volume.

68 See e.g. the 9th-century *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 510, the 941 codex Patmos, Monastery of Saint John the Theologian, cod. 33 which was written in Reggio di Calabria, and the 11th-century codex Jerusalem, Greek Patriarchal Library, Taphou 14. For the illuminated manuscripts of Gregory of Nanzianus see Galavaris, *Liturgical Homilies*. See also chapter 24 in this volume.

69 See e.g. inter alia the impressive post-Byzantine manuscript Princeton, University Library, Garrett MS. 11, written by the scribe Panaretos for Constantios Palaiologos, metropolitan of Rhodes (1692-1702); see Kotzabassi/Patterson Ševčenko, *Greek Manuscripts at Princeton*, pp. 68-78. See also chapter 21 in this volume.

70 See e.g. the Princeton, University Library, Garrett MS. 13 (Kotzabassi/Patterson Ševčenko,

or illuminated[71] and the same is true of some manuscripts of classical works, including Oppian,[72] Ptolemy,[73] Dioscorides[74] and others, and also of Byzantine literature, such as the chronicles of John Skylitzes,[75] the *Story of Alexander the Great*,[76] the *Menologion* of Basil II,[77] the *Christian Topography* of Kosmas Indicopleustes,[78] etc. Manuscripts of philosophical or mathematical texts were often illustrated by diagrams.[79]

The layout of the text can also be a factor in manuscript decoration, especially at the end, where there may be various ornaments, depending on the content of the text.

The number of extant Greek manuscripts cannot be calculated with any degree of certainty. Hunger estimates that of the roughly 40,000 Greek manuscripts in existence, about 30,000 must have been written before 1500, and that the percentage of illuminated manuscripts is between 2 and 3%. He bases his calculation on the fact that apart from the dated illuminated manuscripts, of which there are 350, there are also many that are not dated.[80] Several of these were commissioned by Byzantine emperors or members of their families, who are sometimes depicted in full-page miniatures. One of the best known of this group is codex *Par. gr. 510 of the homilies of Gregory of Nanzianzus, which is

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Greek Manuscripts at Princeton, pp. 80-95) and the monograph by Aspra-Bardabaki, *Garrett 13*. See also chapter 23 in this volume.

71 See the study by Martin, *Heavenly Ladder*. See also chapter 28 in this volume.

72 See e.g. the 11th-century codex Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Marc. gr. Z. 479 of Oppian's *Cynegetica* and the facsimile edition of the codex: *Cynegetica: tratado de caza y pesca*. See also chapter 4 in this volume.

73 See Athos, Vatopedi Monastery, cod. 655 (d. 1291 or 1306) and Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Marc. gr. Z. 388; Zorzi/Marcon/Navari/Tselikas/Kadas, *Klaudios Ptolemaios*. See also chapter 4 in this volume.

74 See above note 61. See also chapter 4 in this volume.

75 There is a famous manuscript in *Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Vitr. 26-2, which has been published in facsimile edition: *Joannis Scylitzae Synopsis Historiarum*. See also chapter 5 in this volume.

76 See *Venice, Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Postbizantini, cod. 5 and the facsimile edition of the codex: Trahoulia, *The Greek Alexander Romance*. See also chapter 8 in this volume.

77 *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1613; D'Aiuto, *El "Menologio de Basilio II"*. See also chapter 22 in this volume.

78 See the 11th-century illuminated manuscript of the Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sin. gr. 1186. See also chapter 27 in this volume.

79 See chapter 4 in this volume.

80 Hunger, *Schreiben und Lesen in Byzanz*, p. 43. 350 is the number of manuscripts that Spatharakis lists in his *Corpus*.

associated with Basil the Macedonian. The emperor is depicted in two full-page miniatures, in one with the Archangel Gabriel and the Prophet Elijah (Fig. 133), and in the other with his sons Leo and Alexander. Basil II is the emperor who is associated with codex Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Marc. gr. Z. 17, a psalter written in 1020, which contains a miniature of the emperor triumphing over the Bulgars, and with the manuscript *Vat. gr. 1613, known as the Menologion of Basil II, because of the dedicatory lines to the emperor with which it opens.[81] Codex *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 666, which contains the *Panoplia dogmatike* (Panoply of Doctrine) of Euthymios Zigabenos, is associated with Alexios I Komnenos, who is portrayed presenting to Christ Enthroned a codex of the work, which he commissioned, accompanied by the nine Fathers of the Church upon whose works the *Panoplia* is based.[82]

The 15 exceptionally fine Buchthal and Belting manuscripts written between 1280 and 1300 are thought to have been commissioned by Theodora Raoulaina, the niece of Michael VIII Palaiologos.[83]

Manuscripts were either commissioned or copied for personal use. In the latter case, the copyist was either a professional scribe[84] or the owner himself, usually a Byzantine scholar copying texts of his own or other works that interested him into a single manuscript.[85] These manuscripts could be intended for the commissioner's personal library or as a gift for some illustrious person, e.g. the emperor, who in some cases are depicted at the beginning of the codex.[86]

In recent decades great progress has been made in identifying Byzantine scribes and scriptoria. Manuscripts on which the scribe noted his name provide material for comparison, permitting other manuscripts to be attributed to

81 Hunger, *Schreiben und Lesen in Byzanz*, p. 44.

82 Ibid., p. 46. See also chapter 30 in this volume.

83 Buchthal/Belting, *Patronage*.

84 Examples include the small prayer books studied by Carr, "Diminutive Byzantine Manuscripts".

85 This kind of book, which Hunger calls *Hausbücher*, includes manuscripts written by John Chortasmenos (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vind. suppl. gr. 75), Matthew of Ephesos (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vind. theol. gr. 174), Nikephoros Gregoras (*Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Pal. gr. 129), the historian Doucas (*Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 1310) and others.

86 Thus for example on fol. 3r of Marc. gr. Z. 17, an 11th-century Psalter, the emperor Basil II (r. 975-1025) is depicted being crowned by Christ, while on fol. 5v of *Par. gr. 1242 in the Bibliothèque nationale de France there is a full-page miniature depicting the emperor John VI Kantakouzenos presiding at the 1351 Synod of Constantinople. Similarly, Alexios Apokaukos is depicted in *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 2144, fol. 11r.

those same scribes. Thus, alongside individual scholars' studies of particular scribes, we now have a three-volume *Repertorium* of Greek scribes from 800 to 1600, which covers the Greek manuscripts in the libraries of Great Britain, France and Rome.[87] More groups of manuscripts have been identified as either by the same hand (Ephraim, Athonite scribes, Ioannikios) or from the same place (Southern Italy, Galesios Monastery, etc.).

The monks in Byzantine monasteries naturally copied the liturgical books that were needed by their monasteries, while manuscripts were frequently donated by the founders of monasteries or other benefactors.[88] In addition, certain wealthy individuals would commission a scribe to produce a set of codices for presentation to a monastery,[89] while monastic scribes also copied such multi-volume works for their own monastery.[90]

Byzantine scholars, especially in the Palaeologan era, systematically copied manuscripts or restored older ones that they had acquired, and some of them built up very impressive libraries.[91] One such was Patriarch Gregory of Cyprus, who in his *Autobiography* makes no bones of the fact that since on the one hand he lacked the money to commission manuscripts and on the other was a competent scribe, better than many of his contemporaries, he copied the books he needed himself.[92]

After 1453 a fair number of Byzantine scribes continued their work in the West, and created scriptoria that were still active in the 16th century. Among those particularly worthy of mention are Demetrios Damilas,[93] who is

87 Gamillscheg/Harlfinger/Hunger, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten*.

88 See e.g. such information in the *Typika* of Byzantine monasteries and also in wills, such as that of the monk Gabriel (14th century) who left 15 manuscripts of secular and ecclesiastical works to the Mangana Monastery; see Mercati, "Un testament inédit".

89 For example, a man called John commissioned a scribe to produce a set of ten-month *menologia* (see Princeton, Theological Seminary Library, MS. 11.21.1900; Kotzabassi/Patterson Ševčenko, *Greek Manuscripts at Princeton*, pp. 269-75, esp. p. 273) and another John ordered four codices of ecclesiastical works for the Monastery of Theotokos in Chrysoupolis, all to be written by the same hand; see Le Léannec-Bavavéas, "Jean, logothète du drome"; Kotzabassi, *Byzantine manuscripts*, pp. 14-26.

90 See the case of the monks Gregory and Philotheos who in the second decade of the 15th century copied a series of manuscripts for the Vatopedi Monastery; Lamberz, "Die Handschriftenproduktion", esp. pp. 62-3.

91 Among the most important such collections are those of Nikephoros Moschopoulos, Theodore Metochites and John Chortasmenos. For private libraries in the Palaeologan era see Taxidis, "Public and Private Libraries".

92 Lameere, *La tradition manuscrite*, p. 189.20-4.

93 See e.g. the codex of Homer *Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Laur. Plut. 32.4 (Maronitis/Kotzabassi/Rao, *Homer's Iliad*).

associated with certain exquisitely decorated manuscripts now in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, and the very prolific Andreas Darmarios[94] and Nikolaos Choniates[95] who, along with their confreres who stayed in Turkish-occupied territories, continued to copy Greek manuscripts. In these cases the influence of their environment on their work is quite clear, especially in the decoration/illumination of their manuscripts. It is easy to discern the Western influences in the imagery on the manuscripts of Angelos Vergikios[96] and the Eastern influences on manuscripts like those of Matthew of Myra.[97]

94 Gamillscheg/Harlfinger/Hunger, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten*, vol. 1, no. 13; vol. 2, no. 21; vol. 3, no. 22.

95 Ibid., vol. 1, no. 321; vol. 2, no. 439; vol. 3, no. 521.

96 Ibid., vol. 1-3, no. 3.

97 See above note 62.

PART 2

Secular Manuscripts

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CHAPTER 4

Scientific, Medical and Technical Manuscripts

Stavros Lazaris

Introduction

From the late 2nd century, little by little, through the prism of the new religion, namely Christianity, and building on a newly emerging society following profound socio-cultural changes, the science produced in Alexandria and elsewhere in the Mediterranean world would never be the same as in the Hellenistic age. Still, should one speak of decadence? Ideological and spiritual transformations on the one hand and political and ethnic turmoil on the other have led many specialists in epistemology to speak of a "general decline", especially from the late 2nd century on.

However, the "decline" of Greek science is more likely to be a reflection of a more general phenomenon: the slow dissolution of the religious and social structures of the ancient world. When institutional structures and value-systems change, scientific representations of the universe change accordingly.

In this new age, scholars tried to explain and understand nature through Christian eyes or to use ancient knowledge for hortatory reasons. Evidence of this "decline" is found in many scientific fields. Alchemical literature of the 4th century, for example, with Zosimos of Panopolis was mediocre and pompous, often devoid of any consistency, even on allegorical and symbolic levels. This was also the case of the Greek *Physiologus* and thereafter not only its Latin version, but also its offshoots, i.e. illustrated bestiaries. For some researchers it is a fact that the proto-Byzantine society was not utterly able to preserve ancient scientific knowledge. And with scholars like John Philoponos the increasing hostility towards any knowledge gathered from pagan writings, only accelerated its "decline".

But the real blow to scientific investigations was on the one hand the first Arab invasions which marked the end of Late Antiquity and on the other Iconoclasm, which left deep and lasting scars. One must add to these factors the lack of interest, with a few exceptions, of the Byzantine imperial power for science. Byzantine rulers, in contrast to Alexandria or the Islamic world, did not create foundations for purely scientific purposes, except in the context of hospitals, which often benefited from the presence of a medical school. This "stagnation" amongst Byzantine scholars was also due to the Empire's general

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instability, which did not favour the establishment of an educational program tailored to their needs, which might have fostered new ideas.

Yet, even if intellectual curiosity was less intense, they continued to copy, comment and even revise ancient texts. Byzantine science amounted for the most part to the numerous treatises of Antiquity often accompanied by scholia derived from the scientific teachings of schools in Alexandria, Athens and Syria. This wealth of knowledge was also combined with non-Greek works, some in Arabic, but also Latin and Hebrew. With the exception of a few major Byzantine scholars who produced original work, the vast majority were "amateurs maladroits ne maîtrisant pas toujours entièrement la matière qu'ils expliquent"[1] in all scientific fields.

Preserving this knowledge was for the Byzantines a sacred mission and the fate of their books one of their most pressing concerns. "Tell me, I pray thee, how will the world end?" Epiphanios asked St. Andrew the Fool, his master, adding: "Which signs will tell us that the time is fulfilled, and what will come of this city, the New Jerusalem? [What will happen to the] books?".[2] This text, more than any other shows the central place occupied by books in Byzantine society and expresses the concerns of the Byzantines for the fate of their civilization through their writings. The Byzantines considered books to be the keepers of their civilization, since they recorded all the knowledge of their ancestors. They felt they needed to protect it by copying new manuscripts and transmitting this knowledge to future generations through teaching.

In addition to the *quadrivium* or τετρακτὺς τῶν μαθημάτων,[3] other disciplines considered to be ancillary sciences were also taught in Byzantium, but less theoretically so.[4] These included the natural sciences (geography, zoology, botany, mineralogy, etc.),[5] the medical sciences (medicine, surgery, toxicology, pharmacology, veterinary medicine)[6] and applied sciences (engineering,

1 Tihon, "Les sciences exactes", p. 381.

2 Εἰπέ μοι, παρακαλῶ σε, πῶς τὸ τέλος τοῦ κόσμου τούτου; […] ἀπὸ ποίων δὲ σημείων ἡ ἀπόδειξις ἔσται τῆς συντελείας, καὶ ποῦ παρελεύσεται ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν αὕτη ἡ νέα Ἱερουσαλήμ […] καὶ αἱ βίβλοι […]; Nikephoros Presbyter, *The Life of St Andrew the Fool*, ed./trans. L. Rydén, pp. 259-60 (l. 3808-13).

3 See the related discussion by Anna Comnena in the prologue of her *Alexias*: ἀπὸ τῆς τετρακτύος τῶν μαθημάτων, 1,1. Anna Comnena, *Alexias,* ed. D. Reinsch/A. Kambylis.

4 Depending on the period, *quadrivium* studies could be of a very rudimentary level, or conversely be of a very high level because the study of sciences could be pursued indefinitely.

5 Today, natural sciences are more commonly divided into life sciences (botany and zoology) and physical sciences (physics, chemistry, geology and astronomy).

6 By "medical sciences", I mean human and veterinary medicine, including its subsidiary or ancillary aspects. In other words, the term embraces human medicine itself (with all its diag-

architecture, military engineering, naval architecture, agriculture). What we consider today to be occult sciences (astrology, alchemy, magic, etc.) had a prominent place in a more pragmatic society which valued useful knowledge. If these fields were not part of the *quadrivium*, they were certainly taught and some of them had a great following both in Antiquity and in Byzantium even if, ultimately, only a few texts remain today and even less with illustrations.

Greek manuscripts illustrated with scientific content will be presented by major scientific disciplines according to the following plan: 1. Exact sciences (Arithmetic, Geometry), 2. Natural sciences (Astronomy and Astrology, Magic and Alchemy, Geography, Zoology), 3. Medical sciences (Medical and surgical collections, Hippiatric medicine, Pharmacology) and, finally, 4. Applied sciences (Engines for use in daily life, Engines for military use).[7]

Some manuscripts will be presented more than once. But this will not happen often as the content of Byzantine manuscripts is fairly consistent: they either combine the works of a single author or texts that discuss similar issues.

1 Exact Sciences

As the fields of mathematics and geometry developed tremendously since classical Greece, treatises in these disciplines and even school books and sometimes even the commentaries on the original works were often illustrated with diagrams. The ancient Greek mathematical diagram was different from modern mathematical diagrams because it contained information that was not in the text and it was schematic rather than pictorial.[8]

Euclid's Elements

The *Elements*, in 13 books, is both a compilation of earlier geometry and arithmetic and an original contribution of Euclid himself. The *Elements* was edited in the late 4th century by Theon of Alexandria, the author of commentaries on Ptolemy's *Almagest* and *Handy Tables* (see below).[9] In 1808 F. Peyrard

nostic aspects), veterinary medicine, as well as pharmacology and toxicology. Medical literature is indeed often confused with the generic title "scientific illustration". Yet the medical disciplines in the periods considered here were not part of the traditional teaching curriculum and had therefore a special place.

7 Occult sciences will not be discussed as a separate category: their illustrated works will be presented as a part of the natural sciences: astronomy together with astrology and alchemy with magic.

8 See, among others, De Young/Suzuki/Takahashi, *Reproduced Diagrams.*

9 Euclid, *Elementa*, ed. J.L. Heiberg/E.S. Stamatis.

discovered among a number of Vatican manuscripts sent to Paris by Napoleon a text independent of and prior to Theon's edition: *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 190, was ever since recognized as the single most important manuscript of the *Elements*.

It is a splendid manuscript dating back to the first half of the 9th century. It consists of IV (paper)+340 (parchment) folios measuring 290 × 235/240 mm and written in an elegant minuscule hand in two columns.[10] The text is not only closer to the original than any other codex, but also vindicates Theon as an excellent editor who mostly made additions for classification and didactic purposes. Among the illustrations in the codex, the diagrams in fols. 38v-39r (Fig. 8) display Book I Proposition 47, the Pythagorean Theorem (the square of the hypotenuse of a right triangle is equal to the sum of the squares of the other two sides), a famous and important theorem that receives many scholia in the manuscript. Fol. 207v (Fig. 9) contains Book XI Propositions 31-33 on the volumes of parallelepipedal solids, in which the drawings are very early and quite successful representations of three dimensional objects on a plane, where the bases of the figures lie on the plane of the page. Proposition 33 (the important demonstration that parallelepipedal solids are similar to one another in the triplicate ratio of their corresponding sides) is accompanied by a Porism (corollary) which links the proposition to the famous problem of the two mean proportional numbers.

Another splendid illustrated manuscript of the *Elements* is *Oxford, Bodleian Library, D'Orville 301 dating from the second half of the 9th century.[11] Written in one column with scholia in the margins, it is illustrated with many diagrams in close proximity to the text. It consists of III+391 folios (in reality III+381 as nos. 356-365 were skipped in the foliation) and measures 212/219 × 177/187 mm. The codex was bought for 14 gold coins (*nomismata*) by Arethas of Patrae (bishop of Caesarea, 902-*c.*939), who added many notes in small uncial script. Arethas' note stating that the scribe Stephanos finished the transcription of the manuscript in September 888 makes it the oldest manuscript of a classical Greek author to bear a precise date.

For the most part, diagrams in Greek manuscripts were drawn inside boxes that were left blank while the text was copied, whereas diagrams in Arabic and Latin manuscripts were often drawn by the same scribe who copied the text, which is obvious from the way the text wraps around the diagram. In D'Orville 301, the diagrams drawn beside the scholia in the margin were copied by the

10 For a detailed description, see Mogenet/Tihon, "Théon d'Alexandrie", pp. 23-6.

11 On this codex, see, among others Netz/Noel/Wilson/Tchernetska, *The Archimedes palimpsest*, pp. 250, 283; Gamillscheg, "Handschriftliche Überlieferung", pp. 223-4 (n. 82).

scribe himself, but this does not seem to be the case for Euclid's *Elements*.[12] An index of the Propositions in Euclid's *Elements* from this codex is now online[13] as part of Harvard University's "Archimedes Project".

Finally, there is *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 2345, which was copied in the second half of the 13th century or in the early 14th century. Euclid's *Elements* are on fols. 6r-239v.[14] Geometric patterns are inserted into the text in the spaces reserved by the copyist. However, these diagrams often overlap the margin or are completely drawn in the margin when the reserved space is insufficient within the justified area to draw the diagram without encroaching on the writing (see fol. 7v). The diagrams were drawn after writing as evidenced by the change in fol. 16v and 17r where the miniaturist mistakenly drew the diagram of the next chapter and then corrected his mistake. Two diagrams (fols. 15r and v) corresponding to *Elements* 1, 23 and 1, 24 were added later and rather clumsily.

Works of Archimedes

The entire works of Archimedes survive in three manuscripts, two of which (known as A and B in J.L. Heiberg's edition) are now lost[15] and one, known as C, is a palimpsest of the second half of the 10th century probably copied in Constantinople (*Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, s.n.). In this codex the original text of Archimedes was overwritten with a Christian religious text, more precisely a prayer book (*Euchologion*) by a 13th century scribe.[16] J.L. Heiberg first discovered it in 1906 in Istanbul (in the library of the Metochion of the Monastery of the Holy Sepulchre, MS 355). The manuscript, now the property of an anonymous private collector, is currently deposited at The Walters Art Gallery (now Museum), in Baltimore, MD.

It is a damaged and incomplete codex, which now comprises 175 parchment folios and seven paper folios.[17] This book includes writings by Archimedes

12 See for example the folio reproduced in Diringer, *The illuminated Book*, fig. 1,10a.

13 <http://www.archimedes.fas.harvard.edu/euclid/digilib.html>.

14 On this codex, see, among others, Mondrain, "Manuscrits byzantins du XIV^e siècle", pp. 163 (n. 9) and 189; Pérez Martín, "L'écriture de l'Hypatos Jean Pthos Pédiasimos", p. 110.

15 Euclides, *Elementa*, ed. J.L. Heiberg/E.S. Stamatis. Codex A was copied and translated a number of times. See the list of manuscripts in Mugler, *Archimède*, p. XXIV.

16 Sometime after 1938, the owner of the codex forged four pages with portraits of the Evangelists, probably in an effort to increase its value (on these miniatures, see Lowden, "Archimedes into Icon"). For a complete description of the *Euchologion*, see Netz/Noel/Wilson/Tchernetska, *The Archimedes palimpsest,* pp. 21-39.

17 The palimpsest was the subject of an extensive imaging study from 1998 to 2008, and conservation (as it had suffered considerably from mould).

copied in a good hand in the 10th century (third quarter?), in two columns: *On the Sphere and Cylinder* (two books, almost complete); *On Spiral Lines* (almost complete); *On the Measurement of a Circle* (a part); *On the Equilibrium of Planes* (two books, a part). What is important is that it contains a considerable portion of the work *On Floating Bodies* (two books), which was thought to be lost as far as the Greek text was concerned and only to have survived in William of Moerbeke's Latin translation whilst staying at the papal court in Viterbo in 1269. The manuscript also holds the greater part of the book entitled – according to its own heading – Ἔφοδος, i.e. *Method* (also referred to as *The Method of Mechanical Theorems*). Finally, the manuscript includes two short propositions, in addition to the preface, from a work called *Stomachion* (apparently one book).[18] The palimpsest also contains speeches by the 4th century BC politician Hyperides,[19] a commentary on Aristotle's *Categories* by Alexander of Aphrodisias,[20] and other minor texts.

Thanks to the "Archimedes Project", the diagrams in this codex are now known and studied.[21] More precisely, the palimpsest contains 59 diagrams: two in *Planes in Equilibrium* II; nine in *Floating Bodies* I; ten in *Floating Bodies* II; ten in *Method*; 21 in *Spiral Lines*; seven in *Sphere and Cylinder* I; five in *Sphere and Cylinder* II; three in *Measurement of the Circle* and one in *Stomachion*. While Heiberg had full access to the diagrams in the Palimpsest, he did not comment on them or publish them. His printed diagrams were his own. However, the diagrams are of special significance and their rediscovery is probably the most important single contribution from the study (and conservation) of the manuscript, from 1998 to 2008, at the Walters Art Gallery. According to R. Netz, "It is completely feasible that the diagrams we possess in the Palimpsest are essentially the same as those drawn by Archimedes in the third century BC".[22] Indeed, as already said, in Greek mathematics, unlike modern mathematics, diagrams are much more than mere illustrations. Greek diagrams played a crucial role in the logical processes of mathematical arguments.

18 In his edition of the complete works of Archimedes (see above), Heiberg's reading of the fragment of the *Stomachion* was so sketchy that no conclusions could be drawn concerning its content. Today, better readings combined with recent developments in the scholarship of Greek mathematics, allow us to postulate on the nature of the *Stomachion*. It may have been a treatise on combinatorics – the first ever written. On the *Stomachion*, see Netz/Acerbi/Wilson, "Towards a Reconstruction".

19 <http://www.archimedespalimpsest.org/about/scholarship/hyperides-texts.php> and Tchernetska, "New Fragments of Hyperides".

20 <http://www.archimedespalimpsest.org/about/scholarship/commentary-aristotle.php>.

21 Netz/Noel/Wilson/Tchernetska, *The Archimedes palimpsest*, vol. 1, pp. 280-92.

22 <http://www.archimedespalimpsest.org/about/scholarship/floating-bodies.php>.

Ancient mathematicians were mostly geometers, studying drawn forms. They thought in diagrams.

The Conics of Apollonios

One of the most highly developed branches of ancient geometry concerned conic sections, the surfaces formed by the interaction of a plane with a cone, which was discovered in the middle of the 4th century BC by Menaichmos, who used the parabola and hyperbola in his solution to the problem of the two mean proportional numbers, and discussed systematically the *Solid Loci* of Aristaios in five books and the *Conics* of Euclid in four books. These works survived to be discussed by Pappos in the 3rd century, but were then lost. However, the most important work on conic sections is the treatise of Apollonios of Perga, originally in eight books of which only the first four survive in Greek, seven of the eight in Arabic translation while the last book is entirely lost.

The work of Apollonios was unknown in the West until the 15th century. The earliest surviving manuscript is the 13th-century Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 206.[23] Several copies were made from this manuscript in the 15th and 16th centuries. Cardinal Bessarion (1403-1472) owned one, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Marc. gr. Z. 518, copied by Georgios Trivizias.[24] Another direct copy of Vat. gr. 206 was made in 1536 for Pope Paul III (1468-1549). Like its model, the copy, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 205, is also illustrated with many diagrams. This magnificent paper copy measures 410 × 270 mm. It was copied by Johannes Honorius of Mallia, *scriptor graecus* in the Vatican Library between 1535 and 1537. The figures, which were very lightly drawn, were probably intended as sketches to be redrawn (Fig. 10).

The Synagoge (*or* Collection) *of Pappos*

The *Collection* was written in the 3rd century in eight books of which the first book, the beginning of the second, and the end of the eighth are lost. It was Pappos' goal to provide supplements to and commentaries upon various branches of mathematics both pure and applied, principally geometry, but also optics, astronomy, and both theoretical and practical mechanics. The text survives in a single 10th century manuscript, *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica

23 On the manuscript tradition of this text, see Decorps-Foulquier, "La tradition manuscrite".

24 On this codex, see Decorps-Foulquier, ""La tradition manuscrite"", pp. 79, 84 (n. 134) and 91-2.

Vaticana, Vat. gr. 218,[25] after which date no copies survive prior to the second half of the 16th century. The parchment manuscript measures 256 × 175 mm and contains many mnemonic diagrams.[26]

Historians of Greek mathematics have renewed their interest for the special relationship between the arguments in the text and the figures that accompany it.[27] For years, the classical works of Apollonios, Archimedes or Euclid have been read in edited Greek texts and modern translations that contain diagrams having little or no relation with the diagrams in the manuscript sources.[28] In Heiberg's edition of *Elementa* for example, except a few diagrams, there is no apparatus for the diagrams and hence no mention of their source. Heiberg's neglect in this regard came to be seen as poor scholarship.[29] In fact, in addition to the critical editions, the essays on the history of scientific illustrations also need to be updated.

2 Natural Sciences

a *Astronomy and Astrology*

Apart from famous illustrated works, like those of Ptolemy (Klaudios Ptolemaios) and *Commentaries* on his works, astronomical illustrations are also found in other treatises, often anonymous. Some eponymous astronomy textbooks are preserved, with illustrations closely related to the text, like the one by Demetrios Triklinios which is discussed below. Sometimes astronomical figures are found alone, without any text. Such is the case, for instance of the figure representing the phases of the moon in fol. 90v in the 14th/15th-century *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Urb. gr. 82 (see below). Finding the text from where a misplaced picture originated can sometimes

25 According to the Pinakes database (<http://www.pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/>) it dates back to the 16th century, but this is probably a mistake. On this codex, see also Jones, "William of Moerbeke".

26 Amongst other illustrated manuscripts, one should note (even if it is a post-byzantine manuscript) *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 2370, copied in 1646 by B. Brigallier.

27 On the recent interest in Greek mathematical diagrams, see Netz, *The Shaping of Deduction.*

28 As Bernabò, "The illustration of the Septuagint", p. 205 wrote, Wilson (Wilson, "Archimedes") complains that K. Weitzmann in *Ancient Book Illumination* mentions none of the works of Archimedes when he examines the palimpsest which was put up for auction at Christie's, New York.

29 See Saito, "Diagrams".

become an almost impossible task. As K. Weitzmann notes on the miniatures in fols. 300v-308r and 309v-310r from Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1087:[30] "No text follows these drawings, and since no other Greek manuscript with constellation pictures is known [...] we are unable to determine the precise text with which they were originally connected. It may have been the *Katasterismoi* of Eratosthenes of Cyrene or one of the many Greek commentators on Aratos such as Hipparchos of Nicaea, Diodoros of Alexandria, Sporos of Nicaea and others".[31]

In today's nomenclature, astrology is not defined as a science, but often as a pseudo-science. Yet, in ancient and medieval times, it was not distinguished from other branches of knowledge dedicated to the observation of the sky or celestial phenomena. It belonged to a global science, meteorology (μετεωρολογία, from μετέωρος, spaces, phenomena or celestial bodies and λόγος, treatises, composition, subject of study). Thus, the science of astral movements called astrology was found alongside other sciences. Etymologically, ἀστρολογία means a reasoned knowledge of the stars. Illustrations of astrological texts are similar to alchemical manuscripts in that their illustrations are limited to specific parts of the text and are primarily intended to insiders. As a result, these images are often difficult to decipher. Thus, the diagram on the twelve zodiacal signs (fol. 189r) in the 14th-century *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 2424[32] does not seem to illustrate any of the astrological texts in the manuscript (Fig. 11).

Catalogues of Constellations

Greek literature offers a number of lists and inventories of constellations, indicating the number and position of the stars, sometimes in the form of a structured catalogue. The most accurate and extensive ones are: 1. In Eratosthenes of Cyrene's *Katasterismoi*; 2. In the commentary of Eudoxos and Aratos' *Phenomena*; 3. In Ptolemy's *Syntaxis mathematica* (Almagest).

The data proposed by Eratosthenes, Eudoxos and Aratos relies solely on anatomical information and figures play a key role in understanding the argument (usually an animal or a human figure). In contrast, Hipparchos of Nicaea and Ptolemy proposed a dual qualification of the stars (position on the figure

30 I am very grateful to Anne Tihon for having sent me her observations on this manuscript: she thinks these drawings were made by Nikephoros Gregoras, because of the small written notes in his handwriting. On this codex, see also Guidetti/Santoni, *Antiche stelle*.

31 Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex,* p. 96 (he discusses this manuscript on p. 144).

32 For a description of the manuscript, see Lazaris, "Inventaire", no 37, p. 243.

coordinates), which limits some potential hesitations.[33] Despite some progress, the real turning point is marked by the publication of Johann Bayer's *Uranometria* in 1603. Prior to this date, the prime concerns in developing celestial charts were aesthetic and astrological.

Aratos' *Phenomena* were a great success, also in the Roman world as is attested by their re-use by Virgil, Vitruvius, Manilius and by translations, the most elaborate ones being those of Germanicus and Avienus.[34]

The constellations are represented by figures in Germanicus' *Scholia,*[35] the *Scholia Strozziana*, the *Scholia Sangermanensia* and the revised *Aratus latinus.*[36] Even if this paper focuses on Greek illustrated manuscripts, two famous Latin manuscripts ought to be mentioned here: *Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Voss. lat. Q. 79, dated around 830-840,[37] and Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 188, 11th century.[38] *Voss. lat. Q. 79 contains today 99 folios and its miniatures are framed in red and full-page. Ms. 188 is a copy of the last manuscript and it has served as a model for a partial copy of *Bern, Burgerbibliothek, cod. 88, from the same period.[39]

According to K. Weitzmann, "no Aratus proper with miniatures has survived in later copies, but only illustrated commentaries. They are, actually, the most frequently illustrated texts from Classical Antiquity we have today, but, at the same time, they are all Latin. Surely also some of the Greek commentaries must have had pictures, although the only set of constellation pictures, preserved in a Vatican manuscript (Vat. gr. 1087) from the 14th to 15th century, has no accompanying text".[40] In fact, this manuscript contains among other texts, 25 astronomical fables, which explain how various mythological characters became constellations (fols. 300r, 311r-v and 312r). The fables are preceded by a series of delicate ink drawings. The manuscript lacks a general title and is thus referred to by the title of its first part, περὶ τοῦ Ἰχθύος, at the top of fol. 300r. The expected order of the fables is upset[41] and there is no catalogue of stars. Two

33 On these problems, see Zucker, "La fonction de l'image".

34 On Aratos' popularity in Antiquity, see Gee, *Aratus.*

35 See Martin*, Phénomènes d'Aratos,* p. 38: "ces scholies comportent un fragment de commentaire sur le prélude des *Phénomènes* d'Aratos, une série de fables astronomiques et quelques notes sur les cinq planètes".

36 On the manuscript tradition and illustrated manuscripts, see ibid., pp. 38-46.

37 For a description of the illustrations, see the facsimile edition of Bischoff, *Aratea*.

38 On this manuscript, see Dekker, *Illustrating the phaenomena,* p. 145; Obbema, "Handschrift", pp. 12-4.

39 On this codex, see Blume/Haffner/Metzger, *Sternbilder*, pp. 214-18, no. 8.

40 Weitzmann, *Ancient book illumination*, p. 25. On this codex, see above.

41 On the correct order, see Martin*, Phénomènes d'Aratos,* p. 46.

partial copies of this codex remain: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 199 (14th century), which clumsily reproduces some of its drawings[42] and Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Marc. gr. Z. 444 (14th century).[43] The presence of illustrations in Vat. gr. 1087, a manuscript very similar to the *Aratus latinus*,[44] proves that the absence of images in the unrevised edition of the Latin translation was not the case in the original manuscript.

Another Greek manuscript illustrated with constellations is Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1291.[45] It consists of I (paper) + 95 (parchment) folios in an uncial script similar to the ogival and measuring 283 × 200/205 mm. The manuscript is traditionally dated to the reign of Leo V (813 to 820).[46] I. Spatharakis[47] dates it to the reign of Theophilos (829-842). A. Cutler and J.-M. Spieser argue that the manuscript was produced during the reign of Constantine V (741-775), but without any further explanation.[48]

The first two miniatures elegantly drawn in white against the dark blue of the night sky (fols. 2v and 4v), represent constellations of the North and South celestial hemispheres (Fig. 12, fol. 2v) and "have hitherto been taken as integral with the codex and its other miniatures".[49] I. Spatharakis contends that these two initial miniatures are not an integral part of the codex and he proposes to date the latter to the second half of the 9th century. This manuscript's illustrations seem to derive from a late antique prototype.[50]

The *Almagest* of Ptolemy

Ptolemy's *Almagest*, a comprehensive treatise on all aspects of mathematical astronomy (spherical astronomy, solar, lunar, and planetary theory, eclipses, and the fixed stars), made all of its predecessors obsolete and remained the definitive treatise on this subject for nearly 500 years. Possibly the most elegant of all manuscripts of the *Almagest*, the 9th century *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1594, is one of the oldest and finest copies of the

42 On this codex, see Mercati, *Codices Vaticani Graeci*, pp. 240-2 and Guidetti/Santoni, *Antiche stelle*, p. 47, n. 63 and p. 77, n. 3.

43 On this codex, see Guidetti/Santoni, *Antiche stelle*, p. 77, n. 3 and p. 78, n. 5.

44 On this manuscript's connection with the *Aratus latinus*, see ibid., pp. 46-51.

45 On this manuscript's content and bibliography, see Stahlman, *The Astronomical Tables;* Ptolemy, *Handy Tables*, ed. A. Tihon, pp. 34-40.

46 Nolhac, *La Bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini,* pp. 168-9 was the first to date it to that period.

47 Spatharakis, "Vat. gr. 1291". *Contra* Wright, "Vatican Illuminated Handy Tables".

48 Cutler/Spieser, *Byzance médiévale,* p. 46. On the date of the Vat. gr. 1291, see also the large synthesis of Janz, "The Scribe and the Date of the Vat. Gr. 1291".

49 Spatharakis, "Vat. gr. 1291", p. 47.

50 On this codex and its illustrations, see also below.

text.[51] It measures 310 × 205 mm and contains many diagrams. The first four books are particularly rich in margin scholia which also include diagrams. According to the end of Book 13 the manuscript belonged to a Leon skilled in astronomy (τοῦ ἀστρονομικωτάτου Λέοντος ἡ βίβλος), presumably Leon the "Mathematician"[52] or perhaps a later scholar.

*Vat. gr. 1594 is one of the four principal manuscripts of the *Almagest*, the others being *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 2389, an uncial manuscript of the 9th century,[53] Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Marc. gr. Z. 313[54] and *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 180,[55] both 10th-century manuscripts in minuscule script. As G. Le Meur has shown concerning the diagrams in the manuscripts of the *Little Astronomy,*[56] as well as in the codices of Ptolemy's *Almagest*, the function of the diagrams is not so much to depict geometrical objects but rather to schematize the truly astronomical aspects of the demonstration itself: the introduction of time or motion in a geometrical layout.[57]

The Handy Tables of Ptolemy

Ptolemy is also the author of a number of minor treatises on astronomy, among which we have the *Handy Tables*. This treatise which originally contained a small manual and tables on the movements of planets is preserved in 45 manuscripts, some of which are in uncial script and sumptuous, with tables framed in gold and red ink.[58]

As previously discussed, the most famous manuscript of the *Handy Tables*, and possibly also the finest, is Vat. gr. 1291, best known for its illustrations of the two hemispheres of constellations (fols. 2v and 4v) and of the sun as Phoebus-Apollo in his chariot surrounded by various figures and zodiacal signs (fol. 9r,

51 On this codex, see Tihon, "Les sciences exactes", pp. 394 and 399; Džurova, "Décoration des manuscrits", p. 50.

52 On Leon, see Montagnini, "Leone il Matematico"; Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium*, pp. 79-84.

53 On the *Parisinus*, see Acerbi, "Pappu, Aristote", pp. 104-5; Tihon, "Les sciences exactes", p. 391.

54 On this codex, see Agati, *La minuscola*, pp. 141-2; Orsini, "Scrittura a Bisanzio", pp. 317 and 328.

55 On this codex, see Orsini, "Scrittura a Bisanzio", pp. 295, 317-22 and 340-2.

56 This title refers to a set of ancient treatises handed down to us by the Greek tradition and gathered in the 4th century in Alexandria. This set may have been used as a didactic introduction to the study of Ptolemy's *Almagest*. It includes works by Autolykos, Euclid and Theodosios of Bithynia among others.

57 See Le Meur, "Le rôle des diagrammes".

58 See the list and the detailed description in Ptolemy, *Handy Tables*, ed. A. Tihon, p. 19-47.

Fig. 13). The remaining illuminations consist in 96 lunettes above their respective tables representing eight repetitions of the twelve signs of the Zodiac (fols. 22r-37v); a full-page table with four lunettes of the wind gods (fol. 45v); another one with three lunettes depicting the wind gods and a personification of the moon (Fig. 14, fol. 46r); four medallions with wind gods (fol. 46v); one medallion with a personification of the moon on a *biga* placed at the centre of a round table, and four medallions with personifications of the day and night in each (fol. 47r); and four spandrels with the wind gods (fol. 47v).

The most famous of all the miniatures in this codex is undoubtedly the one showing Helios and Selene standing in their chariot drawn by four white horses in fol. 9r (Fig. 13). According to some researchers the scene probably goes back to Roman prototypes.[59] Several circles surround this emblem and are subdivided into twelve segments. The inner circle has twelve small naked female figures, six light- and six dark-skinned. The next circle contains twelve numbers in Greek. The circle after that contains twelve clothed male figures representing the twelve months. The final circle displays the month names in Greek (indicating a specific date in the month) and the emblems of the zodiac signs are shown outside the final circle.

The miniaturist uses the ancient methods of hatching and shadowing to render the figures' textures and contours. With the sole exception of a chastely dressed angel representing the sign of the Virgin, all other signs are conventions from Classical Antiquity: e.g. Sagittarius is drawn as a centaur and Libra as a naked man holding scales. All the illustrations are classical in style, and probably originate in late antique prototypes.

Commentaries on Ptolemy's *Almagest*

The 9th-century manuscript *Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Laur. Plut. 28.18 contains the *Commentaries on Ptolemy's Almagest* by Theon of Alexandria (fols. 1-259) and Pappos (fols. 259-347). It is a large-size parchment codex (412 × 268) of 347 folios (III+347+III), written by three different copyists (fols. 1-20 and 259-347; fols. 204-235; fols. 236-258). It contains ornamental bands and numerous diagrams inserted in the text at the end of the passages to which they refer.[60]

This manuscript's only illustration is a ruler for measuring the lunar parallax (περὶ παραλλακτικοῦ ὀργάνου), in fol. 279v (Fig. 15). On the left, a column

59 Boll, "Beiträge zur Überlieferungsgeschichte", pp. 125-35, using modern tables, suggested that the most likely year for the composition of this table was 250, and concluded that the model of this miniature was executed in the 3rd or 4th centuries.

60 Marchetti, "La transmissione della cultura scientifica", pp. 127-9.

represents a vertical axis ΒΑ, materialized by a straight line. Another diagonal axis ΑΓ traced from the top is designated by another right line with an arrow ending. The last axis, ΓΒ, closes the triangle. Different points of intersections and secondary lines are also present to explain the calculation. A kind of x-axis is drawn under the figure. This parallactic instrument was reconstructed by P. Rome.[61] The illustration is firmly associated to the text.

Theon's "*Great Commentary*" on Ptolemy's *Handy Tables*

Theon wrote both a "*Great Commentary*" (Ὑπόμνημα εἰς τοὺς προχείρους Πτολεμαίου κανόνας, *commentarium magnum*) on the *Tables* in five books and a "*Little Commentary*" (Εἰς τοὺς προχείρους κανόνας, *commentarium parvum*) in one book. J. Mogenet, who edited the text (reviewed and updated edition by A. Tihon),[62] states that it was written in the last quarter of the 4th century. No traces were ever found of this work until the 9th century.

In his edition of the text, J. Mogenet collated 13 manuscripts, four of which were illustrated. These manuscripts are *Vat. gr. 190, first half of the 9th century; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Coislin 173, first half of the 14th century; Nürnberg, Stadtbibliothek, Cent. v. App. 8, very end of the 14th century or the early 15th century; and Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Barb. gr. 273, 16th century.[63]

In *Vat. gr. 190 Theon's text, written in two columns, is found in fols. 293r-340v. Book v is missing as in all other manuscripts, and all that is preserved of Book iv is a column in fol. 340v. The codex also contains margin scholia of great importance for the transmission of the text.[64] Furthermore, the manuscript contains geometric figures in the body of the text and sometimes in the margin.

The diagrams in this text are of great importance because they are an integral part of the argument itself, whereas in modern science diagrams are intended to simplify the learning process. They were far more than a simple demonstration of a written argument; they were a crucial part of the thinking process as they were designed in conjunction with the written argument. In this type of document, the identity of objects under discussion is not established in the

61 Pappos, *Commentaria in Ptolemaei syntax in mathematicam 5-6*, ed. A. Rome, p. 69, n. 1 (for the description) and p. 71, fig. 13 (for the reconstruction).

62 Theon of Alexandria, *Great Commentary on Ptolemy's Handy Tables,* ed./trans. J. Mogenet/A. Tihon.

63 It has been said that this manuscript was copied from *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 2450 (ibid., p. 7). Yet, no illustration is mentioned in the description of the *Parisinus* (ibid., pp. 19-22).

64 Ibid., pp. 23-6.

written part but by the diagrams which provide the reader with the essential elements of the proposal, a basic yet fundamental piece of information. Both mathematics and astronomy are visual sciences; ancient Greek and Byzantine visual thinking (the latter included diagrams even in their commentaries) need to be properly taken into account by editors of classical texts.

On Lunar theory by Demetrios Triklinios

Among the many illustrated astronomical treatises that have survived, the work of Demetrios Triklinios stands out. It has survived in nine manuscripts in its short and long versions.[65] Dated from the early 15th to the 17th centuries, they contain also other works in the fields of mathematics, astronomy, astrology and geography. The text begins with a description of the twelve phases (σχηματισμοί) of the Moon. The longest part of this treatise is concerned with the dark areas of the Moon. Triklinios proposes a careful description of the "Man in the Moon" figure, correlating it with geographical features on earth. A number of references are found in the accompanying illustrations. There are two types of illustrations: a zodiac circle showing moon phases and an illustration of the man in the Moon figure. Some of these diagrams are more competently drawn than others; some are clearly drawn by scribes who did not understand the illustration they were copying.[66]

The "Man in the Moon" illustration is particularly interesting because the author drew it on the basis of his own observation using a mirror (ὡς ἡμεῖς διά τινος κατόπτρου τοῦθ'οὑτωσὶ γινόμενον ἔγνωμεν). This illustration is only found in *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 2381, fol. 78v (Fig. 16).[67] The "Man in the Moon" refers to a number of pareidolic images of the human face, head or body that certain traditions recognise on the face of the (full) moon. These images combine the dark areas of the lunar *maria*, or "seas", and the lighter highlands of the lunar surface.[68]

b *Magic and Alchemy*

In the Ancient world, especially in Egypt, magic was a part of the daily life and many papyri contained mystical, magical or astrological drawings,[69] as well

65 See the complete list in Wasserstein, "An unpublished treatise".

66 The manuscripts also have a further diagram, found only in four codices of the long version.

67 For a description of the manuscript, see Lazaris, "Inventaire", no 30, pp. 237-8.

68 There is a longstanding European folklore tradition on the Man in the Moon; see Harley, *Moon Lore*.

69 On these drawings, see Berthelot, *Introduction.*

as illustrations of technical devices. The *ouroboros* (*tail-devouring*) snake is a famous magical representation among many others. A rudimentary example is found in the papyrus London, British library, P. Lond. 1. 121 (MP3 6006) from the 4th to 5th centuries.[70] But maybe the most famous *ouroboros* is in *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 2327, fol. 279r, 15th century (Fig. 17).[71]

The papyrus Leiden, Dutch National Museum of Antiquities, P. Leid. inv. J 384 (MP3 1869.000)[72] and the papyrus Oslo, University Library, P. Oslo 1.1 (=TM 64479),[73] which can be dated by their handwriting to the early 4th century, are splendid specimens of magical papyri with illustrations of magical formulae. They are two parts of the same collection of recipes for gold, silver, precious stones, and purple, compiled from older works and quotes, in particular works by Demokritos. As H. Betz notes, "'The Greek magical papyri' is a name given by scholars to a body of papyri from Greco-Roman Egypt containing a variety of magical spells and formulae, hymns and rituals. The extant texts are mainly from the 2nd century BC to the 5th century AD".[74] The illustrations found in magical manuscripts are far more "technical" than in other texts and thus more difficult to understand for uninitiated readers.[75]

Authentic Memoirs of Zosimos of Panopolis

Three vast corpora (M, B, and AL) with different dates and content, and a few isolated treatises, survive from the ancient texts on Greek Alchemy.[76] The Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Marc. gr. Z. 299 (= M)[77] (Fig. 18) was copied in the 10th or 11th centuries, probably in Constantinople. Damaged, although a full table of contents survives, it is a compilation of texts probably formed at the court of the emperor Herakleios. *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 2325 (= B),[78] 13th century, contains a collection of texts which may have been formed in the time of Michael Psellos (11th century). The

70 For a reproduction, see Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri*, p. 134.

71 On this codex, see Pseudo-Demokritos, *Alchemical writings,* ed. M. Martelli, pp. 32-4.

72 Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri*, pp. 153-68.

73 For a reproduction, see Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*, figs. 38-9.

74 Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri*, p. XLI.

75 On magic in Antiquity and Byzantium, see Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages;* Csepregi/Burnett, *Ritual healing;* Martin, *La magie dans l'Antiquité.*

76 In the three corpora, texts from various periods follow each other seamlessly. The close examination of these three corpora shows that the manuscripts differ by the number of texts they contain, by the arrangement of these texts and their preservation. See Halleux, *Les alchimistes grecs*.

77 Pseudo-Demokritos, *Alchemical writings,* ed. M. Martelli, pp. 5-10.

78 Ibid., pp. 11-3.

collection focuses mainly on operational techniques; its purpose was evidently practical. The already mentioned *Par. gr. 2327 (=A), according to R. Halleux, was copied in Herakleion (Crete) in 1478 by Theodoros Pelekanos. In two parts, the first corresponds faithfully to Corpus B; the second is a collection of texts, some ancient, albeit of unknown origin. Ordered differently, the same content recurs – and must either be a copy or a twin – in *Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Laur. Plut. 86.16 (=L), copied in 1492 by Antony Dranganas in an unknown location.[79]

These four alchemical manuscripts (and almost all the copies that derive from them) contain illustrations of technical instruments. Most of these illustrations refer to the writings of Zosimos of Panopolis. More precisely, the work to which these technical sketches refer to is known as the *Authentic Memoirs* [*on Instruments and Furnaces*] ([περὶ ὀργάνων καὶ καμίνων] γνήσια ὑπομνήματα).[80] Zosimos of Panopolis is the author of a large work in 28 books. Some fairly lengthy sections survive in the corpora as well as some short chapters reorganized according to a didactic principle by a Byzantine compiler. From the 4th to the 7th centuries, the writers who followed Zosimos were above all exegetical.

The main characteristic of alchemical illustrations are the constant additions made to manuscript copies of figures and "parasitic" diagrams that have nothing to do with the original text, but emphasize how much these texts were prolific and inspirational throughout the Byzantine civilization. As with the zoological drawings found in Aristotle's manuscripts (see below), here too, with the exception of drawings which were added later by readers, the original drawings found in the four main manuscripts were made by the copyists themselves without the intervention of a miniaturist.

At least some of these figures were part of Zosimos' original work. Figures are often announced in the text by the sentence "here are the sketches" (οἱ δὲ τύποι οὗτοι). One should also emphasize that Zosimos referred to illustrated books from his lifetime in his works: "doctors holding illustrated books (with figures) with full hatched lines and of all kinds were attending […]" (ἀλλὰ φέρονται ἰατροὶ ἔχοντες βίβλους καταζωγράφους γραμμικὰς σκιαστὰς ἐχούσας γραμμὰς καὶ ὁσαιδηποτοῦν εἰσιν γραμμαί […]).[81]

However, even if the authenticity of these figures is assured, one may wonder to what extent the figures preserved in medieval manuscripts resemble

79 Halleux, "Alchemy", pp. 51-2.

80 On this title, see *De alchemia*, ed. M. Mertens, p. XLVIII.

81 *De alchemia*, I,179-87, ed. M. Mertens. On the first illustrated scientific treatises, see Lazaris, "L'illustration des disciplines médicales"; id., "L'image paradigmatique".

those designed by Zosimos, especially since in most cases these figures correspond only vaguely to the descriptions that accompany them. In fact, these drawings are usually accompanied by a description (see Fig. 18, Marc. gr. Z. 299, fol. 194v), but the correlation between text and image is a complex affair and understanding these figures a delicate process.

To overcome this problem, specific captions have often been added to the figures. For instance, in *Par. gr. 2327, fol. 81v, an alembic with three pipes is drawn beside another with just one pipe, called χαλκῖον (*sic*). Both devices are also represented in fol. 221v from the same codex with the same caption. The miniaturist even thought it would be a good idea to identify by names the various stoves and furnaces in the scene: φώτα (*sic*), καμήνιον (*sic*), πῦρ (Fig. 19, fol. 81v).[82]

Despite the problematic relationship between text and image, the purpose of these illustrations was to be a visual aid, to help readers understand the textual descriptions of devices. Even though the number of figures varies tremendously from one manuscript to the next, it is fascinating to note to which extent copyists were faithful to the copies of the descriptions which accompanied the figures; they continued copying the description even when the figures were missing! For some authors like Zosimos, images were an important part of the demonstration, but for others, readers did not need illustrations to understand the text.

There is an interesting parallel in a scholion at the very beginning of Soranos' text on the diseases of women (*Gynaecology*) in *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 2153 (fols. 218r-284r). It reads in fol. 218v: "Here are the illustrations for each position [of the fœtus], with the configuration of embryos in the uterus and how the midwife must retrieve them with an explanation of each drawing. We did not [*scil.* reproduce the sketches] because of the colours. †Illustrator specialising in woman's health (?) Olympias of Heraclea, who dedicates [these sketches?] to Cleopatra, queen of Egypt.[83]† Soranos †)".[84]

This hermetic and most likely corrupt scholion is still useful in the light it casts on the attitude of the author and of many others, like some copyists of Zosimos' manuscripts with regard to the (scientific) images.

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82 On this manuscript, see Lazaris, "Inventaire", no. 17, pp. 224-5.

83 On Cleopatra, a female author to whom Galen was indebted for a number of recipes for cosmetic remedies, see Luccioni, "'Aspasie'", p. 32.

84 † ἐνταῦθά ἐστιν ἑνὸς ἑκάστου σχήματος τὰ ἐν τῇ μήτρᾳ τῆς διαπλάσεως τῶν ἐμβρύων· καὶ πῶς ὀφείλει ἐκβάλλειν ἕκαστον ἡ μαῖα μετὰ τῆς ἑρμηνείας τοῦ γράμματος ἐάσαμεν δέ, διὰ τὸ ποικίλον [in red ink] † γυναικεῖος ὑποζωγράφος ὀλυμπιάδος ἡρακλείας διαπεμπομένης πρὸς Κλεοπάτραν βασίλισσαν Αἰγύπτου·[in black ink] † Σωρανός † [in red ink and large script]. On this scholion, see ibid.

c *Geography*

The Byzantines inherited geography as a scholarly discipline from Antiquity. Yet, theoretical geography was not as developed as descriptive observations. Descriptions of lands and cities tended to be replaced by lists of names which were rarely supplemented with information. More than in any other field of knowledge, the use of colours was most likely crucial in these illustrations. It was mainly applied to help distinguish, highlight, associate, oppose or prioritize items. The important role of colour in maps is obvious from the degree of precision with which copyists remained faithful to the original colours in manuscript copies. Just like in astronomy, where Ptolemy's works were widely illustrated, similarly, here too, some geographical illustrations stand alone without any text, which makes one wonder about their actual relationship to writing.

Ptolemy's *Geography*

As already mentioned, Ptolemy was known both for his works in astronomy and geography. In his *Geography*, he gives a list of geographic coordinates of spherical longitude and latitude of almost ten thousand locations on the earth's surface as they were known in his time. The list is organized in *Tabulae*, which correspond to specific regions of the three known continents at that time, Africa, Asia and Europe. Indeed, Ptolemy's *Geography* is the fundamental Greek work of the Roman era, in which the geography of the known world in the 2nd century was described for the first time, textually and numerically. However, this work was apparently little read in Byzantium until its rediscovery in the 1290s by Maximos Planoudes.[85] Scholia on the *Geography* were added by Nikephoros Gregoras. This renewed interest is epitomized in the detailed polychrome maps illustrating the *Geography* in many manuscripts from this period (see below for the complete list).

However, the cartographic illustrations in manuscripts are probably not copies of ancient maps.[86] The codices are divided into two recensions: in the first, we have a total of 27 maps (26 regional maps and a world map)[87] and in

85 Diller, "Ptolemaic Maps".

86 On the origin of these maps, see Tudeer, "Origin of the Maps".

87 Copenhagen, Royal Library, Fabr. 23 2°, 13th century; *Vat. Urb. gr. 82, late 13th century; Istanbul, Topkapi Sarayi Müzesi Kütüphanesi, cod. 57, late 13th century; Athos, Vatopedi Monastery, cod. 655, early 14th century; Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Marc. gr. Z. 516, 14th century; Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Conv. soppr. 626, first half of the 15th century; *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 1402, 15th century; Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Marc. gr. Z. 388, 15th century; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vind. hist. gr. 1, from 1454; Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Voss. gr. F. 1, 16th century.

the second recension, made up of manuscripts of the 14th and 15th centuries, there are 65 maps (in some manuscripts: 69).[88] At least ten manuscripts of the first recension and six of the second are illustrated. In Recension B manuscripts, the maps are arranged differently than in Recension A manuscripts: 25 maps of Europe in Books 2-3; eight of Libya in Book 4; 31 of Asia in Books 5-7. This comes to a total of 64, followed by a map of the *Ecumene* in a simple conic projection. These illustrations, closely related to the text, show latitudes and longitudes, indicate rivers, lakes and seas; and use crenelated emblems for cities.

Ptolemy's *Geography* was translated into Arabic already in the 9th century, but it was unknown in the West until the early 15th century.[89] In 1400 a manuscript, probably *Vat. Urb. gr. 82, was brought to Florence from Constantinople by Manuel Chrysoloras, who settled in Italy as a professor of Greek. One of his first students, Jacopo d'Angelo, decided to translate the *Geography* into Latin and paid tribute to Pope Alexander V in 1409.[90] This translation was received as a revelation. It disseminated throughout Europe and we know today of about 40 different manuscripts. Some of them contain maps which were fundamental in the revival of European cartography.

*Vat. Urb. gr. 82 is the oldest manuscript[91] in Recension A to have preserved all the maps. It consists in 111 parchment folios, 575/580 × 415/425 mm, written in two columns. Among the most famous manuscripts of the Vatican library it served as a basis for research on Ptolemy.[92] This manuscript was probably the

88 *Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Laur. Plut. 28.49, early 14th century; *London, British Library, Burney 111, 14th century; Istanbul, Topkapi Sarayi Müzesi Kütüphanesi, cod. 27, 14th-15th century; Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Pal. gr. 388, 15th century; *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Urb. gr. 83, 15th century (omitted in Dilke, *Greek and Roman maps,* p. 199); Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, D 527 inf., 15th century.

89 On its reception in the West, see Gautier-Dalché, *La géographie de Ptolémée.*

90 Among the Latin manuscripts of Ptolemy's *Geography* with the most skilful calligraphy and illuminations, see *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. lat. 4802 (made by a Frenchman in Florence, Hugues Commineau de Mézières) and *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. lat. 10764 (reproduction and commentary in Aujac*, La Géographie de Ptolémée*).

91 The date of this manuscript has been variously estimated from the 11th to the 13th century. Schnabel, *Ptolemäus,* p. 27, dates it to the early 13th from the cursive script in the Agathodaemon subscription (on this subscription, see Tudeer, "Maps Attached to Ptolemy's Geography", pp. 65-6). In a review of Schnabel's work, A. Diller (Diller, "Text und Karten des Ptolemäus", p. 334) was inclined to push the date back to the 12th century claiming that such a sumptuous codex would not belong to the depressed period of the Latin Conquest (1204-1261).

92 This codex is reproduced in its entirety by Fischer, *Claudii Ptolemaei, Geographiae.*

luxurious copy prepared by the Patriarch of Alexandria Athanasios the Younger for Emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos, at the behest of Maximos Planoudes. He had discovered in Constantinople a text-only copy of *Geography* and had the maps made according to Ptolemy's instructions.[93]

At the end of Book 7, we find a map of the world and 26 maps of provinces, one after each chapter in Book 8.3-28.[94] The chosen colours on the maps are the traditional blue for seas and rivers, with rather schematically drawn coastal outlines and rivers; brown for mountains, usually shown as straight ridges or gently curving ridges (Fig. 20). The world map is displayed on Ptolemy's first projection (simple conic), with the *Ecumene* surrounded by a conic frame. Outside this frame are winds, shown as faces blowing horns, and signs of the zodiac in red circles.

There are 26 regional maps: ten of Europe, four of Libya and twelve of Asia; these are interspersed in the text of 8.3-28. As intended by Ptolemy, they are rectangular, each being given the proportion of latitude to longitude appropriate to the region. Meridians appear every five degrees, half-degree marks being shown in the outer frame. Parallels appear at every quarter-hour of maximum sunlight, a method adopted by Ptolemy in Book 8; whereas in the marginal frames degrees latitude are given according to his coordinates. Place-names, whether civilian or military, are indicated by a rectangle in their centre, which in the case of those considered to be important is elaborated into one with a castellated top. In heavily populated areas the large number of rectangles and names result in a somewhat cluttered effect. Special features like altars and columns are given conventional signs.

The two codices with maps whose text and format most closely resemble *Vat. Urb. gr. 82 are in Istanbul (Kütüphanesi 57) and in Copenhagen (Fabr. 23 2°, only a double folio preserved). An apograph of *Vat. Urb. gr. 82 is found in the Conv. soppr. 626 in Florence. It is copied in two columns.[95] Finally, one should also mention Athos, Vatopedi Monastery, cod. 655.[96] The text of this manuscript, which includes works by Strabo and minor Greek geographers, is of some interest. But the maps have been shown to be poor copies of the *Vat. Urb. gr. 82, obviously made before the latter found its way to Italy. Moreover the manuscript has been dismembered to some extent. The map of the *Ecumene*, in simple conic projection, was abstracted by the Greek collector Constantine Simonides (1820-1867) and is now in the British Library (*London, British

93 Gentile, *Firenze e la scoperta dell'America*, no. 38, pp. 78-80.

94 Schnabel, *Ptolemäus.*

95 For a colour reproduction, see Gentile, *Firenze e la scoperta dell'America*, no. 39, pls. VIII-X.

96 On this manuscript, see Diller, *Minor Greek geographers,* pp. 10-4.

Library, Add. 19391),[97] while several folios are kept in Paris (Bibliothèque nationale de France, *Par. suppl. gr. 443A).[98]

As mentioned previously, Recension B contains 64 regional maps of smaller areas distributed through the text. *Vat. Urb. gr. 83 is a copy of Ambr. D 527 inf. in Milan and contains the additional maps. The map of Europe is in fols. 112v-113r (Fig. 21). Bodies of water and mountains are shown in green. In Kütüphanesi 57, a manuscript from the same recension, the bodies of water are also shown in green, but mountains are in light brown (fols. 73v-74r).[99] Ambr. D 527 inf. has preserved 25 maps of different European provinces,[100] eight maps of different Libyan provinces,[101] 31 maps of different Asian provinces,[102] one map of the world (fols. 94v-95r) and four maps of Europe (fols. 96v-97r), Libya (fols. 97v-98r), and Asia (fols. 98v-99r and 99v-100r).

There are notable errors and omissions in Ptolemy's text and in the maps of both recensions, particularly in northern and eastern regions, which were largely unknown, but the most consistent problem is the exaggeration of longitudinal distances (west to east). In this map for example there is the enormous eastward extension of Scotland, Italy slopes much too far to the east, so that the main length of the Adriatic is west to east rather than north to south, and the entire Mediterranean is also too stretched out.[103]

d *Zoology*

Aristotle

It is generally acknowledged that the systematic exploration of the animal world started in Europe with Aristotle and the earliest scientific zoological illustrations are linked to his works in the field.[104] Aristotle was indeed the author of the most remarkable zoological research in Antiquity. He tried to offer an analysis of all the natural and human phenomena in a unified

97 Reproduced in Von Mžikt, *Afrika nach der arabischen Bearbeitung*, pl. II.

98 For the order, format and contents, see Diller, *Minor Greek geographers,* p. 11.

99 For a reproduction, see Evans, *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261-1557),* no. 252.

100 Fols. 11v, 12v-13r, 13v, 14v, 16v-17r, 18r, 19r, 20r, 21r, 22v-23r, 23v, 24v, 24bis v, 27v-28r, 29r, 30r, 31v, 32r, 33v, 34v, 36r, 36v, 37v, 38v, 39v.

101 Fols. 40v, 42r, 43v-44r, 45r, 47v-48r, 49v-50r, 51v-52r, 52v-53r.

102 Fols. 54r, 56r, 57v, 59v, 60v-61r, 61v, 62r, 63v, 64r, 66r, 66v, 67r, 68r, 69r, 69v, 70v, 71r, 71v, 73v-74r, 75r, 75v, 76 (-77)v, 78r, 78v-79r, 79v, 80v, 81v, 82r, 85v-86r, 87v-87bis r, 87ter v.

103 In a number of codices, the world is not shown as a map, but as a diagram, as for example the one reproduced in Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Marc. gr. Z. 314, 15th century (fol. 222v). For the list and reproduction, see Della Valle, "La cartografia bizantina", p. 353, no. 59, fig. 10.

104 Lazaris, "L'image paradigmatique".

approach.[105] He classified about 500 species of animals based on lifestyle, anatomy and physiology.[106] Whilst some descriptions are accurate, others are somewhat less so.[107]

The study of living things, their reproduction, nutrition, growth and sometimes their movements, and the study of the soul, represent one third of Aristotle's work. Animal morphology, physiology and embryology were dealt with in separate treatises: *Historia animalium*, *De partibus animalium*, *De generatione animalium*, *De incessu animalium* and finally *De motu animalium*. Under the title *Parva naturalia* we find shorter writings grouped together.

Several biological treatises by Aristotle are illustrated with geometric figures, almost syllogistic diagrams,[108] that explain his ideas. Among these, one should note *De incessu animalium* and *De motu animalium*. *Historia animalium* was probably illustrated with figures originating from Aristotle's *Ἀνατομαί* (*Anatomical Sketches*). This work, in which Aristotle refers to himself, is now lost. In his scholarly edition of the *History of Animals*, P. Louis writes that the *Anatomical Sketches* probably consisted entirely of images without any description. He also assumes that the work was divided into seven books which corresponded to the first seven book of the *Historia animalium*.[109]

The earliest Greek manuscripts of Aristotle's *History of Animals*[110] date back to the Macedonian dynastic period (867-1056).

Among Aristotle's illustrated zoological works, *De motu animalium* is worth mentioning. This text is preserved in at least 45 Greek manuscripts, the oldest being *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 1853 (fols. 221r-225v),[111] which displays in fol. 221r a geometric sketch to explain the mechanism of the joints (Fig. 22). It consists in a circle where two straight lines have been drawn freehand, one for the diameter and another for the radius. The centre of the circle is indicated by the letter A. The intersection between each extremity and

105 On Aristotle's contribution to zoology, see Petit/Théodoridès, *Histoire de la zoologie*. On the Greek manuscripts of all the works of Aristotle and his commentators, see Wartelle, *Inventaire des manuscrits grecs d'Aristote* and Argyropoulos/Caras, *Supplément*.

106 On Aristotle's classifications, see Zucker, *Aristote*.

107 The bibliography on Aristotle is colossal. For a first approach, see for example Anagnostopoulos, *A companion to Aristotle.*

108 A syllogism is a kind of logical argument in which one proposition (the conclusion) is inferred from two or more others (the premises) of a specific form. In Antiquity, two rival theories on syllogisms existed: Aristotelian syllogistic and Stoic syllogistic (see Frede, "Stoic vs. Aristotelian Syllogistic").

109 Aristoteles, *De Generatione Animalium*, ed. P. Louis, p. XXXIII and n. 7.

110 On the history of this text, see Berger, *Historia Animalium.*

111 On this codex, see Bloch, "Aristotle's *De sensu* and *De memoria*", p. 5.

the geometrical figure is designated by a letter (Δ and B for the diameter, Γ for the radius). In the *Movement of Animals* Aristotle analysed and described animal movements geometrically: points A and Δ are static, whereas point B moves in Γ. This figure is drawn alongside the text: "And when the part is bending and being moved, one of the points in the joints is moved and the other remains at rest, just as if on a diameter ΑΔ should remain fixed and B be moved, so as to give ΑΓ" (698, 21-24). The same drawing was reproduced in the lower margin of the codex, but this time the circle was drawn with a compass.

This is the only drawing from this treatise in *Par. gr. 1853. Aristotle, however, refers to a second diagram in this treatise (702b, 28-35) and refers to it again a little later (703b, 29-36). This different diagram was not reproduced in *Par. gr. 1853 and seems to be missing in most manuscripts. This is the case for example in *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 1921. This 14th-century codex, measuring 288 × 215 mm,[112] also contains one drawing in the lateral margin of fol. 183r in the treatise *De motu animalium* (fols. 182v-187r).

Apart from this work, the codex also contains *De incessu animalium* (fols. 98r-105r), which also includes figures in fols. 100v and 101v. In the lateral margin of fol. 100v of *Par. gr. 1921, we find two drawings of snakes facing each other and another at the top between the scholia and the text describing the passage 707b, 26-27: "Let the front point on the right be A, and that on the left B, and the rear point on the right C, and that on the left D". Reading the text, the figure is easy to imagine: the four letters ABCD must form a broken line, the kind referred to by the snakes in the Paris manuscript, bearing the letters ΑΒΓΔ.

In fol. 101v a diagram, also in the lateral margin, illustrates the passage 709a, 22-24: "for the legs form an isosceles triangle and the head becomes lower when it is perpendicular to the base of the triangle". There is a reference in the text to another figure which was not reproduced. Indeed, Aristotle, in the passage 712a, 34-13, tries to explain the different ways of bending joints, but there is no accompanying diagram.[113]

It should be noted that whilst the various drawings are reproduced in English editions, it is unfortunate that Aristotle's visual thinking has been ignored by French editions which do not reproduce them.[114] Moreover, despite the presence of all these diagrams in Aristotle's zoological works, and the fact

112 Lazaris, "Inventaire", pp. 208-9.

113 This sketch was reconstructed in the English edition Aristoteles, *De motu animalium*, ed. A.L. Peck/E.S. Forster, p. 527.

114 Aristoteles, *De motu animalium*, ed. M.C. Nussbaum and ed. P. Louis; Aristoteles, *De incessu animalium,* ed. A.L. Peck/E.S. Forster and ed. P. Louis; Aristoteles, *De generatione animalium*, ed. A.L. Peck and ed. P. Louis.

that in the last few years several studies have been published on his logic-related diagrams,[115] there has been no major study on Aristotle's zoological diagrams. Thus, some part of Aristotle's visual thinking process, as it is developed in his zoological treatises eludes us.[116]

Aristotle's commentators often applied his visual thinking by adding geometric diagrams to their scholia. This is the case for instance in John Philoponos' commentaries on *De generatione animalium* preserved in a number of manuscripts, including *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. suppl. gr. 1156 (fols. 15r-20v),[117] and *Par. gr. 1921 (fols. 202r-254v). The text is illustrated with diagrams (e.g. fols. 15r-v and 20r for the first codex; 203r-v, 209r, 214v for the second one) firmly associated with the text.

Among Aristotle's Byzantine commentators, Michael of Ephesos ought to be mentioned.[118] K. Praechter asserted that Michael lived before 1040.[119] Michael commented on Aristotle's zoological works.[120] In *Par. gr. 1921, not only is Aristotle's text illustrated, but also Michael of Ephesos' commentaries. One notices for instance in fol. 101v five zigzag lines bearing on their extremities the letters ΑΒΓΔΕΖ. This is also the case in *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 1949, 15th century, measuring 294 × 205 mm.[121] It contains *De generatione animalium* (fols. 1r-228r) with a drawing in fol. 12r, *De incessu animalium* (fols. 228v-259r) with a drawing in fol. 253r and *De motu animalium* (fols. 259r-281r) with a drawing in fol. 260v. *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 2066 (also 15th century, measuring 225 × 162 mm.)[122] offers the same commentaries. It contains *De generatione animalium* (fols. 1r-178r) with drawings in fols. 5r, 9r and 64r, *De incessu animalium* (fols. 178r-201v) with drawings in fols. 188r and 197r and *De motu animalium* (fols. 201v-219v) with a drawing in fol. 203r. These diagrams were almost like exegetic extensions, whose purpose was to help readers better understand Aristotle's demonstrations.

115 For example, Bosley, "The Geometry of Diagrams".

116 Lazaris, "L'image paradigmatique".

117 On this 9th-century codex, measuring 277 × 185 mm, see Berger, *Historia Animalium*, p. 63.

118 On the successors of Aristotle and his commentators, see Oehler, "Aristotle in Byzantium".

119 Praechter, "Review". *Contra* Arabatzis, Παιδεία και Επιστήμη, p. 22. On the identification of Michael of Ephesos as Pseudo-Alexander, see K. Praechter's review and Luna, *Trois études.*

120 Michael's commentary on the *Generation of Animals* was wrongly attributed to John Philoponos; John Philoponos, *In Aristotelis De anima libros commentaria*, ed. M. Hayduck.

121 Lazaris, "Inventaire", pp. 209-10.

122 Ibid., p. 210.

Dionysios' *Ornithiaca* Paraphrase

The famous Vienna Dioscorides (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vind. med. gr. 1), early 6th century (*c.*512),[123] contains, among other treatises, an anonymous paraphrase of Dionysios' *Ornithiaca* on bird-catching (fols. 474r-485v). Dionysios of Philadelphia is not identified with certainty, but seems to have lived around the 2nd century.

In the first two books bird figures are individually inserted in the columns of text, but in the third they are presented on a full page (fol. 483v) (Fig. 23) in a composite illustration of 24 birds set in a framed design. But some illustrations are not found in the paraphrase of Dionsysos' *Ornithiaca*. Thus, the illustrations in this codex may derive from illustrations from the lost treatise on birds (περὶ πτηνῶν) by Alexander of Myndos.[124] Indeed, according to K. Weitzmann, "these pictures may not have been invented for the treatise of Dionysius but may have been taken from an earlier bird treatise which, some scholars believe, may have been the zoological handbook of Alexander of Myndos, who wrote in the first century AD".[125] Z. Kádár argued that "the archetype of this illustration must have been based on a wall chart used for instructional purposes".[126] According to M. Collins, "most of these birds are not mentioned in the text and this composition must therefore be a decorative addition made at the time of the painting of the codex".[127]

Almost all the birds in fol. 483v are easily identifiable: first comes the ostrich and bustard, then probably a water hen, a partridge, etc. A similar composition is found in the form of a graticule in Antioch's late pavement mosaics and in other places, as this composition is particularly suitable for mosaics. It is difficult to say whether this grouped figures composition originated in manuscripts and was then adapted to mosaics or on the contrary, whether mosaicists invented this composition which in turn influenced illuminated books. Of course, before the appearance of this codex, such a composition would not have existed in papyri, but as it has been demonstrated recently, in Antiquity, images were often separated from the main body of the text, in separate plates (πίνακες).[128]

123 On this codex, see, among others, Cavallo/Maehler, *Greek bookhands* and Brubaker, "The Vienna Dioskorides".

124 Smith, *Dictionary,* p. 123.

125 Weitzmann, *Ancient book illumination*, p. 16.

126 Kádár, *Survivals,* p. 81.

127 Collins, *Medieval herbals*, pp. 39-40. *Contra* Lazaris, "L'énigme des illustrations médicales".

128 Lazaris, "L'illustration des disciplines médicales"; id., "L'image paradigmatique".

Pseudo-Oppian's *Cynegetica*

Along with the development of medical science there was also an increase in the social importance of pharmacists. Research on animal venoms and drugs made rapid headway through the utilization of curative and poisonous animals and plants previously unknown to the Greeks, and because of the need for new remedies to fight off new and frightful diseases that appeared the closer they came in contact with the East. The field of applied zoology and botany was cultivated assiduously (see below, "Pharmacology"). The other major field of applied zoology was in didactic poetry and prose: the literature on hunting and fishing in Greco-Roman Antiquity.

Pseudo-Oppian's *Cynegetica*, a didactic poem in hexameters, describes the animals used for hunting (horses and dogs) and the hunted animals; it is divided into four books. It ends abruptly as if it was unfinished. The text dates back to the 3rd century. The only surviving illuminated Byzantine copy is Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Marc. gr. Z. 479 (fols. 1r-66v).[129] This codex consists of 67 parchment folios and measures 235/240 × 195/200 mm. Dated to *c.*1060 on stylistic grounds,[130] it was recently studied by I. Spatharakis.[131] The miniatures show a great verisimilitude and vivacity in the representations of animals in action.

In his introduction, Pseudo-Oppian compares hunting with dogs to the bloodless toil of fishermen and bird-catchers. The illustrator depicts these occupations in much greater detail (e.g. fol. 2r, Fig. 24) than the text which, in the first case, only speaks about an angler who sits on rocks and catches fish "with curving rods and deadly hooks", but not about fishing by boat. According to K. Weitzmann, "this can only mean that the picture was not invented for the *Cynegetica*, but for another, fuller text",[132] like Oppian's *Halieutica* or a similar text about fishing. For I. Spatharakis "there is little doubt that one of the sources of Pseudo-Oppian was Oppian's *Halieutica*, from which there are obvious borrowings in style, language and content".[133] Other miniatures have probably

129 It also contains Oppian's life in fifteen-syllable verses, written by Constantine Manasses, a writer at the courts of the *sebastokratorissa* Eirene Komnene and Manuel I (r. 1143-1180).

130 Fols. 5, 9, 25, 28, 31, 34 and 37 were inserted in the second half of the 15th century and they contain the text, which was missing from the original manuscript.

131 Spatharakis, *The illustrations of the Cynegetica*. There are two other illuminated manuscripts in the same library, *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 2736 and *Par. gr. 2737 but they are, respectively, post-byzantine and a copy of the Venice manuscript. On the relationship between these two manuscripts and Marc. gr. Z. 479, see Lameere, "Apamée de Syrie".

132 Weitzmann, *Ancient book illumination*, p. 27.

133 Spatharakis, *The illustrations of the Cynegetica*, p. 218.

been copied from a lost illuminated manuscript, Dionysios' *Ixeutica*, others from a lost illustrated manuscript of Xenophon's *Cynegeticus,* Apollodoros' *Library*, and Pseudo-Kallisthenes' *Alexander Romance*. However, most of the miniatures in this manuscript were created by the artist specifically for Pseudo-Oppian's text.

Physiologus

Whilst we are focussing on the scientific tradition in Classical Antiquity, one should not overlook the fact that there also existed a kind of literature that perpetuated fantastical anecdotes, especially about animals, drawing their inspiration from folklore. The most famous text in this regard is the so-called *Physiologus*. It was one of the most popular works of the Middle Ages. It has known several revisions and mainly so because it presents itself from the outset as a work without precise limits: it is in fact a series of texts on the same subject, which therefore lend themselves to constant changes. The primary purpose of the author of the *Physiologus* was not to describe the actual behaviour of different species, but to present their properties (physical aspects, habits, traits, assumed qualities and defaults), usually fantastical ones, to serve as moral or religious symbols. The natural world was used to explain the parables and teachings of the Bible and especially the Old Testament.[134]

The various sources of the most ancient recension, the so-called Christian one, date back to the 3rd century BC. It was itself composed between the 2nd and the 4th centuries. Its anonymous redactor describes animals, some of which are from the Bible, whilst others are mythical creatures, plants and stones, mixing the ancient sources with the Christian concepts of his time. Each of the 48 chapters brimming with mystical allegories refers to Christ, the Church and Christians. Thus, a Christian typology was born, whose principle was to juxtapose an image of nature and Christological ideals. In the 11th century, at the earliest, appeared the so-called Byzantine recension of this work. The content had changed: plants and stones were removed and new animals were added. It was followed by two other Greek recensions which would last until the late Middle Ages, whilst the first translations appear from the time of the first recension, the so-called Christian one.

Two illustrated Byzantine manuscripts of this recension were known until recently. The 11th century Izmir, Evangelical School, cod. B-08, pp. 1-137 and the

134 Every chapter of the *Physiologus* is divided into two parts: the first describes the natures (φύσεις) of each animal/plant/mineral and the second, based on the highlighted characteristics in the first, delivers a moralizing message. On this work, see Lazaris, "Nouvelles perspectives", pp. 161-3; id., *Le Physiologus grec*.

12th century Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, E 16 sup, fols. 1r-41r. Unfortunately, the first manuscript was destroyed in a fire, but was preserved in black-and-white copies. The beginning of the Milan *Physiologus* was destroyed and one folio was torn. Of the 48 chapters, the manuscript has preserved 46 chapters illustrated with 56 miniatures.[135]

Of these two manuscripts, the Smyrna (Izmir) manuscript presents an original iconographic cycle since it displays miniatures for both the naturalist and the moralizing aspects of the *Physiologus*. While it is generally believed that the naturalist cycle originates in a model of the 9th century, the moralizing cycle was created in the 11th century, especially for this manuscript.[136] The illustration of the Milan manuscript, with its stylised ink drawings inserted in the body of the text, is typical of 11th century Lombard art. However, even if this manuscript was not copied in Byzantium, its iconography is linked to Byzantine traditions.[137]

There are more Greek illustrated manuscripts from the second recension, but almost all of them are post-Byzantine. The oldest one was Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, B. VI. 39, 12th century, but it burned in a fire in 1904 and no reproductions of its miniatures were ever published before its destruction. Another manuscript, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr.

135 In some studies, the number is smaller (51 for Sbordone, see *Physiologus*, ed. F. Sbordone, p. XIV; 54 for Theocharis, "Τεχνοκριτικαὶ παρατηρήσεις", p. 137), probably because certain chapters are illustrated with more than one miniature, or because fol. 7r contains two miniatures referring to two distinct types of ants, but placed one next on the other without distinction. On this manuscript, see also Benzoni/Montemagno Ciseri, "Dalla formica alla balena". In most studies, the numbering of this last codex, including in E. Martini and D. Bassi's catalogue (Martini/Bassi, *Catalogus codicum*, no. 273, p. 303) runs from fol. 1r to fol. 39r, which is a mistake. A new numbering was stamped in black ink in the upper outer corner of the manuscript, and this is the one which has been retained here.

136 On this manuscript, see Bernabò, *Il fisiologo di Smirne*; Peers, "Smyrna Physiologus".

137 Another illustrated manuscript containing the text from the Greek *Physiologus* from the first recension was recently discovered: Sofia, Centre for Slavo-Byzantine Studies "Prof. Ivan Dujčev", D. gr. 297, fols. 163r-200v. In this 16th-century codex, in addition to the 48 original chapters, we find three new chapters with unique illustrations. The miniaturist of this codex does not follow the same iconographic models as the miniaturists of the other two manuscripts from the first recension. From an iconographical point of view, ancient clothes in the manuscript (e.g. fols. 171r-v and 178v) are in stark contrast to the typical Byzantine clothing worn by all the characters in Smyrna's and Milan's *Physiologus*. The ancient elements are not limited to clothing but extend to the characters' posture and attributes. A first description was published the year after its discovery: Lazaris, "Un nouveau manuscript".

695, fols. 192r-206v, 14th/15th centuries,[138] has raised little interest among specialists in the field. Its illustrations are close in style with those of Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, gr. 35 [olim 1296], fols. 25r-41v, 15th century, another sidelined codex in studies on the illustrations of the *Physiologus*.[139] In the two codices, the unframed illustrations are found in the text and they are related only to the subject under discussion with almost never any further additions. One should also mention a few later manuscripts, which have one aspect in common: they were all copied in Italy.[140]

Based on the number of surviving manuscripts from the Byzantine era, it is clear that the Byzantines hardly illustrated this text. One reason for this neglect might be the importance which would have had to be conceded to animals. Indeed, except in the rare specimen of the surviving texts where animals were the main and sometimes the only subject, they usually were incidental or marginal elements in illustrations. As X. Muratova aptly noted: "le nombre extraordinairement faible de manuscrits enluminés parvenus jusqu'à nous ne permet même pas de parler, au fond, d'une histoire plus ou moins cohérente d'une transmission picturale du *Physiologue* sur le sol grec [...]".[141]

The *Peri zoon idiotetos* of Manuel Philes

The most ambitious didactic poem on a zoological subject to emerge in Byzantium was the Περὶ ζῴων ἰδιότητος (*On the Characteristics of Animals*) dedicated to Michael IX Palaiologos (1294/95-1320), by Manuel Philes, a pupil of George Pachymeres. Philes' poetry, in iambics and political verse, was extremely varied and prolific (e.g. his descriptions of an elephant and an ostrich, and two didactic poems on silkworms).[142] Animal behaviour was of great interest to the Byzantines, probably more than their anatomy or zoologi-

138 On this manuscript, see Cavallo, "La cultura italo-greca", pp. 542, 588-9 and fig. 529.

139 The manuscript was dated to the 16th century by Sbordone, (*Physiologus,* ed. F. Sbordone, p. XIX) and Bernabò, *Il fisiologo di Smirne*, p. 14, but according to Gardthausen, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften,* p. 45 it should be dated to the 15th century.

140 Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, cod. 1700, 15th century; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vind. phil. gr. 290, end of the 15th century/early 16th century, Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, F. 68, 16th century; Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Marc. gr. app. IV. 35, second half of the 16th century; Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Barb. gr. 438, second half of the 16th century; *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Ottob. gr. 354, second half of the 16th century. On these manuscripts, see Muratova, "La production des manuscrits du Physiologue".

141 Ibid., p. 327.

142 Kádár, "Manuél Philés".

cal classification. This zoological poem was probably the most significant ethological work in Byzantine literature.[143]

Among the best known illustrated manuscripts, there is *Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. F. 4. 15, 16th century, and Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Marc. gr. app. IX. 18, 16th century. The latter manuscript was copied by Angelos Vergikios and measures 166 × 117 mm. It contains IV+18 paper folios. Its illustration is placed in the body of the text (at the top, middle or bottom of the folio) and it is quite realistic. Great care is given to naturalistic details for each illustrated animal.

According to Aelian, among the exotic four-legged animals, Philes evokes the "katobleps" (τὸ κατώβλεπον, *De catoblepe*).[144] Philes describes this African artiodactyl in a very expressive way.[145] He writes that it looks like a wild bull and that its gaze is as terrifying as that of a ferocious lion because its eyebrows are very hairy. It has bloodshot calf eyes and never looks up but down to earth, which explains its name "katobleps" (who looks down). A tuft of hair rises from the top of its head and down like a horse's mane. To cross its path or glance at it leads to sheer terror. It safely feeds on harmful roots that other animals do not touch. When it looks defiantly like a bull, it raises its tuft, and ruffles its hair like a goat. From its bare lips, from the middle of its throat, pours out a fetid and rumbling breath. Whoever is touched by the beast's breath, is covered in bruises, and drops on the spot in corrupt and voiceless convulsions.

The miniature on fol. 31r in *Auct. F. 4. 15 features some of the characteristics described in the text: a hybrid animal is shown with its front end reminiscent of a lion (mane and legs) and hindquarters reminiscent of a bovid (split hooves). Despite some fantastical characteristics, Philes' description is so suggestive that it gives the impression that the author had himself seen the animal, which lived, according to Pliny, in western Ethiopia. Based on Pliny's description, Georges Cuvier identified this animal with the wildebeest (*Connochaetes taurinus gnu*).[146]

143 The title of this work is the same as Claudius Aelianus' work in prose. There is no doubt that he was one of the sources of Philes' work. However, the differences between both works, besides their structure, are evident. Aelianus' work is a heterogeneous ensemble, sometimes even chaotic, a structureless compilation. In contrast, Philes' work classifies animals according to a specific system.

144 Aelian, *De natura animalium,* 7, 5, ed. R. Hercher.

145 Manuel Philes, *Carmina varia de naturali historia*, *De catoblepe*: verses 1082-105, ed. F. Dübner/F.S. Lehrs.

146 Buffon/Cuvier, *Oeuvres complètes,* pp. 604-6; Cuvier, *Histoire des progrès*, p. 417.

3 Medical Sciences

a *Medical and Surgical Collections*

An exceptional manuscript is preserved in Florence's *Biblioteca Laurenziana Medicea: Laur. Plut. 74.7[147] is exceptional for its age, refined aspect, its calligraphy and miniatures. Dated to the late 9th or early 10th centuries, it measures 368 × 277 mm and consists of 406 parchment folios written in two columns. It is among the few surviving Greek *codices vetustissimi* and it is the oldest or one of the oldest copies of some of the works it contains. It is the only manuscript for two treatises by Soranos, *De signis fracturarum* and *De fasciis*. For other works such as Apollonios' treatise *In Hippocratis de articulis commentarius* or Palladios' *Scholia in Hippocratis fractures*, it is the only model of subsequent copies.

In its current state, the manuscript has no title page. It begins with the table of contents (fols. 1r-6v), followed by three epigrams (fols. 7v-8v). Despite losses (or *lacunae*), the codex also includes 16 treatises, some complete, others incomplete. Only two among all these works are illustrated: Apollonios of Kition's *In Hippocratis de articulis commentarius* (fols. 180v-225v), and Soranos of Ephesos' *De fasciis* (fols. 228r-240v).

Apollonios' text is not strictly a commentary of the Hippocratic treatise *De articulis*, but rather an illustrated manual of Hippocratic surgery, which contains a selection of a number of Hippocratic methods still used at the time of Apollonios. Hippocratic passages are illustrated to explain the methods of reducing joint fractures. In a learned environment but not necessarily ἀπὸ φωνῆς (under dictation) teaching context, Apollonios had in fact adapted the Hippocratic text to the added illustrations for clearly didactic reasons. His intentions are clearly stated in his treatise.[148]

The Florentine manuscript contains 30 beautiful miniatures, 29 of which are full page illustrations. Of these 30 miniatures, five illustrate the spine, two show a patient suspended from a ladder, either upside down, tied by the feet, or the right way up, held by a bandage passing below his jaw; three illustrations show a patient lying on his stomach and strapped down in extension while the doctor performs a reduction of dislocated vertebrae either by compressing the hump with a wooden board, or by sitting on the patient's back or by treading on his back, exercising the right amount of pressure with his heel on the curved area.

147 On this codex, see, among others, Lazaris, "L'illustration des disciplines médicales".

148 Lazaris, "Learning and memorising".

These miniatures depict patients and their physician, often accompanied by one or two assistants, practising various interventions with an assortment of instruments and accessories, including the "Hippocratic bench",[149] shown in fol. 211v (Fig. 25). The figures are depicted under an arch with a *tympanon*, supported by two marble columns covered in a golden tent; the scene is often flanked by two curtains tied to the columns. The illustration thus combines typical Byzantine surroundings, as found in the Eusebian Canons (the way the four Gospels are divided), and a technical representation from Antiquity.

Most often naked and asexual, the figures probably reproduce ancient models. It is certain that Apollonios designed his treatise with illustrations which he presents as a novelty. In contrast, the arches decorated with curtains may have been added during the copy of the Florentine codex, during the so-called Macedonian cultural revival.[150]

The second illustrated treatise in this codex is Soranos' *De fasciis* with illustrations of bandages. They are applied to 27 heads of men and women, each represented in a medallion; 21 are applied to full-length bodies, four to hands, six to legs and two to feet. In total, 60 illustrations are painted in the body of the text and accompanied by written captions in uncial script. Once again, the figures shown full-length are most often naked and asexual except for some wearing a coat thrown over their shoulders. The texture and contours of the nude figures and other Hellenistic details are probably copied from an ancient prototype without being fully understood.

According to a written note in fol. 407v by a 14th-century scribe, this codex belonged at that time to the Hospital of the Forty Martyrs in Constantinople. This hypothesis, although plausible, cannot be proven.[151] One should also note that this manuscript, just like the Vienna Dioscorides, served as a model for certain miniatures in Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, BU gr. 3632. The latter, which will be discussed further, was copied just before the middle of the 15th century, in the *xenon* of the Kral, attached to St. John Prodromos' monastery at Petra, Constantinople. It is possible that the Florentine manuscript was, at that time at least, in this hospital and not in the one of the Forty Martyrs.

As noted by E. Jeanselme, this manuscript, which summarised all medical and surgical knowledge of its time, could be consulted "par les médecins de l'hôpital, mais aussi par ceux qui étaient chargés d'instruire les étudiants dans

149 This device was invented by Hippocrates, who used the stretching technique to help reset the bones and reduce fractures: a primitive version of the traction devices used in modern orthopaedics.

150 Weitzmann, *Ancient book illumination*, p. 21.

151 See Marganne, "Aspects chirurgicaux", p. 40.

l'école annexée à l'établissement".[152] This idea is also shared by T.S. Miller, who does not hesitate to argue that the epigrams (see above) from *Laur. Plut. 74.7 "emphasize that the codex and its pictures served as a valuable reference tool for both young and more experienced physicians as well as for the *hypourgoi* [i.e. medical assistants] authorized to use the knife. Finally, they praise the manuscript as an excellent teaching aid [...]".[153] One of the main purposes of this type of illustration was to accompany and enhance scientific teaching, not only in Antiquity but also in the Middle Ages, both in the West and in Byzantium.[154]

The Florentine manuscript served as a model for a number of miniatures of another manuscript: Bologna, BU gr. 3632, 15th century, measuring 293 × 220 mm and consisting in 476 folios. Most of the texts it contains are medical, but a few are astronomical or esoteric in nature. Exquisite care was taken in drawing the images. Moreover, as noted by B. Mondrain, in four folios (fols. 423v, 426v, 433v, 434r), one can "repérer sous le motif coloré la mention de la couleur à choisir (vert, rouge, jaune, bleu, rose, beige, marron) écrite en toutes lettres".[155]

The manuscript contains several illustrated texts, including a series of reductions of dislocated limbs (fols. 420r, 421r, 422r-425v, 427r, 428r-435r) which illustrate the treatise by Apollonios of Kition (*In Hippocratis De Articulis commentarius*) in *Laur. Plut. 74.7 (fols. 180v-225v). In the manuscript in Bologna, full-page illustrations also include a caption as in the Florentine manuscript, but Apollonios' text is not reproduced. As stated in the index at the beginning of the volume (fols. 15r-16v), their goal is to illuminate Book VI from Paul of Aegina's encyclopaedia!

The illustrations of bandages (fols. 383r, 384v-385r),[156] with no corresponding text, are also attributed to Paul of Aegina in the index! They are grouped by body parts and captioned: fol. 383r, twelve figures for the limbs (hands, legs and feet); fol. 384v, eleven full-length figures; fol. 385r, nine heads of men and women (Fig. 26). In comparison, one finds 27 heads, 21 full-length figures and twelve limbs in the Florentine manuscript. It is therefore quite likely that some folios were lost from the Bologna manuscript over time. As the copyist wrote phonetically, his captions often contain mistakes.

152 Jeanselme, "Sur un aide-mémoire", p. 169.

153 Miller, *The Birth of the Hospital*, p. 81.

154 On this function of images, see Lazaris, *Art et science vétérinaire*, pp. 82-125; id., "L'image paradigmatique".

155 Mondrain, "Les manuscrits grecs de médecine", pp. 281-2.

156 In the Florentine manuscript, they illustrate Soranos' *De fasciis* (fols. 228r-240v).

b *Hippiatric Medicine*

From the 3rd century, "la plus noble conquête de l'homme"[157] occupies an increasingly prominent place. The need to maintain powerful and mobile defence forces made the cavalry paramount and gave veterinary medicine an essential role in society: to sustain horse breeding and the health of cavalry steeds. Indeed, the development of knowledge in hippiatric care will contribute decisively, at least in the Eastern part of the Empire, to counter the enemy's experience.[158]

A substantial hippiatric literature was produced between the end of the 3rd and the middle of the 5th century, with, on the Greek side, the hippiatric treatises of Anatolios, Apsyrtos, Eumelos, Hierokles, Hippocrates [the hippiatrician] and Theomnestos.[159]

Excerpts from these various treatises were compiled around the 6th century in a collection known as the *Corpus hippiatricorum Graecorum.*[160] The first compilation consisted in fragments of the works of the six Greek authors mentioned above as well as the Greek version of Pelagonios' *Ars veterinaria*. In the *Corpus hippiatricorum* thus formed, each disease, classified in alphabetical order, was followed by the opinion of several authors.[161]

At a later unknown date this hippiatric collection was thoroughly transformed twice. The first major modification was the epitomisation of the *Corpus hippiatricorum* by an anonymous abbreviator in Late Antiquity. The text of the *Epitome* is known from ten copies of five recensions,[162] which have reached us through eight manuscripts,[163] among which two are illustrated.

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157 The expression belongs to Buffon, *Histoire naturelle,* p. 174.

158 However, the first serious hippiatric writings only appeared after the veterinary profession had gained in recognition. The distinction between the physician and the person in charge of horses on a farm, in the army or in the *cursus publicus*, was not clearly defined during Antiquity. For a long time, there was no mention of the word ἱππιατρός (veterinary surgeon, farrier, horse doctor, see Liddell-Scott) in literary texts.

159 I do not include Timotheos of Gaza (active during the reign of Anastasios I), who only left, as far as hippiatry is concerned, a fragment on the different races of horses (contained in Cambridge, Emmanuel College Library, cod. III. 3. 19 [251]). The Timothean paternity of this excerpt, for structural as well as for stylistic reasons, raises a number of problems (see Buquet, "Les panthers").

160 Lazaris, *Art et science vétérinaire*, pp. 31-2.

161 This first compilation has not survived, but we know of four recensions which derived from it. The closest text to the first compilation only preserves excerpts attributed to these seven authors. In the other recensions, a few passages from other hippiatric authors have also been added (see ibid., pp. 19-22).

162 For a complete list, see ibid., pp. 9-35 and 135.

163 Two manuscripts contain this text twice.

In another revision of the hippiatric collection, the Byzantines selected the chapters attributed to only one of the seven authors included in the *Corpus hippiatricorum*. They thus extracted and constructed a unique piece, presented as the original work of that author, i.e. Hierokles. The resulting text has survived in four manuscripts and they are divided in three families.

The only two illustrated manuscripts that contain both texts, i.e. *Epitome* and Hierokles' *De curandis equorum morbis*, are Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Voss. gr. Q. 50 and *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 2244. The Leidensis is a codex from the middle of the 14th century.[164] It consists of I+223+I folios on paper, measuring 211 × 142 mm. It contains, among other writings, Hierokles' text in fols. 5r-90r and the *Epitome* in fols. 90r-144v. The Parisinus is a three-part composite manuscript.[165] It measures 280 × 190 mm and consists of III (parchment)+I+319+I+III (parchment) folios on paper. It contains Hierokles' text in fols. 1r-62v and the *Epitome* in fols. 62v-74v and a second time, without illustrations, in fols. 77r-87v.

In both manuscripts, unframed miniatures are placed either at the top or bottom of the folio, none are full page illustrations. There is never more than one miniature per folio, with the exception of 13 occurrences in the Parisinus[166] and one occurrence in the Leidensis (fol. 41v) where there are two illustrations in the same folio. All miniatures include a horse with sometimes one or two extra elements, usually one or two figures[167] in 17 occurrences[168] in the Paris manuscript[169] and 27 in the Leiden manuscript.[170] In a few illustrations the horse is associated with a wild animal and natural or architectural elements.

Based on the comparison between text and images, the miniatures usually illustrate specific parts of the text and, very rarely, different parts of it (symptoms, causes, treatment) are shown in the same image.[171] Secondly, and this is important, when a miniaturist thinks that the text does not suit him for any reason, he finds inspiration in other hippiatric texts and does not hesitate to illustrate those passages. Finally, he tries to distinguish the different liquids described in the text, using different colours.

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164 Lazaris, *Art et science vétérinaire*, pp. 41-6.

165 The illustrated section dates from the end of the 14th century. See ibid., pp. 46-61.

166 Fols. 2v, 4r, 8v, 12r, 26r, 27r, 27v, 49v, 55r, 61v, 71r, 71v, 74v.

167 Sometimes the presence of a figure is only hinted at by the representation of an arm.

168 Fols. 2v, 4r, 8v, 26r, 27r, 29v, 33v, 36v, 37v, 38v, 41r, 49r, 52r, 54v, 63v, 64v, 74v.

169 Folios of this manuscript are cited in their original arrangement.

170 Fols. 15v, 18v, 20v, 23r, 26r, 35r, 37r, 38v, 40r, 45r, 49v, 52r, 68r, 70r, 71v, 92v, 102v, 110v, 112r, 114r, 116v, 118r, 120r, 134r, 135v, 141r, 142r.

171 For a detailed examination of every miniature of the *Epitome*, see Lazaris, *Art et science vétérinaire*, pp. 136-203.

For the most part, miniatures in these manuscripts illustrate almost literally the passages they are associated with, or are at the very least directly inspired by them. However, sometimes, the miniaturistes use alternative sources and this is a very important point to determine the working method of these miniaturists. In other cases, they make mistakes because they read the text superficially.[172] Both horses and human figures are almost identical throughout the manuscript which suggests that the artist reproduced these images from models with a few variations according to the context.

The stylistic and iconographic analysis of the miniatures from these two texts demonstrate the existence of lost illuminated hippiatric manuscripts. It is also important to note that the miniaturists who worked on these two Greek manuscripts were influenced to a certain extent by western art, especially regarding the figures' garments (short, bicolour, vertically divided tunics, poulaines/crackowes, etc). This should not come as a surprise as this is a period of close artistic collaboration between Byzantium and the West.[173]

c *Pharmacology*

Equal in importance to the illustrated mathematical and technical treatises are those dealing with plants, exclusively from the point of view of their healing power, and animals, treated from the same utilitarian, i.e. medical point of view. The herbal of Dioscorides, the great pharmacologist of the 1st century, was greatly popular throughout the Middle Ages. His herbal was copied not only in Greek manuscripts but also in Latin and Arabic translations, many of them with illustrations. However, illustrated herbals existed before Dioscorides.

As we read in Pliny's *Natural History* (XXV, 8), "Krateuas, Dionysios and Metrodoros used [the illustration] to depict various plants in colour and add to them a description of their properties". The passage clearly indicates that in this case illustrations were not merely an embellishment but the primary part whereas the text was simply an accompaniment to the pictures.

Thus, according to Pliny, the Greek physicians Krateuas, Dionysios and Metrodoros brought this novelty to botanical research, substituting polychrome representation of plants to their written description. Of the three authors, the first one to be cited, Krateuas, is certainly the oldest. In the preface of his *De Materia medica* (1), Dioscorides ranks him among the elders (ἀρχαίοις)

172 Lazaris, "Les rapports".

173 It is in fact quite likely that both these manuscripts were produced in areas with a strong Latin influence: in Peloponnese or in Cyprus (see Lazaris, *Art et science vétérinaire*, pp. 44-5 and 50-3).

to whom one must pay homage. Physician and herbalist (*rhizotomos*)[174], he lived at the court of Mithridates VI Eupator. Only a few fragments of his work have survived.[175] The second physician cited by Pliny is Dionysios, who could be Cassius Dionysios of Utica, the Greek translator of Mago's work on agriculture.[176] Nothing is known of Metrodoros except that this physician, cited among the sources of books XX to XXVII of Pliny's *Natural History*, is the author of a botanical epitome (*Naturalis historia*, XX, 214: *Epitomen rhizotomumenon*).

Herbal Papyrus Fragments

Among the medical papyri that have survived, it is in Antinoopolis that we find the greatest concentration of medical papyri, dating from the 4th to the 6th centuries. We have roughly 200 medical literary papyri, of which only two herbals are illustrated: 1. Oxford, Sackler Library, P. Tebt. 2.679r & P. Tebt. Tait 39-41 (=MP3 2094), in two fragments; 2. *P. Johnson [=London, Wellcome Library, MS 5753] & London, University College, P. Ant. 3.214 (=MP3 2095), also in two fragments.

The Tebtunis papyrus is an illustrated roll dating from the 2nd century. It fills the gap between the lost herbal by Krateuas who inaugurated the genre in the early 1st century BC and the earliest illustrated manuscript by Dioscorides (see below). Unlike the Tebtunis herbal, the Antinoopolis herbal (*P. Johnson & P. Ant. 3.214) was an illustrated codex. The papyrus is thicker than usual so that it can be painted on the recto and verso. It dates from the very end of the 4th century.

On the recto of the Wellcome Library fragment, is an excellent rendering of a *symphyton* (σύμφυτον, *Symphytum officinale* L.), in richly shaded colours of violet (Fig. 27a). The picture is remarkably large and it is followed by a fragmentary text listing the various therapeutic properties of the plant.[177] The verso of the Wellcome Library papyrus (Fig. 27b) shows a *phlommos* (φλόμμος), which corresponds to all the mullein (genus *Verbascum* L.). This plant has a brown bulbous base from which four or five shoots go upwards, and a number

174 Krateuas, supposedly the personal physician of the king of Pontos Mithridates VI Eupator, is better known for his interest in compound medicines. His herbal has not survived. For some researchers, some of its pictures are thought to be included in the set of plant representations contained in a copy of the *De materia medica* by Dioscorides, kept in the National Library of Austria (see above).

175 Krateuas, *Fragmenta*, ed. M. Wellmann, pp. 139-46.

176 On this identification, see Marganne, "Livres de médecine", p. 6.

177 Transcribed by Singer, "The Herbal in Antiquity", p. 32 and with commentaries, Fausti, "Erbari illustrati", p. 142.

of roots downwards. The shoots bear greenish-yellow leaves and bluish-brown bulbs. The text is very fragmentary.[178]

According to Dioscorides, *symphyton* and *phlommos* are synonyms for the plant *helenium* (ἑλένιον, *Inula helenium* L.),[179] which could explain the juxtaposition (recto-verso) of these two plants which, at first glance, seem to have little in common; their iconography is also very different. One should also note that both plants are mentioned in *De herbarum virtutibus* attributed to Thessalos of Tralles.[180] As V. Nutton observed, "si toutes les plantes présentées dans ce traité avaient été classées par ordre alphabétique, ces deux-là auraient été juxtaposées dans cet ordre".[181] The way plants are represented in these papyri is replicated later on in the first illustrated codices, such as Dioscorides' *Materia medica.*

Dioscorides' *De Materia Medica*

Pedanios Dioscorides was a Greek physician born at Anazarbos near Tarsos in Cilicia (present-day Turkey) who lived in the 1st century during Emperor Nero's reign. His pharmacological work, *De materia medica* (*Of medical substances*), is a collection of about 700 substances (plants especially) with therapeutic properties. Each chapter deals with one medicinal plant, including a detailed description and advice on how to identify it and prepare it. Copied numerous times throughout Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, the *De materia medica*, in its original form, was divided in five books. Later on the text was majorly revised and new recensions and sub-recensions appeared.[182] A 6th and a 7th book (on poisons and venom) were added to the corpus in two different periods. Dioscorides' works are known today thanks to four papyri and 65 Greek codices dating from the 2nd to the 16th centuries.

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178 Transcribed by Singer, "The Herbal in Antiquity", p. 32 and with commentaries, Fausti, "Erbari illustrati", p. 142.

179 Ἑλένιον·οἱδὲ σύμφυτον, οἱδὲ Περσικήν, οἱδὲ Μηδικήν, οἱδὲ Ὀρέστιον, οἱδὲ νεκτάριον, οἱδὲ κλεώνιον, οἱδὲ βάτον Ἰδαίαν, οἱδὲ φλόμον Ἰδαῖον καλοῦσι, I, 28 (it is also called *symphytum*, *persica*, *medica*, *orestion*, *nectarion*, *cleonia*, *rubus idaeus* or *verbascum idaeum*).

180 Thessalos of Tralles, *De virtutibus herbarum,* 1, 4, ed. H.-V- Friedrich, p. 98: Καρκίνου βοτάνη σύμφυτον (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 4631 [*olim* 110] and Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, gr. 542); 2, 7, ed. H.-V- Friedrich, p. 255: Ἑρμοῦ βοτάνη φλόμος (*Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 2502 and Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vind. med. gr. 23).

181 Nutton, "Papyrus Johnson", p. 245.

182 The *De materia medica* is divided in two main recensions: the *Five-Book Recension* and the *Alphabetical Recension.* Each one falls into sub-recensions (classes): see Touwaide, "Un recueil grec de pharmacologie".

Although there is no evidence that Dioscorides' treatise was illustrated from the outset, it was rapidly illustrated.[183] The famous Vienna Dioscorides, early 6th century (*c.*512), is the oldest surviving witness.[184] Subsequently, 18 partially or fully illustrated codices have survived to this day. In order for the reader to get an idea of how this treatise was illustrated, I will present an illustrated manuscript for each principal recension, except for the *Alphabetical Herbal Recension* for which I will present two, given their importance for the history of scientific miniatures.

The *Five-Book Recension* and the *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 2179. With the exception of a fragment of a single leaf found in Erevan (Armenia), the Parisinus is the only surviving copy of this recension. The codex, which is not complete,[185] is dated between the end of the 8th century[186] and the early 9th century.[187]

According to M. Collins, "over 400 illustrations of plants must have added greatly to the cost of this codex."[188] They are mostly arranged in spaces in the text column, usually on the right side of the page. In many instances, however, no space has been left for illustrations in the arrangement of the text and the miniaturist has drawn and painted the plants in the margin, sometimes horizontally (e.g. fols. 33v-34r). Rough, preliminary outlines in pale red ink, different from that of the rubrication, can be discerned beneath the paintings in the spaces left in the text. The plants are drawn either in a much darker ink than the text, or sometimes in ochre, and details are sacrificed to overall clarity. They were drawn and painted after both the text and all the rubrication and uncial glosses were completed.

Six illustrations with human figures are represented in various attitudes adjacent to the plants (fols. 2r, 3v, 4v, 5r-v, 7v) (Fig. 3). The linear treatment of

183 Orofino, "Dioskurides", for instance thinks that the work by Dioscorides was not illustrated in its original form. In contrast, Riddle, *Dioscorides*, thinks it was. See also Touwaide, "Le Traité de matière médicale" and Lazaris, "L'illustration des disciplines médicales".

184 On Dioscorides' Greek illustrated manuscripts, see Touwaide, "Le Traité de matière médicale" and Collins, *Medieval herbals*.

185 The *De materia medica* starts with Book II, chapter 204 and ends at chapter 124 of the Book V.

186 Cavallo, "Funzione e strutture", pp. 102-03; Touwaide, "Le Traité de matière médicale", pp. 288, 289 (he suggested an Egyptian provenance because of the addition of certain Egyptian plant names).

187 Grabar, *Les manuscrits grecs enluminés,* p. 25, no. 5 dated it to the 9th century and suggested an Italian provenance.

188 Collins, *Medieval herbals*, p. 85.

these figures and the use of gold have led to comparisons with the marginal illustrations of the 9th century *Sacra Parallela,* *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 923 (Figs. 155-157).[189] For K. Weitzmann, this kind of figures is a later addition. Indeed, for another Dioscorides codex, Athos, Great Lavra, cod. Ω 75 (see below), he thinks that the figures "are additions made at the earliest in the course of the 10th century under the impact of the Macedonian Renaissance."[190]

M. Collins, considers that the plant illustration of the codex derives on the whole from the same tradition as the *Alphabetical Herbal Recension* and that the more stylised illustrations of the manuscript were added some time after the completion of the text.[191] The colours used in Parisinus are relatively few: dark green, brown, beige, ochre-yellow, light yellow, blue, blue-grey, purple, red. The miniaturist often used gold for the figures' accessories (clothing, stick, halo). All these figures are inserted in the text, which forms a space on the right of the column, so that the textual description and the visual representation of the subject face each other.

The *Alphabetical Herbal Recension* and the Vienna Dioscorides (Vind. med. gr. 1). Of all the extant Dioscorides manuscripts by far the most splendid copy is the already mentioned one in the Vienna Library, which was executed for the imperial princess, Juliana Anicia in the early 6th century (*c*.512). It contains, among others treatises, the text of the *Alphabetical Herbal Recension* of *De materia medica* (fols. 12v-387r). Though it is fragmentary, it still retains 383 plant pictures most of which fill a large codex page, while the text is written on the opposite page. The remaining 108 folios preserve five other antique texts: three with illustrations (*Carmen de viribus herbarum* [see below], a paraphrase by Euteknios of Nicander's *Theriaca* [see below], a paraphrase of Dionysios' *Ornithiaca* [see above]) and two without illustrations (paraphrase by Euteknios of Nicander's *Alexipharmaca*, fols. 438r-459v and a paraphrase of Oppian's *Halieutica*, fols. 460r-473r).

The codex was trimmed and now measures 370 × 300/310 mm. It is composed of 491 folios of fine parchment in uncial script, except folios 287-289, on paper and in minuscule script, inserted in the 14th century to replace the missing text on the mandrake. Some titles are rubricated. The codex was fully restored and rebound in 1405-1406 by the notary John Chortasmenos at the request of Nathaniel, a monk and scholar at the monastery of St. John Prodromos at Petra, Constantinople. The cursive numbering of the plant

189 On this manuscript, see chapter 29.

190 Weitzmann, *Ancient book illumination*, p. 14.

191 Collins, *Medieval herbals*, pp. 88-93.

miniatures and the transcription in Greek minuscule of the plant titles and of the names in the prefatory illustrations are all thought to be by his hand.[192] There are numerous other transliterations and translations of the plant names in cursive Greek script, in Arabic, Hebrew and Latin (but only in fols. 13r-27v).

Each drawing of all 383 plants in *De materia medica* faces its description, all occupying a double page. The careful artwork and its faithfulness to the original are remarkable. Aesthetically, the representations form two groups: one is quite realistic, copying faithfully older models, and the second, more abstract than the first. The drawing of the violet (*Viola odorata*) belongs to the first group (fol. 148v). It is striking, not only because of its realism but also because of its elegance and grace (Fig. 28). It is often said that such reproductions were not only produced for an aesthetic pleasure, but also to memorize the plants, to facilitate their identification by pharmacologists who used them as medicine. Were such drawings made from the observation of nature? One illustration in this manuscript seems to indicate that it might have been the case. It is a full page miniature (fol. 5v) which shows at its centre a personification of Reflection (*Epinoia*) holding a mandrake. Dioscorides, seated right, is writing in a book in the shape of a codex (a description of the plant?), whilst on the left, a young painter, also seated, reproduces the same mandrake on a sheet attached to a wooden board supporting an easel.[193]

The already mentioned Bologna, BU gr. 3632, 15th century, contains many full-page miniatures from Dioscorides' *De materia medica* (fols. 378r-379v, 386r-417v, 426v, 427v).[194] Some reproduce more or less faithfully Vind. med. gr. 1 or one of its copies which did not survive. This is the case in fol. 378v with the portrait of Princess Juliana Anicia, surrounded by the personifications of Magnanimity, Prudence and an Eros who is carrying a codex. The latter is a reference to the manuscript which the inhabitants of the Honoratae district of Constantinople (probably modern Pera) had offered him. Similarly, in fol. 426v we have a copy of fol. 5v (see above).

The *Alphabetical Herbal Recension* and *Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, ex-Vind. gr. 1. Another richly illustrated copy from the 7th century may also have been inspired by the same archetype as the Vienna Dioscorides. Formerly kept in the Vienna Library, it is now in Naples. This precious codex, known as the *Dioscorides Neapolitanus*, consists of 172 parchment folios measuring 297 × 255 mm. The main text is written in Greek uncial script, *maiuscola biblica*, for

192 See Mondrain, "La constitution de corpus d'Aristote", p. 17.

193 Colour reproduction in Lazaris, "L'illustration des disciplines médicales", fig. 43.

194 The preliminary sketch of the miniature in fol. 378r, where we see Dioscorides and the mandrake, is in fol. 427v drawn horizontally.

which G. Cavallo suggested on palaeographical and codicological grounds alone, to be of Italian origin and to date to the end of the 6th century or early 7th. A few years later, in his introduction to a facsimile of this codex, he proposed to date the manuscript to the first half of the 7th century.[195]

In the same publication, G. Orofino demonstrates that the illustrations in this manuscript are not a homogeneous group but can be divided into two distinct groups with as many different sources. The miniaturist attempted to mitigate the differences between these groups, an attempt dominated by a tendency to oversimplify, for didactic reasons. Therefore, she sees in this manuscript a book intended for practical studies and seeks to find out where the book might have been used: probably in Ravenna, the seat, at that time of a well-known medical school.[196] C. Bertelli identifies the patron of this manuscript to an otherwise anonymous senior Byzantine official in Ravenna under Emperor Maurice I (r. 582-602). As he believes there are similarities between the illustrations in the manuscript and representations of plants in the mosaics of the Great Palace of Constantinople which date probably from the time of that emperor, he concludes that this senior official was at Court in Constantinople and saw these mosaics of the Great Palace. They would have been drawn from an ancient manuscript of Dioscorides that this official borrowed in Ravenna to have it copied.[197]

Since the codex is missing folios both at the front and the end, it is impossible to know whether it was once part of a collection of texts like those in the Vienna Dioscorides. M. Anichini supposed that there was once a folio that bore the title and perhaps other folios with representations of doctors or of the author himself.[198] S. Lilla also posited an unnumbered first compilation with, as well as a title page, illustrations in the preface showing Dioscorides himself and other famous classical doctors, and perhaps also the alphabetical index of all the cited plants.[199] However, as M. Collins notes, "the frontispiece illustrations of the Juliana Anicia Codex were conceived for that codex and the represented physicians were specifically chosen to precede the texts contained in that volume".[200]

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195 Bertelli/Lilla/Orofino, *Dioscurides Neapolitanus*. The introduction can be read online: <http://www.digitale.bnnonline.it/index.php?it/115/introduzione-di-gugliemo-cavallo-alledizione-in-fac-simile-del-codice#14>. See also Cavallo, *Ricerche,* p. 106.

196 Bertelli/Lilla/Orofino, *Dioscurides Neapolitanus,* p. 108.

197 Ibid., pp. 129-31.

198 Anichini, "Il Dioscoride di Napoli", p. 101.

199 Bertelli/Lilla/Orofino, *Dioscurides Neapolitanus*, p. 36.

200 Collins, *Medieval herbals*, p.58.

407 illustrations of plants have survived from the original 434.[201] Although they derive from the same archetype as the illustrations of the Herbal in the Vienna Dioscorides, there are several differences. The smaller size of the Naples Dioscorides and the arrangement of two to three plants per folio[202] means that the illustrations are necessarily smaller both in height and width and have been adapted to fit with each other and into a reserved space in the folio.

The order of the plants is often different in the two codices. G. Orofino argued that although the miniatures of close botanical varieties were separated in the Vienna manuscript and placed together in the Naples Dioscorides, both show a similarity of treatment. This indicates that they may have been placed together in the archetype; thus the Naples codex might contain a more faithful copy of the sequence of illustrations from the archetype.

Of the 351 illustrations, which are common in both manuscripts, Orofino counted 19 plants which are clearly different in style. The rest are fundamentally alike and show, despite some variations, a common descent. However, when the representation of a plant is totally different in the two codices, it is usually the Naples illustration which is correct rather than the Vienna manuscript. As M. Collins notes, "*Nymphaea* in Napoli codex represents clearly two species of waterlily (fol. 104r), whereas the plant with that title in the Vienna manuscript (fol. 239r) is not a waterlily but a fern (such as *Scolopendrium vulgare*)".[203]

The *Alphabetical Five-Book Recension* and the *New York, The Morgan Library and Museum, M. 652. The earliest surviving illustrated codex of the *Alphabetical Five-Book Recension* is a 10th century manuscript now in the

201 Mioni, *Catalogus codicum Graecorum*, p. 9 counted 411 herbs, four of which lack their illustrations.

202 The illustrations are arranged two or three to a side (rarely one or four), always on the recto of the folio and occupying the upper 135/140 mm. The accompanying text occupies the lower 135/140 mm. of the folio and arranged in columns.

203 Collins, *Medieval herbals*, p.56. However, as she mentions, the preceding folio, now missing, would have had an illustration of *Narkissos* on the recto and the text for *Nymphaea* on the verso, but it is probable that there was also another illustration on that page, as fol. 239 has traces of the red offset of the name *Nympaea alli*. Recently, a philological study by Cronier, "L'Herbier alphabétique", helped consolidate the idea that the Naples Dioscorides is a more faithful copy of this recension than the Vienna Dioscorides. So, one may wonder whether this recension did not appear in Italy, rather than Constantinople. Cronier imagines the following scenario: a member of the Anicii family travelling between Italy and Constantinople (the father of Juliana Anicia came from Italy, but he had moved around 450 with his wife to Constantinople, where his daughter was born), would have brought back various manuscripts to Italy among which was a copy of the alphabetical Herbarium, which was used as a model for the future Vienna Dioscorides.

Morgan Library in New York. The recent textual analysis by M. Cronier suggests that it was not a copy of the alphabetical recension in five books of *De materia medica*, but the archetype of this tradition.[204] This recension was therefore not produced during the Empire's "dark ages" (7th to 9th centuries) as was once thought.[205] Cronier also questions A. Touwaide's assumption that the manuscript of The Morgan Library was partly copied, text and illustrations of the *De materia medica*, from the Vienna Dioscorides.[206] According to her, two or three textual sources were used for this purpose and they have not yet been identified with any precision.

The New York Dioscorides measures 395 × 290 mm. with 385 folios of well-prepared parchment. It lacks several folios at the beginning and therefore about 50 plant paintings and any preface material which it may have contained originally. The script is an even Greek minuscule, which "se rattache d'un peu plus loin" to the *minuscule bouletée* associated by J. Irigoin with sumptuous manuscripts in court circles in Constantinople between *c.*927 and *c.*985 and particularly 930-960.[207] The palette of over 700 unframed illustrations of plants, animals and minerals is restricted to green and blue, with only an occasional touch of red or brown. Most of the subjects are plants but two pictures show human figures. One of them, a naked man (fol. 9r) pouring oil from a jar, resembles an ancient Aquarius. As A. van Buren writes "there is a close parallel to the style of these figures in a Mount Sinai icon, which is probably a faithful contemporary copy of a Constantinopolitan triptych, depicting King Abgarus of Edessa with the features of Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, who died in 959".[208]

There are many other illustrated manuscripts of *De materia medica*[209] such as Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 284, of the 10th century and illustrated in the 14th century; the already mentioned Lavra Ω 75, 11th century; Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chig. F. VII. 159 [gr. 53], second half of the 15th century and many others. In most of them, the *De materia medica* is followed by two other treatises of Pseudo-Dioscorides: the *Theriaca* on poisonous animal bites and their antidotes and *Alexipharmaca*, in which the author discussed animal, plant and mineral poisons and their antidotes.[210]

204 Cronier, "Un manuscrit méconnu".

205 On this hypothesis, see Touwaide, "Les deux traités de toxicologie", pp. 333-5.

206 Cronier, "Un manuscrit méconnu", pp. 108-9.

207 Irigoin, "Une écriture du X^{e} siècle", p. 195.

208 Van Buren, "De Materia Medica", p. 67.

209 Touwaide, "Dioscoride".

210 Touwaide, "Les deux traités de toxicologie".

The *Theriaca* and *Alexipharmaca* of Nicander

In addition to encyclopaedic herbals like that of Dioscorides, there were others, more specialized writings on botany (pharmacology) like those of Pseudo-Dioscorides and Nicander of Colophon. The latter who was not a physician but a grammarian, compiled literary sources; this is why both his poems, *Theriaca* and *Alexipharmaca*, contain side by side precise plant descriptions and information on their use, as well as absurdities inherited from popular superstitions.

Nicander's *Theriaca* was a poem on poisonous animal bites and their antidotes, while his *Alexipharmaca* dealt with animal, plant and mineral poisons and their antidotes. We have a richly illustrated copy of these two poems, which, according to K. Weitzmann and many others scholars, were already illustrated in Classical Antiquity.[211] Indeed, there is evidence that Nicander's work was illustrated, if not from the original, at least as early as the 3rd century as Tertullian wrote that "*Nicander scribit et pingit*" (*Scorpiace*, I, 1).

Unlike other authors such as Aristotle (see above), Nicander does not make any reference to figures, a reference which would have been indisputable proof. It is very likely that Tertullian tells the truth, but there is no evidence that Nicander's autograph manuscript was illustrated;[212] not even the antique style of a number of miniatures from Nicander's only illustrated manuscript, *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. suppl. gr. 247, 11th century.[213]

This small codex (148 × 118 mm) is made of 48 parchment folios of uneven quality. 29 out of 77 original folios are lost and, from a total of 1,588 verses in *Theriaca* (fols. 2r-28v) and *Alexipharmaka* (fols. 29r-46v), only 987 have survived. The first folio is entirely blank while folios 47 and 48 contain full-page illustrations, which are not directly relevant to the text.

Its 48 folios are illustrated with 54 miniatures, which are not directly related to the text (44 in *Theriaca* and 7 in *Alexipharmaka*), produced by at least two miniaturists. Illustrations, inserted at the top, middle or bottom of the folios according to the distribution of the text are unframed. Most often, they represent an animal, a plant or human figures with no attempt to fill out the

211 Kádár, *Survivals*, pp. 37-51; Horsfall, "The Origins", p. 204.

212 Other scholars went even further, because they thought that Nicander could have copied the illustrations of his works directly from his sources. Wellmann, "Philumenos", p. 379 postulates that the works of Apollodoros, which he thought were Nicander's main source, were illustrated. Nicander could have copied the illustrations from Apollodoros' works. Some have simply stated there was an Alexandrian model without giving any further explanations (cf. Théodoridès, "Remarques sur l'iconographie zoologique", p. 24).

213 Facsimile: Touwaide, *Theriaka y Alexipharmaka*. See also Lazaris, "À propos du Nicandre de Paris".

white space: several folios are almost empty, containing only a few lines of text (fols. 9v, 12v, 14r, 15v, 22v, 25r-v), and sometimes only one or two (fols. 10v, 11v, 24v) followed or preceded by a miniature which only fills a small part of the reserved space.

K. Weitzmann attributed the misuse of reserved space for illustrations in the Paris manuscript to the difficulty miniaturists experienced in organizing the various elements of their model (plants and/or animals) with what he believed to be additions (human figures). As previously mentioned regarding other manuscripts, K. Weitzmann[214] thought that human elements were not present in the original model. His argument rests on the fact that there are no figures in the two oldest Byzantine illustrated manuscripts to have preserved Euteknios' paraphrase of Nicander's work.[215] Thus, according to him, if they are missing in Euteknios manuscripts, Nicander manuscripts prior to *Par. suppl. gr. 247 did not have any either. Weitzmann is implying that, given the nature of Euteknios' work, his artwork was based on Nicander's.

However, comparing Nicander's illustrations to those of Euteknios, we notice that they have much less in common than K. Weitzmann had previously thought (see below, Euteknios' *Paraphrasis in Nicandri Theriaca*). In other words, the differences are significant enough to refute Weitzmann's hypothesis that Euteknios' illustrations come from Nicander. There is no evidence, in the present state of our knowledge, that the human elements in the Paris manuscript were not part of its model. It seems therefore that *Par. suppl. gr. 247, a faithful copy of its model, preserved an older version of Nicander's illustrations. Concerning the misuse of reserved space noted by K. Weitzmann, it is probably the result of a poor estimate due to the use of a model in a different format than the copy (copying from a *volumen* to a codex, or from a larger codex to a smaller one).[216]

Fol. 2v contains two illustrations (Fig. 29). The first one refers to the text (verses 13-20) located at the bottom of folio 2r. Spanning almost the entire upper half of the folio, a man armed with a *lagobolon* (curved stick to catch hares and other small prey) turns left. His attitude is particularly lively, with his outstretched arm as he stiffens in one leg and flexes the other. A *chlamys* (hunter's attire) hanging from his arm and his tunic forming a tip between his legs

214 Weitzmann, "The Greek sources", pp. 258-60; id., *Ancient book illumination*, p. 14.

215 The manuscripts are Vind. med. gr. 1 (fols. 393r-437v and 438r-459v) and *M. 652 in the Morgan Library (fols. 338r-360v and 375r-384v). In the Vienna manuscript only the first treatise, *Theriaca*, is illustrated. In fact, there are no human figures in any of the manuscripts.

216 Lazaris, "À propos du Nicandre de Paris".

convey a further feeling of movement. The figure is drawn with great care. Below, a greenish scorpion stretches its upturned sting in a parallel motion to the *lagobolon* wielded by the figure. The figures are not drawn to scale as the scorpion is almost as big as the hunter. Despite the artist's great attention to detail, the scorpion appears to have been drawn from "memory": it has six post-abdominal segments but should really only have five segments.[217]

The composition is the same as Orion's astrological iconography. We find the two protagonists of the myth, the scorpion and Orion. He also holds a *lagobolon*. The identification of the character is also helped by the caption above his left arm. Yet, because the two elements of the image (the hunter and the scorpion) are drawn at different scales, their astrological association is not obvious. According to K. Weitzmann, "the illustrator of the Nicander must have copied the figure of Orion from an Aratos manuscript similar to the Vatican one [Vat. gr. 1087][218] but earlier [...]".[219]

Euteknios' *Paraphrasis* in *Nicandri Theriaca*

For Nicander the only illustrated manuscript is therefore the *Par. suppl. gr. 247; however this may be supplemented by illustrations in manuscripts preserving Euteknios' prose paraphrases of Nicander's *Theriaca* and *Alexipharmaca*. The most complete illustrated manuscript is the New York Dioscorides (*Morgan Library, M. 652) and Vat. Chig. F. VII. 159 [gr. 53]. The Vienna Dioscorides also contains the two paraphrases, but only the *Theriaca* is illustrated.[220] Bologna, BU gr. 3632 only contains the illustrations (fols. 381r, 382v, 383v-384r, 385v).[221]

The *Theriaca* in the Vienna Dioscorides (fols. 393r-437v) is illustrated with images of poisonous creatures and the sources for the antidotes, including one or two animals, reptiles, insects, and one image of lignite; in particular, fol. 411r has a distinctive group of reptiles (Fig. 30). There are also small plants most of which are copied on a reduced scale from those illustrating the *Alphabetical Herbal*.

Weizmann's idea that the illustration of Euteknios' paraphrase was based on that of Nicander (see above), is unlikely on close comparison of the illustrations in both works. There are, for instance, significant differences between the

217 Théodoridès, "Remarques sur l'iconographie zoologique", p. 23.

218 On this manuscript, see above.

219 Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*, p. 144.

220 The *Alexipharmaca* (fols. 438r-459v) had reserved spaces for illustrations which were never filled.

221 On this manuscript, see above.

representations of the *skytale* snake in New York (fol. 350v), Bologna (fol. 382v) and Paris (fol. 15v). In the latter manuscript, a short and squat-looking snake occupies the upper two-thirds of the folio. Its head is relatively narrow compared to the rest of its body. Its eyes and mouth are distinguishable. Its hugely inflated belly reveals the white parchment, while its back is represented by a thick dark line.[222]

The illustrations of the *skytale* snake in Euteknios' paraphrase resemble those in Nicander's treatise in *Par. suppl. gr. 247 only to the extent that they likewise portray a conspicuously short, thick-set, brown-coloured snake with the sign for water under each one (including the badly damaged Vienna codex), which is missing in the Nicander codex. Apart from this the pictures in the paraphrase show a much shorter snake.

The *Carmen de Viribus Herbarum*

The *Carmen de viribus herbarum* is a poem dealing with 16 healing herbs. This poem is traditionally attributed to Rufus of Ephesos, whose portrait is placed on the bottom right in the group of the second frontispiece of the Vienna Dioscorides (fol. 3v). However, according to P. Luccioni, this is an anonymous work.[223] The work consists in a poet's teachings (whom we would like to think was a physician) in 216 hexameters to a young disciple, on healing with the right herbs. The author of the poem offers a few words of description for a number of the cited species, to help the disciple recognise each medicinal plant.

In the Vienna Dioskorides, the poem (fols. 388r-392r) is not illustrated except for a full-page coral representation (fol. 391v) with a personification of a marine deity (Fig. 31). This representation was also copied in Bologna, BU gr. 3632 (fol. 382r). The coral was considered to be a plant in Antiquity.[224]

Instead of showing it at the bottom of the sea, the painter, for reasons of visibility, shows the coral emerging from the sea or rather from a kind of small lake with some rocks in the foreground to delineate the shore. Because of the abundant ramifications that give the impression of a net or a spider's web, thanks to its dynamic and nervous style, the illustrator managed to blend harmoniously realism and formalism. Yet, the coral is brown instead of red. This

222 The figure refers to the 384-8 Nicander verses, ed. J.-M. Jacques, which refers to the resemblance of the *skytale* with the *amphisbaina* (fol. 15r), but the two figures have almost nothing in common. Moreover, the illustration emphasizes the width of the snake while the text refers to its size.

223 Luccioni, "Ce que dit le poète".

224 Magdelaine, "Le corail".

leads us to think that the miniaturist did not draw from nature, but used a model still deeply imbedded in the iconography of Classical Antiquity. Such a wide variety of submarine inhabitants are depicted that they seem to fill the small lake like an aquarium. The personification of the sea here is a goddess, possibly Thetis, rather than the god Poseidon, with lobster claws in her hair.[225] The personification of the coral holding an oar, leans on a sea monster, reminiscent of the shape of the Cetus constellation. As for the illustration of Nicander in *Par. suppl. gr. 247 (e.g. fol. 47r), here too there is a clear overlap between science and poetry, first by the choice of writing in hexameters and pictorially by the mythological additions.

Nicholas Myrepsos' *Dynameron*

The work, which is still unedited and only accessible in a 1549 Latin edition by Leonhart Fuchs (Basel), contains 2,656 recipes, arranged in 48 classes according to pharmaceutical properties. The *Dynameron* is the first Byzantine pharmacological work *strictu sensu* and seems to have been composed at the end of the 13th century. The author, Nicholas Myrepsos, is traditionally identified with the Nicholas, who was chief physician at the court of John III Doukas Vatatzes in 1241. However, this identification is not confirmed by any cross-reference to the *Dynameron*, in which the identity of the author remains somewhat unclear.[226]

A Greek copy of the *Dynameron*, together with botanical and astrological texts, was completed by the priest Kosmas Kamelos, exarch of the metropolitan of Athens, for the physician Demetrios Chloras (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 2243).This manuscript is the only illustrated version of Myrepsos' *Dynameron*. According to the subscription in fol. 664r, this codex dates back to August 1339. Measuring 255 × 190 mm, it contains 664 parchment folios, 93 of which were blank, maybe intended for future readers to add their own notes. The codex does not illustrate strictly speaking the text. In fol. 1ov a

225 See another personification of the Sea with lobster claws in the hair in the monastery of Gračanica, 14th century. Reproduction in Talbot Rice/Radojčić, *Yougoslavie*, pl. XXVII.

226 Nicholas Myrepsos draws lots of recipes from contemporary Latin *antidotaria* such as the 12th century *Salernitan Antidotarius Magnus seu Universalis* and the less extensive, early 13th century *Antidotarium* by Nicholas of Salerno (just under 150 recipes), but also from texts of clearly Greek origin such as Paul of Aegina and Metrodora. However, we can also trace a strong oriental influence either from the choice of ingredients or the pharmaceutical dosage. This text became the main source of Byzantine pharmacy and pharmacology available in Western Europe; Nicholas of Reggio translated it into Latin (14th century). On Myrepsos, see Kritikos/Papadaki, "Pharmacie chez les Byzantins", pp. 19 and 58.

miniature on two registers shows a *deisis* scene and a visit to the doctor.[227] In fol. 11v a portico frames the first lines of the text, richly decorated and surmounted by a scene of the Annunciation. Finally, a zodiac wheel is drawn at the very end of the manuscript.

Various figures related to the medical world are depicted in the lower register of the image in fol. 10v (Fig. 32): a physician (ὁ ἰητρος [*sic*]), propped in his chair examines urine samples according to a conventional scheme of representation, both in the Byzantine world and in the West. The physician's assistant is shown wearing a conical hat, handling a container, used to transport the urine sample, a pharmacist (ὁ σπεστιαλος [*sic*], i.e. the *speciarus*), who also wears a conical hat and brings a half-open box containing various vials. A small male figure prepares medicine by grinding ingredients using two sticks, into a pot under a cabinet filled with different shaped vials. One of the physician's patients (ὁ ἀσθενῶν [*sic*]) is sitting leaning on two canes and another stands before him in the clinic, while a seated woman is depicted holding a lifeless child and tearing out her hair.

This representation is also found in a manuscript in the Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Pal. gr. 199, 13th century. Mentioned by A. Grabar, it was recently reconsidered by B. Mondrain.[228] In fol. 191v of this codex containing various medical treatises, we have the same representation as in Par. gr. 2243: two registers, a *deisis* and a visit to the doctor. There are minor differences (the way the vials are arranged in the medicine cabinet, the caption μαθητής above the assistant crushing medicine). The drawing is made from the same ink as the text with a few details of the scene in added yellow ochre and bright red, as in the Paris manuscript, for the urine examined by the physician. As B. Mondrain points out, "il est très vraisemblable que cette représentation a servi de modèle à celle du manuscrit de Myrepse [Par. gr. 2243]".[229]

The Bologna manuscript (BU gr. 3632) has preserved a series of teaching scenes and medical, astronomical/astrological practice. They are scattered throughout the codex.[230] Just like the captions on bandages, here too the names of the depicted figures are sometimes wrong (e.g., in fol. 20v, the physician Aktouarios becomes Oktarios!).

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227 These two superimposed scenes emphasize the link between the care of the body and that of the soul, placing the action of the doctor under the blessing of Christ. To be healed, the patient must be treated by a doctor, but he is more likely to heal if he requests the Virgin and St. John the Baptist to intercede on his behalf with Christ.

228 Grabar, "L'art profane", p. 328; Mondrain, "Nicolas Myrepse", pp. 408-12.

229 Mondrain, "Nicolas Myrepse", p. 407.

230 Fols. 35v, 51r, 68v, 90v, 97v, 108r, 125v, 132r, 134v, 154v, 167r, 172v, 183r, 191r, 205v, 210r, 214r, 218r, 255v, 260r, 286v, 297r, 315r, 323v, 340r, 345r-349r, 350v, 351v, 378r-379r, 418r-419r, 426r, 444v.

4 Applied Sciences

a *Engines for use in daily life*

One of the first engineers in Alexandria was Ktesibios, who was a contemporary of Archimedes (see above). He was the first to produce devices employing "pneumatics", i.e. the action of air under pressure.[231] These devices were used in four fields: musical instruments, water-clocks, devices to draw water and war machines. His work on the subject is lost, but descriptions of some of his inventions are preserved by Philo of Byzantium, Vitruvius, and Heron of Alexandria.

Philo of Byzantium was an imitator of Ktesibios and was himself used by Heron of Alexandria. We do not know the date of his birth but linguistic analysis suggests that he wrote around 200 BC. He wrote a compendium on technology (Μηχανικὴ σύνταξις, *Mechanical System*) in nine (?) books. Parts of this work are lost, but there is some internal evidence for its original structure. After an *Introductory Book*, there followed a book on levers (Μοχλικά) and a book of applied science for the construction of harbours (Λιμενοποιικά). These two books are generally assumed to be among his lost works. The following books are preserved in Greek; they deal with war engines, their construction, improvement, and use. One of these is called *Belopoeica* (Βελοποιικά); two others are *Parasceuastica* (Παρασκευαστικά), defence tactics, and *Poliorcetica* (Πολιορκητικά), siege tactics. According to F.D. Prager, "inserted shortly before the end of the war engine book, he then intended to begin the work on pneumatics"(Πνευματικά).[232]

Besides Ktesibios and Philo of Byzantium, Heron of Alexandria also had a place of his own. He was a mathematician and an inventor. After much debate, it has been established that he was active in the middle of the 1st century.[233] His work can be divided into three main areas: mathematics, scientific applications based on theoretical knowledge, various machines or devices, which are

231 On Ktesibios, see Drachmann, *Study in ancient pneumatics*.

232 Prager, *Philo of Byzantium*, p. 15. The *Pneumatica* is preserved in a Latin version, based on an Arabic translation. For the Latin and Arabic manuscripts, see Ibid., pp. 34-5.

233 The following works are associated with his name: 1. *Metrica* (Μετρικά), three books; 2. *Definitions* (Ὅροι); 3. *Geometrica* (Γεωμετρικά); 4. *Stereometrica* (Στερεομετρικά); 5. *On Measures* (Περὶ μέτρων); 6. *Pneumatica* (Πνευματικά), two books; 7. *On Automata-making* (Περὶ αὐτοματοποιητικῆς); 8. *Mechanica* (Μηχανικά), three books (extant only in Arabic); 9. *Dioptra* (Περὶ διόπτρας); 10. *Catoptrica* (Κατοπτικά) (extant only in Latin translation); 11. *Belopoeica* (Βελοποιικά). Some of these, notably (3), (4) and (5), can hardly be by Heron in their present form, but all may well be based on treatises by him. On Heron of Alexandria, see Argoud, "Héron d'Alexandrie" pp. 129-30.

practical applications of scientific principles. This last area is of high interest and I will give a quick overview of a few illustrated treatises and two more in the next section ("Engines for military use").

In his treatise *Dioptra*, Heron describes the construction and use of a sighting-instrument for measurement at a distance (with descriptions of unrelated instruments, e.g. an *odometer*). The use of this instrument is explained in great detail. It was used to take alignments and draw figures on the ground, for calculations and levelling surfaces and for measuring distances between inaccessible points. It was also used to measure angular celestial distances in astronomical operations. Heron's treatise also contains some guidelines on how to measure streams, but it is only the reproduction of a passage from another work by the Alexandrian engineer.

According to A.J.H. Vincent, the work is preserved only in three post-byzantine manuscripts.[234] Another manuscript was not referred to in Vincent's edition. It is *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. suppl. gr. 607, which is the oldest codex of this treatise. The oldest section of this compound codex dates back to the 10th century and the more recent one to the 16th century. Herons' *Dioptra* is preserved in fols. 62r-82v. Several drawings are in the body of the text (fols. 63v-64r, 65v, 66v-68v, 69v-70r, 71v-77v, 79r, 80r, 82r-v). The figure of the dioptre is in fol. 64r (Fig. 33) at the end of the explanation on how to build a dioptre, where the author also begins to explain practical applications.[235]

In his *On Automata-making*, Heron gives the description of a fairly large number of physical devices, but mostly on the construction of θαύματα ("miracle-working" devices used especially in temples). The *Pneumatica*, in two books, deals with the mechanics of gases and liquids. Other devices were invented for the purpose of entertainment, e.g. to reproduce birdsong or music. In this text the reader finds such things as siphons, "Heron's fountain", "penny-in-the-slot" machines, a fire-engine, a water-organ, and many steam-driven machines. Others still are designed to astonish spectators: containers are filled with water but pour out wine, oil lamps fuelled with water, and so on.

As already mentioned, the main source for *Pneumatica* is, in all likelihood, the work by Philo of Byzantium, which bears the same title, or a lost work derived from Philo's. But a different source must be identified for certain passages: 11, 17 (the cup) and 18 (syringe), which differ from other devices because of their medical function.[236] The *Pneumatica* and *Automata* have raised a lot of

234 Vincent, "Extraits", p. 170.

235 Ibid., p. 190. It was described in detail by Germain De Montauzan, *Essai sur la science,* pp. 51-61.

236 See Boas, "Hero's Pneumatica"; Argoud, "Héron d'Alexandrie".

interest amongst historians of physics because of their use of compressed air, water, or steam.

The *Pneumatica* is preserved in 100 manuscripts, but almost all are post-Byzantine.[237] W. Schmidt identified two recensions of this text, an old one, whose most important manuscript is Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Marc. gr. Z. 516, fols. 10v-184v, 14th century,[238] and a recent one.[239] Among the manuscripts of the old recension, except for Marc. gr. Z. 516, twelve preserved the full text of the *Pneumatica*. Among them a splendid copy ought to be mentioned: Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Gud. gr. 13, 16th century,[240] Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, B. V. 20, fols. 1r-82r (and fols. 82v-113r for the *Automata*), copied in 1541 by Valeriano Albini de Forli, canon of San Salvatore in Bologna, and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 2428, fols. 1r-51v (and fols. 52r-71v for the *Automata*), also from the 16th century.

This last codex consists in III+ 250 + III paper folios and measures 320 × 210 mm. The *Pneumatica* contains 45 figures in the first book (fols. 1r-32v) and 36 in the second (fols. 33r-51v). In fols. 16r-v, the chapter on the automatic trumpeting doorbell for a temple,[241] there is a figure illustrating the device (Fig. 34, fol. 16v). According to the text, a trumpet sound can be reproduced when opening the doors of a temple in the following way: behind the door, let there be a vessel ΑΒΓΔ containing water. In this vessel, invert a narrow-necked air chamber, that is, an inverted vessel with a narrow mouth, Z. Let a trumpet, Θ K, provided with bell and mouthpiece, communicate with it at its lower extremity. [Let the rod [Λ][242] M run] parallel with the tube of the trumpet and attached to it, fastened at its lower end to the vessel Z, and having at the other end a loop, M. Let the rod ΝΞ pass through this loop, thus supporting the vessel Z at a sufficient height above the water. The rod ΝΞ must turn on pivot O, and a chain or cord

237 See the full list in Heron of Alexandria, *Pneumatica*, ed. W. Schmidt, pp. 3-53.

238 Ibid., p. 3, dates the manuscript to the 13th century, but the 14th century is more likely (cf. Mioni, *Codices Graeci manuscripti,* pp. 381-4). On this manuscript, see also Furlan, *Codici greci illustrati,* pp. 30-4.

239 Among the "Gekürzte Pneumatik" manuscripts noticed by Schmidt, we ought to single out Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, P 110 sup. This 15th century manuscript is made of I+56+I folios (fols. 54v and 55r are blank). It contains geometrical figures in the margin of the folios (fols. 11r, 14r, 14v, 15v, 16v, 17v, 18v, 19r, 19v, 20r, 21v, 22r, 22v, 23v, 24v, 26r, 26v, 27r, 28r, 28v, 29v, 30v, 31v, 32v, 33v, 35r, 36r, 36v, 37r (two figures), 37v (two figures), 38r, 38v, 39r, 39v, 40r, 40v, 41r, 42r, 43r, 43v, 44v, 45r, 45v, 46r, 47r, 48r, 48v, 49v, 50v, 51r, 52r, 52v, 53r, 54r).

240 Originally there was only one manuscript, Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Gud. gr. 19, which contains Heron's *Automata*.

241 Heron of Alexandria, *Pneumatica*, 1, 16-7, Θυρῶν ἀνοιγομένων ναοῦ, ed. W. Schmidt.

242 The letter on the figure in the manuscript is Δ, which is a mistake.

attached to its extremity Ξ must be passed through a pulley-wheel Π and fastened to the rear of the door. When the door is drawn open, the cord will be pulled and draw the extremity Ξ of the rod upward, so that the rod ΝΞ no longer supports the loop M. And when the loop (in consequence) changes its position, the vessel Z will descend into the water, and give forth the sound of a trumpet by the expulsion of the air contained in it through the mouthpiece and bell.[243] As we can see, on the picture, the rod ΛΜ (ΔΜ on this miniature) is too high.[244]

b *Engines for Military Use*

In his *Belopoeica*, on the construction of war-catapults, Heron of Alexandria describes the manufacturing processes of these machines and how to operate them, including the calculation of proportions and speed of certain projectiles. It was a subject which had already been dealt with by Heron's predecessors. The text in the manuscripts is associated with several figures. There exist several illustrated manuscripts containing this work.[245] In *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 2442, fols. 71r-78v[246] for example, the belly-bow is described in fols. 71v-72r and a colour figure (green, ochre, light yellow, purple) occupies the two-third of the next folio.[247] Heron concludes that this device is called a *gastraphetes*, "since the withdrawal of the bowstring was achieved through the belly".[248]

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243 Heron of Alexandria, *Pneumatica,* ed./trans. G. Argoud/J.-Y. Guillaumin, pp. 76-9 and engl. transl. by Humphrey/Oleson/Sherwood, *Greek and Roman technology*, pp. 65-6 (with some mistakes).

244 See a correct reconstitution in Heron of Alexandria, *Pneumatica,* ed./trans. G. Argoud/J.-Y. Guillaumin, fig. 18.

245 Heron of Alexandria, *Belopoeica*, ed. H. Diels/E. Schramm, p. 4 mention the following manuscripts: Par. suppl. gr. 607, 10th/16th century; *Par. gr. 2442, 11th century; *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1164, 11th century; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vind. phil. gr. 120, 16th century (fragments). We should add to these codices *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 2521, 16th century, 37 fols., 235 × 170 mm., which contains this text in fols. 22r-37r illustrated with miniatures in the main text (fols. 24v, 27r, 28r, 29r, 30r-v, 31v, 33r, 35r, 36v).

246 It is a codex copied in the 11th century in the scriptorium where Ephraim worked, a monk who worked in Constantinople in the middle of the 10th century. It is a manuscript in parchment, made of 3+A+129+3 folios and measuring 340 × 265 mm. On this codex, see Durand, *Byzance*, no. 264, pp. 353-4.

247 On this codex see also below.

248 Ἐκάλουν δὲ τὸ ὅλον ὄργανον γαστραφέτην, ἐπειδήπερ διὰ τῆς γαστρὸς ἡ καταγωγὴ τῆς τοξίτιδος ἐγίγνετο, Heron of Alexandria, *Belopoeica*, 7, ed. H. Diels/E. Schramm.

A short treatise entitled *Cheiroballistra* (Χειροβαλίστρας κατασκευὴ καὶ συμμετρία) consists in the description of a portable arrow throwing weapon, a kind of ancestor of the crossbow used by archers in the Middle Ages. It is not certain whether this was a work by Heron of Alexandria. In the manuscripts several figures illustrate its description.[249] In *Par. gr. 2442, the miniatures are drawn in the body of the text in each folio. The range of colours is the same as for the other artillery engines (green, ochre, light yellow, purple, etc.). The description provides precise dimensions. For example, for the little arch (καμάριον), the author wrote: "make too what is called the little arch, in the shape, as illustrated below, ΑΒΓΔΕΖΗ; ΓΕ being 1 ft. and 71/2 dactyls,[250] and the interval ΘΚ formed by the arch being 5 dactyls". The unframed illustration (fol. 70r) in this section is clearly inspired by the text (even if the letter Γ is lacking).

The author of the treatise must have seen this portable weapon when he was describing how to make it. As V. Prou writes, "on peut même affirmer que les ressorts (καμβέστρια) et les battants (κωνοειδῆ) se trouvaient démontés, ou du moins séparés du corps de l'arme, pour en faciliter l'exacte description".[251] The author's only concern is to note all the exact dimensions for the exclusive purpose of manufacturing the device. The text is silent on how to operate the weapon and only the title suggests that it is a throwing weapon. Presumably this lack of information is due to the fact that for the author of the treatise its purpose was obvious enough not to take the trouble to explain this aspect in detail. His text amounts to a very methodical checklist.

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249 Prou, *La chirobaliste,* p. 115 mentions the following manuscripts: *Par. suppl. gr. 607, 10th century, fols. 56r-58v; Vind. phil. gr. 120, 16th century, fols. 12r-14v; *Par. gr. 2442, 11th century, fols.68v-70v; *Vat. gr. 1164, 11th century, fols. 107v-109v; Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 219 and Vat. gr. 220, 15th century, fols. 17v-20v; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vind. phil. gr. 140, 16th century, fols. 59v-63r; *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 2435, 16th century, fols. 14r-16r; *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 2436, 16th century, fols. 10v-12v; *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 2437, 16th century, fols. 17r-19v; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 2438, 16th century, fols. 14v-17r; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 2439, 16th century, fols. 58r-61r; *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 2445, 16th century, fols. 127v-129v; *Par. gr. 2521, 16th century, fols. 21v-24v (in fact, the text is found in fols. 18v-21v and illustrations in fols.19r-v, 20v-21v); *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. suppl. gr. 26, 16th century, fols. 21v-23r; *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. suppl. gr. 244, 17th century, fols. 29r-30v.

250 16 dactyls = 1 ft.

251 Prou, *La chirobaliste,* p. 39.

The so-called "Heron of Byzantium" is a name used to refer to an anonymous Byzantine compiler and commentator of two treatises: the *De strategematibus* (Παραγγέλματα πολιορκητικά), an instructional manual on the fabrication of siege machines and *Geodesia* (Γεωδαισία), a manual on the use of a dioptre, a kind of surveyor's theodolite. According to T.H. Martin, they were written in 938 or slightly later.[252] "Heron of Byzantium" updated and supplemented for his contemporaries the works of classical poliorcetic authors, particularly Apollodoros of Damascus, Athenaios Mechanikos, Biton of Pergamon, and Philo of Byzantium, as well as Heron of Alexandria's *Dioptra* (see above). He also presents the material with a new didactic approach in both his text and illustrations, which he indicates, is more appropriate for his "non engineering" audience.

Indeed, the stated aim of the author is to simplify the works of ancient mechanics, to make them "accessible to all". It is addressed particularly to generals responsible for besieging cities held by the Arabs[253] and beginners who are new to mathematics.[254] The book is therefore intended as a practical manual, and not intended for engineers. In his edition Sullivan shows that "Heron of Byzantium" distinguishes himself from his ancient models by his realistic drawings for educational purposes. Indeed, the author focuses on the representation of things (πράγματα) accessible to the senses, rather than what ancient drawings did, i.e. illustrate concepts (νοήματα).

The two treatises are illustrated in *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1605.[255] It is a richly illustrated manuscript dated on palaeographical grounds to the 11th century. In fols. 7v and 8r different tortoises and also two different kinds of caltrops are drawn: τρίβολοι ξύλινοι (wood caltrops) and τρίβολοι σιδηροῖ (iron caltrops). Heron recommended against the iron caltrops to place wooden supports under the boots or to clear these away with farm rakes with large tine which some also call *griphanai* (ξύλινα ὑποθέματα πρὸς τοὺς πόδας τοῖς ὑποδήμασι [...] ἢ τοῖς γεωργικοῖς κτεσὶν οὓς καὶ γριφάνας τινὲς καλοῦσιν). As we may see in fol. 8r (Fig. 35), a man disperses the iron caltrops in front of a plaited *laisa*.[256]

252 Martin, *Recherches sur la vie*, p. 275.

253 Heron of Byzantium, *De strategematibus*, 58, ed. R. Schneider.

254 Heron of Byzantium, *Geodesia*, 6, ed. D.F. Sullivan.

255 Dain, "Les stratégistes byzantins", p. 358 refers to the manuscript Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1614. But this manuscript is of a later date and does not contain any texts by Heron of Byzantium.

256 On this term, see in Heron of Byzantium, *Geodesia*, II, 4, ed. D.F. Sullivan.

Among the numerous illustrated manuscripts which gather different military texts, two manuscripts in the National Library of Paris stand out: the first is *Par. gr. 2521.[257] It is a collection of treatises on Ballistics by Athenaios Mechanikos, Biton of Pergamon and Heron with coloured drawings of war machines and various weapons. The second is the already mentioned *Par. gr. 2442. It contains a *corpus* of military treatises on tactics and poliorcetics (the art of conducting military operations and to take cities by storm). They were written by various authors: Athenaios Mechanikos, Biton of Pergamon, Philo of Byzantium, Onosander, Heron of Alexandria, Ailianos Taktikos, Apollodoros of Damascus, and Pseudo-Maurice, who all lived between the late 3rd century BC and the end of the 6th or early 7th century. The manuscript is now divided between a section found in the Paris codex and another in *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Barb. gr. 276. This separation goes back at least to the first identified owner of the manuscript, the Greek collector and scholar Ianos Laskaris.

Apart from the graphite drawings found at the beginning of the *Par. gr. 2442 (fols. 1r-2r, 6r, 8v, 9v-11r, 12v, 16r, 17v-18v, 19v-22r, 23v) and showing the infantry arranged in different battle formations (fols. 17v-18v), the illustrations of war machines are often very specific and include the names of each piece discussed in the text. The first illustrations of this kind appear in the treatise *De Machinis* (*On Machines*) by Athenaios Mechanikos. Colours (pastel blue, green, ochre or light yellow, purple, red) are applied with care and animate the figured objects. The perspective drawing is not always correct (cf. fol. 8or), even if the miniaturist has clearly gone to some length to represent objects based on a correct observation. This is the case for example of the rolling tower before the wall of a city in fols. 58v-59r (Fig. 36).

Most often, the drawings are included in the text on the right side of the page or below a passage that announces them – even though several times the blank space in the drawing is carried a little further as it is considered insufficient. For example, in fol. 61r is an illustration of a war ship about to attack (Fig. 37), which was announced at the bottom of fol. 60v (ἐνταῦθα τὸ πλοῖον, there is the ship). As a result, almost two-thirds of this folio remained blank. Among the many other illustrations in this manuscript, we find: siege engines (fols. 61v-62r), an attack fortress (fol. 65r), a projectile launcher (fols. 76v-77r), a tortoise, mobile sheds used to protect troops from attack while approaching fortifications (fol. 80r), an attack on a wall (fols. 82v-83r), and a ram (fols. 85v-86r).

In fols. 23r-v this codex preserves a short 10th-century work, which consists of a brief text and a diagram of a square infantry formation with explanatory

257 On Parisinus, see Jackson, "The Colbert Greek Library", p. 45.

passages placed before, inside, and after the diagram (Σύνταξις ὁπλιτῶν τετράγωνος ἔχουσα ἐντὸς καββαλαρίους, A square infantry formation keeping the cavalry inside). As E. McGeer observed, this text "is of interest for the study of military science and tactics in tenth-century Byzantium since the diagram depicts the standard battle formation for Byzantine infantry of the time […]".[258] This work is preserved in two others codices from the first half of the 11th century: *Vat. gr. 1164, fols. 10r-v[259] and Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, III C 26 (fol. 1r).[260] The diagram takes up nearly a full folio in all three codices.

In fol. 23v (Fig. 38) of the Parisinus a table of symbols, with captions, corresponds to each type of soldier. According to McGeer,[261] the captions are: heavy infantry (ὁπλιτικόν), slinger, javeliner (ῥιπταράτος), cavalryman (καβαλλάριος), light archer (ψιλὸς τοξότης), infantryman (σκουτάτος), baggage train (τοῦλδος). Immediately below this list, we have a caption for the diagram: παράταξις τετράγωνος (a square formation) and in the centre of the diagram, the following instruction: the general should stay at the centre, as should the baggage train, if it is present (τὴν δὲ μέσην χώραν ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐχέτω καὶ τὸ τοῦλδον, ἐὰν σύνεστιν). Another instruction can be read below the diagram: how great a depth is up to the general (τὸ ποσὸν τοῦ βάθους ἐν τῇ γνώμῃ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ).

As we have seen in this chapter, scientific illustration is not a minor branch in the history of manuscript illumination. It is an autonomous art form with its own separate tradition. Scientific illustrations were crucial to medieval readers: they could easily retrieve information they sought and memorise what they read (illustration as a mnemonic device). Indeed, in contrast to what is found in a number of studies, the purpose of this type of illustration was not to replace the text but to enhance it.

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258 On this codex, see Commare, "Storia e descrizione del Vat. gr. 1164".

259 McGeer, "The Syntaxis armatorum quadrata", p. 221.

260 The Naples manuscript, bereft of its initial folios, retains only part of the text along with the full diagram. On this manuscript, see Commare, "Storia e descrizione del Vat. gr. 1164".

261 McGeer, "The Syntaxis armatorum quadrata", p. 222.

CHAPTER 5

Historical Writings

Vasiliki Tsamakda

Introduction

Byzantine historiography follows the tradition of ancient historiography, founded by Herodotos in the 5th century BC.[1] Regarding their content, the Byzantine historical writings can be generally divided into two groups: world chronicles, offering a universal history beginning from the creation of the world and ending usually at the time in which the author lived; and works dealing with a limited span of time in the tradition of ancient historiography.[2] Church history was founded by Eusebios of Caesarea and is a category of its own. This genre declined in the 6th century, the only exception from the later period being the work of Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos in the 14th century (see below).[3]

The world chronicle was a new kind of historiography that emerged in the Early Christian period establishing a new tradition that lasted until the end of the Middle Ages. The genre of the world chronicle is considered by some scholars to be a specific Christian invention. However, the main problem is that there are differing scholarly opinions on what can be considered to be a chronicle and what a chronograph, which results in different views regarding the beginning of the new genre of the world chronicle.[4] Christian chronography began

1 On Byzantine historiography, see Treadgold, *The Early Byzantine Historians* and id., *The Middle Byzantine Historians*.

2 On this division, see Rosenqvist, *Die byzantinische Literatur*, pp. 10-3. But as Beck has shown, this division is – at least for the post-iconoclastic period – artificial and does not always correspond to the actual content of the works; see Beck, "Zur byzantinischen Mönchschronik".

3 On the decline of church history, see Treadgold, *The Early Byzantine Historians*, pp. 165-75.

4 Burgess, "Another Look", p. 18, offers the following definition of a chronicle: "A chronicle is any historical work that meets the following criteria: it is brief; annalistic (i.e., recounts a year-by-year chronology); concerned in some way with chronology, for the most part annalistic (year-by-year), or as annalistic as knowledge will allow, and often absolute as well; paratactic in its narrative as a result of the application of strict chronological reckoning; and extensive in its chronological coverage (i.e., usually aspiring to cover hundreds or thousands of years rather than individual years or decades)." Chronographs, instead are "works that are compilations of chronological notes and regnal lists". See also Burgess/Kulikowski, *Mosaics of Time*.

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in the 2nd century and had an apologetic character. Julius Africanus (*c.*120-240)[5] was considered to be the "father of Christian chronography". His work, which is no longer extant, was a large scale chronological work, an annotated chronograph. Fragments of earlier, but small-scale Christian chronographs exist.[6] Christian chronicles, on the other hand, evolved both from the apologetic Christian chronography and from a long tradition of pagan Hellenistic chronicles, and do not seem to have existed before Eusebios of Caesarea at the beginning of the 4th century.[7]

Both groups of historical works are similar in character and intention: a great part of the related events is not historical in the modern sense. They record everything that was considered to be important or worth telling regarding emperors and their reign (warfare, riots, politics, diplomacy, in some cases even "profiles" of the emperors) as well as religious matters (controversies, church politics, etc.), which in the course of time made the genre of church history obsolete. The recounted events also include natural phenomena, omens and curiosities. The aim of such works and especially of world chronicles was thus less pragmatic; the historical account is placed in a wider theological context, aiming to reveal God's plan for salvation. Since many of these histories were patronized by emperors,[8] they reflect contemporary views on the past and are sometimes obviously tentative and biased.

There is a remarkable and unbroken series of Byzantine historical accounts covering the whole period until 1453. The authors based their work on older historical works, sometimes repeating them word for word, and presented their own writings as a continuation. Hundreds of manuscripts with historical content survive, but illuminated copies seem to have been rare, judging from the few surviving ones. These exhibit some common features in their illustrative system and concept, but since we are dealing with different texts, they will

5 He wrote a work called *Chronographiai* (*Χρονογραφίαι*) covering the period from the creation of the world to the year 221; Sextus Iulius Africanus, *Chronographiae,* ed. M. Wallraff/U. Roberto/K. Pinggéra, trans. W. Adler; see also Gelzer, *Sextus Iulius Africanus*.

6 On the World Chronicle of Leipzig (2nd century), which is by some scholars considered to be the earliest surviving Christian world chronicle, see now Burgess, "Another Look". The author argues that "this work is neither Christian nor a chronicle but a poorly compiled and highly corrupt example of a pagan, Hellenistic-style chronograph, which includes excerpts from a chronicle and two king lists".

7 Ibid., p. 17. On Eusebios and his work, see Treadgold, *The Early Byzantine Historians*, pp. 23-46.

8 The stories are narrated from the perspective of the imperial and also ecclesiastical elites. Some of the historians were themselves emperors, like John VI Kantakouzenos (r. 1347-53) or members of the imperial family, like the famous Anna Komnene in the 11th-12th century.

be presented here separately in the chronological order of their production. In addition to the illustrated manuscripts written in Greek, translated ones will also be considered, as they may reflect lost Byzantine originals.[9]

The So-Called Alexandrian World Chronicle

There is no illustrated copy of the work of any early Byzantine historian. The two illustrated fragments discussed here reflect a special Late Antique chronicle tradition. The first one, a codex now kept in the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow (*inv. Goleniščev 310),[10] consists of at least 72 papyrus fragments, which were acquired by Vladimir S. Goleniščev in 1901 in Giza from the antiquarian Sheikh Ali and probably derive from Egypt.[11] The fragments were first examined and published by the Austrian art historian Josef Strzygowski, who provides a detailed description of the miniatures, and the ancient historian Adolf Bauer, who edited the text and reconstructed six leaves of the codex,[12] which originally measured *c.*33 × 25 cm.[13] They dated the fragments to the first half of the 5th century on the basis of the assumption that fol. VI (Fig. 39), ending with the episcopate of Bishop Theophilos of Alexandria (385-412), was the last folio of the codex. However, as Burgess and Dijkstra have recently shown, the codex cannot have been written and illustrated before the 6th century.[14]

9 Scenes from various other historical texts are found in some manuscripts and could indicate lost illustrated chronicles; see Weitzmann, "Illustration for the Chronicles".

10 Bauer/Strzygowski, *Eine alexandrinische Weltchronik*; Burgess/Dijkstra, "Alexandrian World Chronicle". The leaves are online viewable at <http://www.ica.princeton.edu/millet/> (Gabriel Millet database). The bibliography on this codex is vast; an extensive bibliography up to 1995 is provided by Aland/Rosenbau, *Repertorium*, no. KV 1, pp. 1-10; see also Burgess/Dijkstra, "Alexandrian World Chronicle", for the bibliography up to 2013.

11 Another small fragment belonging to the same codex (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, P. Vind. K 11630) was discovered in 1992 in the papyrus collection of Vienna; see Horak, *Illuminierte Papyri,* pp. 97-102, no. 19; Burgess/Dijkstra, "Alexandrian World Chronicle", esp. p. 40. The recto of this fragment shows the head of a personification of the month of July.

12 Bauer/Strzygowski, *Eine alexandrinische Weltchronik*.

13 On the original dimensions of the codex, see Burgess/Dijkstra, "Alexandrian World Chronicle", p. 60.

14 The codex has been previously dated between the 5th and the 8th century; see the discussion in ibid., esp. p. 49 and pp. 63-6 with references on the different dates proposed. The revised dating to after 527 is based on the relationship of the codex to the Late Antique chronicle tradition and on paleography.

This codex is famous, both for its art historical value, being the only Late Antique/early Byzantine papyrus codex preserving so many illustrations, and its text, which, however, can only be reconstructed by comparison with other witnesses of the same or a similar text. The Moscow papyrus is closely related to the so-called "Berlin chronicle" (*Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, P. 13296), consisting of only one illustrated parchment leaf (s. below),[15] and the 8th century so-called Barbarus Scaligeri (*Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. lat. 4884)[16], a Latin translation of a similar Greek work, which contains spaces preserved for illustrations that were never inserted. All of them are very similar in content and derive from a common source, an hypothetical text called the *Chronographia Alexandrina*, and are referred to as the "Alexandrian World Chronicles". However, regarding their character, they are not proper chronicles in the sense of being annalistic accounts, but are referred to more accurately as "chronographs",[17] since they contain a number of chronological summaries and regnal lists, as well as *consularia*, which represent a sub-genre of the chronicle.[18] The Moscow papyrus also included additional texts: a kind of a calendar commentary, a list of Old Testament prophets and interpolations from the New Testament.

In their present sequence, the folios of the Moscow papyrus provide the following texts and/or depictions.[19] Fol. Ir preserves personifications of the Roman months arranged in several rows. Fol. Iv preserves parts of synchronis-

15 Lietzmann, "Ein Blatt au seiner antiken Weltchronik"; Burgess/Dijkstra, "The Berlin 'Chronicle'".

16 First published by Joseph Scaliger in 1606; see Scaliger, *Thesaurus temporum*, second part, pp. 44-70. This codex, which comprises 63 leaves, serves as the basis for the reconstruction of the original content of the Moscow papyrus; it contains a world history from the creation of the world to the fall of Cleopatra, a list of rulers, Jewish high priests and Roman emperors and a list of Roman consuls from Caesar to the year 387. See now Burgess, "Excerpta Latina Barbari".

17 Burgess/Dijkstra, "Alexandrian World Chronicle", p. 45. For the definitions of chronicle, chronograph and consularia, see Burgess/Kulikowski, *Mosaics of Time*, pp. 8-57, 59-61.

18 The *Chronographia Alexandrina* was made up of the same collection of three independent texts: a Greek compilation from *c.*235 AD called "A Collection of Chronologies from the Creation of the World to the Present Day" (Συναγωγὴ χρόνων καὶ ἐτῶν ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου ἕως τῆς ἐνεστώσης ἡμέρας), which originated as a simple guide to the genealogies and chronology of the Old Testament; a compilation of regnal lists deriving from the Chronographia of Julius Africanus, written in 221 AD; a Greek translation of the *Consularia Italica*; see Burgess/Dijkstra, "Alexandrian World Chronicle", pp. 46-9.

19 Ibid., Table 1. The order of the folios proposed by Bauer and Strzygowski has been challenged by Burgess and Dijkstra, however without proposing a different order.

tic lists of Hebrew, Egyptian and Athenian months without illustrations.[20] Fol. IIr shows parts of a depiction of Mediterranean islands, placed in the middle and the lower part of the folio. The *verso* depicts provinces of Asia Minor arranged in rows next to each other as a full page illustration.[21] Fol. IIIr and IIIv preserve list of prophets with quotations or descriptions, accompanied by depictions of standing prophets in a row and a depiction of the prophet Jonah in the mouth of the monster at the lower part of fol. IIIr.[22] Fol. IVr contains lists of Roman kings and a chronological summary of Alban and Roman kings, the fragments being decorated with standing figures and busts on the margins. The *verso* also preserves a group of busts, illustrating the list of Lacedaemonian kings and a chronological summary.[23] Both sides of fol. V continue with a list of Macedonian kings and a summary, as well as a summary of Lydian kings. They are similarly decorated with stereotypical busts on the margins.[24]

Fol. VI, which has attracted the greatest attention among scholars, is the best preserved leaf of the codex and consists of a *consularia*, a list of consuls, written in a dark-brown ink with one column per page. The list covers the years from 383 to 392 AD and is accompanied by two Egyptian chronological systems, the "Era of Diocletian" and the *praefectus augustalis* (governors of Egypt), a strong indication that the codex was written in Egypt. To these entries some important historical events have been added, most of which are illustrated with pictures in the margins.[25]

For example, the *recto* page of fol. VI, containing the entries from 383 to 389 AD, shows two pictures in the lower part of the right margin illustrating the events of 387: a mummy of the deceased Bishop of Alexandria Timothy and his successor Theophilos below it, frontally seated and holding a book.[26] The succession to the throne is thus rendered with very simple but easily understandable visual means.

The best known image of the whole codex is the one on the left margin of fol. VIv, showing a frontally standing bishop, raising the right hand and holding

20 Bauer/Strzygowski, *Eine alexandrinische Weltchronik*, p. 18, Pl. I.

21 Ibid., p. 29, Pl. II.

22 Ibid., pp. 35-6, Pl. III.

23 Ibid., p. 43, Pl. IV.

24 Ibid., p. 48, Pl. V.

25 On the contents of this folio, a detailed description, new edition with English translation as well as the place of the text in the context of the Late Antique chronicle traditions, see Burgess/Dijkstra, "Alexandrian World Chronicle", esp. pp. 59-95, pls. 1-2; compare Bauer/Strzygowski, *Eine alexandrinische Weltchronik,* pp. 73-5, Pl. VI.

26 Bauer/Strzygowski, *Eine alexandrinische Weltchronik,* p. 58, 121, pl. VI *recto*; Burgess/Dijkstra, "Alexandrian World Chronicle", pp. 68, 70, 79-83, pl. 1.

a codex on the left, inscribed as Saint Theophilos, as on the *recto* of the same leaf. Theophilos stands on top of a building with a cult statue wearing a *modius* (the typical headdress of the god Serapis) atop its black head at the entrance: the building obviously shows the Serapeum at Alexandria, depicted in abbreviated form (Fig. 39).[27] The same temple, this time inscribed as "the temple of Serapis" is depicted on the lower part of the right margin, while on the left two figures raise their hands, probably to destroy the cult idol.[28] Unfortunately, these two images, which demonstrate the triumph of the Alexandrian Church over the pagan cults, can only hypothetically be linked with the second entry for the year 392, which is badly damaged and can no longer be reconstructed.[29] However, given the close relationship between text and image in this codex, we can safely assume that this entry narrated the destruction of the Serapeum.[30]

The remaining fragments of the codex could not be grouped in leaves and were assembled in the publication of Bauer and Strzygowski as Pls. VII and VIII, *recto* and *verso*. Some of these form identifiable New Testament scenes, like the Annunciation, the Nativity, etc., and mainly illustrate the above mentioned interpolations on the New Testament.

All illustrations of the codex were drawn in black ink and colored. Their captions were written by the same scribe who wrote the text and probably also produced the images.[31] Since the text follows the outlines of the drawings, the text must have been added after the images were produced.

The already mentioned, late 5th-century "Berlin chronicle" (*P. 13296)[32] was acquired from the dealer Muhammad Abdallah in 1907 at El-Ashmunein. It is

27 Bauer/Strzygowski, *Eine alexandrinische Weltchronik,* pp. 72, 162, 169, Pl. VI *verso*; Burgess/Dijkstra, "Alexandrian World Chronicle", pp. 69, 71, 88-9, pl. 2.

28 Bauer/Strzygowski, *Eine alexandrinische Weltchronik,* pp. 71-2, 122, 192; Burgess/Dijkstra, "Alexandrian World Chronicle", pp. 69, 71, 93-5. This image has been recently used for dating the destruction of the Serapeum in 392 on the base of the reconstructed historical entry of this folio accompanying this picture; see Hahn, "*Vetustus error extinctus est*". But as Burgess and Dijkstra have demonstrated, it cannot be used as reliable evidence; Burgess/Dijkstra, "Alexandrian World Chronicle", pp. 54-5 state that the chronology of the Moscow papyrus is the most corrupt of all manuscripts of this group; see also Ibid., pp. 96-102.

29 The proposed reconstructions of the texts are highly hypothetical and uncertain, see Burgess/Dijkstra, "Alexandrian World Chronicle", pp. 93-4. The state of preservation of the codex today is deplorable; see ibid., p. 59.

30 This event is generally connected with Bishop Theophilos in the accounts of the Church historians; see ibid., p. 94 and 96 with the references.

31 Ibid., p. 62.

32 Lietzmann, "Ein Blatt au seiner antiken Weltchronik"; Weitzmann, *Studies*, p. 121, fig. 100 (referred to erroneously as a papyrus); Turner, *The typology of the early codex*, no. 369,

also written in Greek and comes in all likelihood from Egypt, although the precise provenance remains unknown. It consists of only one parchment leaf (28.2 × 15.9 cm), which is today in a poor condition. The *recto*[33] contains in two columns the *consularia,* covering the years from 251 to 273 and 306-338 AD (the years 307-311 were omitted) and written in brown ink. Some consular pairs have been amended by historical entries following the year to which they refer; these entries are written in black ink.

This leaf contains six unframed illustrations placed between the lines and exhibits thus a different layout system compared to the Moscow papyrus. The images, drawn in brown and black ink and then colored, are though similarly stereotypical. They were probably added after the text was written and were created by the scribe.

Four of them can be connected to the historical entries of 251 (death of St. Lawrence in Rome), 258 (martyrdom of St. Cyprian in Carthago), 306 (martyrdom of St. Timothy in Rome) and 336 (translation of the relics of the Apostles Andrew and Luke in Constantinople). Accordingly, the images show busts of martyrs or martyrdom scenes. The drawing related to the translation of the relics, the largest one of the leaf, is problematic. It shows two figures to the left and Constantinople to the right, conventionally rendered as a gate with three towers. While Lietzmann interpreted the figures as persons carrying the relics of the Apostles, Burgess and Dijkstra claim that the image shows the Apostles themselves arriving in Constantinople,[34] and thus illustrates the entry of the Latin *Consularia Vindobonensia* from the 6th century that mentions Luke and Andrew entering Constantinople.[35] This interpretation cannot be excluded, but from the iconographic point of view, it cannot be confirmed that the figures depict the apostles. Unfortunately, due to the fragmentary condition of the leaf, we cannot state if the figures were holding something in their hands.

Interestingly, from the historical entries added to the pairs of consuls, only the ones related to the saints were illustrated, thus revealing the monastic or ecclesiastic environment, in which the text was copied.

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p. 119; a new detailed examination is offered by Burgess/Dijkstra, "The Berlin 'Chronicle'". The text is also known as *Consularia Berolinensia*.

33 According to Lietzmann, "Ein Blatt au seiner antiken Weltchronik", the *verso* was not readable. Today the verso is not visible as the leaf was mounted on paper; see Burgess/Dijkstra, "The Berlin "Chronicle", p. 283.

34 Burgess/Dijkstra, "The Berlin "Chronicle", pp. 285, 299-300.

35 Ibid., pp. 278-9.

The Synopsis Historion of John Skylitzes

Among the over 20 Byzantine manuscripts bearing the *Synopsis Historion* of John Skylitzes there is one illustrated copy now kept in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid (*Vitr. 26-2) and better known as Madrid Skylitzes (Fig. 40).[36] This 12th-century manuscript is of great significance, owing to the fact that it is the oldest illustrated manuscript containing the work of a Byzantine historian and the only one preserved in the Greek language with extensive narrative illustration from the Byzantine period.

The manuscript was transferred from Sicily to Spain as a part of the *fondo* of Don Francesco Mendoza Pacheco, the fourth Duke of Uceda (1687-1696). In 1712 it entered the library of King Philip V, later the National Library of Madrid.[37] Regarding the previous owners and the origin of the manuscript, a 15th-century inscription on fol. 9r informs us that the codex belonged at that time to the Basilian Monastery of San Salvatore del Faro in Messina, Sicily. The signature of Antonio di Messina on the lower margin of the title page (fol. 9r) indicates that the manuscript was restored in the scriptorium of the monastery at the end of the 13th century.[38]

The codex is composed of 233 parchment folios measuring on average 35,5 × 27 cm. Folios 9r-234v (number 3 was omitted during the enumeration of the codex) contain the Chronicle of John Skylitzes.[39] The text was written by two scribes in a single column containing up to 31 lines. The quires written by the second scribe (fols. 88r-95v and 187r-194v) contain spaces left for illustrations which were never executed.

Little is known about the identity of the author.[40] He was born in the theme of Thrakesion (Asia Minor) shortly after 1040 and was a contemporary of Michael Psellos (1018-1096/97). In the 1070s to 1080s Skylitzes held various high offices; in the 1090s he is named *kouropalates* and *droungarios tes biglas*. The

36 On this codex, see Estopañan, *Skylitzes Matritensis;* Grabar/Manoussacas, *Skylitzès;* Tsamakda, *Skylitzes* and the facsimile edition *Joannis Scylitzae Synopsis Historiarum*.

37 Tsamakda, *Skylitzes*, pp. 7-8.

38 On this new observation, see ibid., pp. 8-9. S. Salvatore was demolished in the 16th century and the monks moved together with the library to the monastery of S. Maria della Misericordia. In 1573 the monks moved again to a new monastery, at the coast of Peloro. The manuscript is mentioned in the monastery inventories of the 16th century, but its whereabouts are unknown until the codex entered the *fondo* of Uceda.

39 For the text edition, see John Skylitzes, *Synopsis Historion*, ed. H. Thurn. For an English translation, see John Skylitzes, *Synopsis Historion,* trans. J. Wortley.

40 See Seibt, "Johannes Skylitzes"; see also Treadgold, *The Middle Byzantine Historians*, pp. 329-39.

same offices also appear in the title of the *Synopsis Historion*. It is assumed that Skylitzes died in the first decade of the 12th century.

The *Synopsis Historion* is dated to the decade of 1070. The work deals with the history of the Byzantine Empire from 811 to 1057, that is, from the accession of Michael I Rangabe to the throne to the reign of Isaac Komnenos. The biographies of the emperors and the events that took place during their rule are presented in chronological order. In the margins of the codex, a series of all kinds of notes is found as well as eleven poems in honour of various emperors.[41]

The scripts of this codex ("tipo Scylitze") clearly point to Messina as the place of its production.[42] However, the manuscript has also been attributed to the royal scriptorium of Palermo,[43] although there is not the slightest evidence that the production of Greek books took place there.[44] Constantinople was also proposed as the place of origin of the manuscript.[45] However, all the marginal annotations of the codex point to a monastic milieu and associate the codex in one way or another with Messina. The dating proposals regarding the script range from the first to the last quarter of the 12th century.[46] The iconographic and stylistic elements of the miniatures, however, make a dating to the second half of the 12th century more plausible. A *terminus post quem* for the dating of the codex is provided by the fact that some miniatures depend in their content upon the *Epitome Historion* of John Zonaras, which was written after 1118.[47] The question of the commissioner still continues to challenge scholarship. Without excluding that it was an "internal" commission, the codex

41 On these poems, see Ševčenko, "Poems". On the notes, see Tsamakda, *Skylitzes*, pp. 19-21. Some of the notes are attributed to Constantine Laskaris, a Greek scholar who remained in Messina from 1466 until his death in 1501, where he was engaged in the teaching of Greek to the Basilian monks; see ibid., p. 7 with references.

42 On the script "tipo Scylitze", see Lucà, "I Normanni e la 'Rinascita'", pp. 39-43, 47-8; id., "Il Gerontikòn Vat. gr. 858", esp. pp. 211-2 with further bibliography. For Messina as the origin of the manuscript, see also Lucà, "Dalle collezioni manoscritti", pp. 66-8, 79-81, and Foti, "Scriptorium". See also Tsamakda, *Skylitzes,* pp. 15-9.

43 For example recently Boeck, *Imagining the Byzantine Past,* p. 33.

44 See on this Re, "Scylitzes di Madrid" and Tsamakda, *Skylitzes*, p. 3. The theory on the production of the manuscript in Palermo for a Norman king also disregards the fact that the reading of the book presupposes knowledge of the Greek language, which the Norman rulers did not have.

45 Oikonomides, "Eparch". Fonkič, "Sobre el origen", recently claimed that the manuscript was copied in Constantinople by a scribe who was sent there from Palermo, which is a highly hypothetical claim.

46 See an overview of the dating proposals in Tsamakda, *Skylitzes*, pp. 15-9.

47 See on this, ibid., pp. 263-4.

was probably commissioned by a Greek patrician of Sicily, perhaps as a gift to the monastery.[48]

The illustration is very dense and comprises 574 miniatures. Only 25 folios are completely covered by script, while the rest contain up to three miniatures (for example fol. 131r, Fig. 40). The text is interrupted by frameless friezes (with one exception), a layout also known as "papyrus style".[49] In a few cases one finds a succession of miniatures without text between them. Each frieze in turn contains up to four scenes, so that the number of scenes totals over 1,000. The miniatures are placed before, after or between the lines of the text to which they refer, exhibiting in general a close relationship to it.[50]

What is striking is the lavish use of gold which awards a luxurious character to the manuscript.[51] The miniatures were executed by seven painters with different styles and iconographical features. Two of the painters worked in a Byzantine style, one of them shows a strong Arabic influence and the remaining painters depicted more or less westernizing elements.[52] The illustration system remains, however, constant throughout the entire codex, regardless of the changes in pictorial style of the painters. This fact combined with other observations (such as various kinds of inconsistencies between the text, the miniatures, the captions to the chapters and the images, the occasionally disturbed sequential order of the miniatures and the fact that a small number of scenes was based on accounts of other authors like Michael Psellos or John Zonaras) suggest that the miniatures were not made *ad hoc*,[53] but were copied from a Byzantine, probably Constantinopolitan, model. The analysis of the iconography has revealed that the model was not slavishly copied, but rather interpreted according to the artistic background of each painter, with an impressive amount of individuality. The appearance of Byzantine, Western

48 As suggested in Tsamakda, *Skylitzes*, p. 393, a possible commissioner of the manuscript was Onofrius, the energetic Archimandrite in Messina from 1159 to 1183. S. Lucà excludes however Onofrius for cultural-historical reasons and favors a local Greek patrician; see Lucà, "Dalle collezioni manoscritti", pp. 79-81. A commission by the Norman kings as suggested by Boeck, *Imagining the Byzantine Past*, p. 76-7 and passim, remains ungrounded.

49 On this illustration system, see Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*; Geyer, *Genese*, pp. 42-55.

50 On the arrangement of the illustrations, see Tsamakda, *Skylitzes*, pp. 31-5.

51 Although this contrasts with the poor quality of the parchment, which is, for example, blemished with single holes on several folios. For a codicological analysis, see ibid., pp. 9-11.

52 On the painters and their style, see ibid., pp. 373-8.

53 The *ad hoc* theory was put forward by Sevčenko, "Skylitzes" and was recently taken up again by Boeck, *Imagining the Byzantine Past.*

and Arabic elements in the illustrations of the Madrid Skylitzes reflects the multicultural society of Norman Sicily in the 12th century and ensures the codex a particular place among the manuscripts produced in the Middle Ages, making it very important from a cultural point of view.

The significance of the miniatures lies equally in the fact that practically every aspect of Byzantine culture and life is depicted, e.g., rare court ceremonies, liturgical processions, battles, a series of scenes on Iconoclasm and the triumph of Orthodoxy, historical events and everyday life scenes, offering thus a unique pictorial source. The artists' aim was to offer an objective, visual parallel to the text.[54] The pictorial program does not reveal any intention to call attention to specific themes. It visualizes, for example, the criticism of some emperors narrated in the text, sometimes enhancing it, as on fol. 155r, where Emperor Nikephoros Phokas is depicted riding on a donkey. This detail is not mentioned in the text and would be unthinkable for a Byzantine emperor, but in this way the miniaturist succeeded in emphasizing the fact that Nikephoros was unpopular, according to the text which describes how the emperor was attacked by citizens in Constantinople during a procession.[55] The illustration also visualizes the praise of glorious emperors in the Skylitzes chronicle, such as the one of Basil I (r. 867-886), whose accession to the throne and the prophecies and signs related to it are rendered by a remarkable series of miniatures on fols. 82r-87v.[56] The miniatures also illustrate entertaining stories, such as the ones on fol. 137r about the Patriarch Theophylaktos and his obsession with horses. According to the text, the patriarch hastily interrupted the liturgy of Maundy Thursday, when he was informed that his favorite mare had given birth to a foal and went to the stables.[57] A rare depiction from the medical sphere appears on fol. 131r, showing the unsuccessful surgery performed on the Siamese twins who visited Constantinople in the 10th century (Fig. 40).[58]

54 E. Boeck offers in her dissertation *The Art of Being Byzantine,* in a series of articles based on it and in her recent publication *Imagining the Byzantine Past* a very different view of the purpose of the creation of the miniatures. She claims that the miniatures are "unbyzantine" and "un-orthodox" and that the codex was produced in the royal scriptorium of Palermo; according to this scholar the codex offers a Norman understanding of the Byzantine history, aiming to discredit the Byzantine Empire and the Orthodox Church. For a thorough discussion of this view, see Tsamakda, "Auseinandersetzungen" (forthcoming).

55 Tsamakda, *Skylitzes*, p. 195, fig. 390.

56 Ibid., pp. 124-30, figs. 199-214.

57 Ibid., pp. 176-7, fig. 330.

58 Ibid., pp. 169-70, figs. 313-315.

Special attention also deserve miniatures based on other historical texts, which may indicate lost Byzantine illustrated chronicles.[59]

Given the historical background in Sicily with the gradual suppression of the Greek element after the death of Roger II in 1154, this extensively illustrated Greek chronicle reveals a special interest on Byzantine history. As Vera von Falkenhausen suggested, it probably served as a substitute for the lack of a Greek historiography in Sicily.[60] Perhaps it was also of special interest because the chronicle refers to the history of Sicily and narrates how it was conquered by the Arabs, for example. For the same reason, the Madrid Skylitzes served later historiographers as an important source. The Dominican friar Tommaso Fazello (1498-1570), who wrote the first history of Sicily in the 16th century ("De Rebus Siculis Decades Duae"), mentions with enthusiasm how he succeeded in finding a manuscript in Messina which contained information on Sicily and which proved that the widespread opinion, according to which George Maniakes was responsible for the conquest of Sicily by the Arabs, was false.[61] There is no doubt that the manuscript mentioned in the relevant passage and described as illustrated and decorated with gold was the Madrid Skylitzes. Its use by Fazello proves thus the value of the manuscript also for Sicilian historiography.

The Synopsis chronike of Constantine Manasses

Constantine Manasses, who was previously identified with the homonymous Metropolitan of Naupaktos (died 1187),[62] is the author of a world chronicle unusually written in 6,733 political verses in the 12th century. The work narrates events from the creation of the world to the enthronement of Alexios I Komnenos in 1081.[63] It was commissioned by the *sebastokratorissa* Eirene, wife of the *sebastokrator* Andronikos, second son of the emperor John II Komnenos (r. 1118-1143).

Only a few of the more than 100 manuscripts containing this work are illustrated. Two of them include author portraits. The 14th-century codex Vienna,

59 On these miniatures and their sources, see Ibid., pp. 261-3.

60 Von Falkenhausen, "Friedrich II.", p. 244, note 19; Tsamakda, *Skylitzes*, p. 393.

61 Tommaso Fazello, *De Rebus Siculis Decades Duae*, ed. M. Ganci, pp. 51-4. I owe this reference to Prof. Ewald Kislinger, Vienna. I intend to discuss this issue more thoroughly in a forthcoming study.

62 This identification is rejected today; see Lampsidis, "Zur Biographie", esp. 97-104. On the author and his work, see also Treadgold, *The Middle Byzantine Historians,* pp. 399-403.

63 For a critical edition, see Constantine Manasses, *Synopsis chroniki*, ed. O. Lampsides.

Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vind. phil. gr. 149, contains, among other writings, the chronicle of Constantine Manasses on fols. 1or-154r.[64] On fol. 1or there is a simple drawing flanking the title of the work. It shows the author presenting his book to the *sebastokratorissa* Eirene.[65] The dedication scene is framed by a triple arch.

The second illustrated copy of Manasses' Chronikon is also kept in Vienna (National Library, Vind. hist. gr. 91). It is a paper codex of the 14th to 16th centuries containing several historical and theological works, of which fols. 1r-8v contain the first 532 verses of the Manasses chronicle.[66] On fol. 1r an author portrait is placed directly above the beginning of the text.[67] It is a multicolored drawing depicting Manasses in bishop's garments,[68] frontally enthroned and holding an open book with the first words of his work. The title of the Chronikon is written in majuscule around the drawing.

The only preserved illustrated Manasses codex with narrative illustration is a 14th-century codex containing the Bulgarian translation of the Manasses Chronicle and is kept in the Vatican Library (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. slav. 2).[69] It passed to the Vatican Library in the 15th century from the collection of Nicholas de Kataro, bishop of Modros in Croatia. It is a parchment codex of 206 folios, measuring 29.5 × 21 cm.

The Greek text was translated into Bulgarian at the request of Tsar Ivan Alexander (r. 1331-1371), whose rule was characterized by flourishing literary activity. The Bulgarian text, from which the first 63 verses are missing, is not an exact translation from the Greek original, but a redaction in prose that includes additions on Bulgarian history, highlighted in red ink, as well as a second narrative of the Trojan War (the so-called Trojan Parable). The Bulgarian redactor also omitted a few passages of the original text.[70]

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64 The codex consists of 350 paper leaves, measuring 23/23.5 × 14/15 cm and contains also numerous other historical and theological works. See Buberl/Gerstinger, *Die byzantinischen Handschriften*, p. 157.

65 Spatharakis, *Portrait*, pp. 158-9, fig. 100.

66 The codex consists of 266 leaves measuring 22 × 15 cm. See Buberl/Gerstinger, *Die byzantinischen Handschriften*, pp. 60-70, pl. 33,2.

67 Spatharakis, *Portrait*, pp. 159-60, fig. 101.

68 Since the identification of the author with the Metropolitan of Naupaktos was rejected (see above), the miniature apparently reflects a tradition according to which the author was a bishop.

69 On this codex, see Dujčev, *The Miniatures*; Heisenberg, "Über den Ursprung"; Spatharakis, *Portrait*, pp. 160-5; Velmans, "La Chronique illustrée" and the recent facsimile editon: Džurova /Velinova/Miteva, *Constantine Manasses*.

70 On the Bulgarian translation, see Velinova, "The Translation".

The text is written in majuscule in a single column. It is accompanied by 69 unframed miniatures that usually appear as friezes in spaces left blank between the lines throughout the codex and in some cases as full page miniatures, containing up to three zones. The miniatures are accompanied by Bulgarian and later Latin captions. They are the work of at least two illuminators who obviously copied a Byzantine model as iconographic and other observations indicate.[71] The images are expressionistic in style, revealing knowledge of the tendencies of Late Byzantine art.[72]

Some of the miniatures refer to the royal family of Ivan Alexander and especially to the death of his son Ivan Asen IV and are thus unrelated to the Byzantine chronicle.[73] The codex opens today (the arrangement of the folios is not original) with a depiction of Tsar Ivan Alexander, entitled "tsar and autocrat of all Bulgarians and Greeks" and dressed in Byzantine imperial costume, standing between Christ and the author Constantine Manasses (fol. 1v). An angel crowns the Tsar with a second crown from above. This is a widespread iconography in Byzantine art and expresses the divine source of the ruler's power. Thus, the Bulgarian copy offers an adaptation of this basic idea of Byzantine political ideology. The figures of Christ, writing on an open scroll, and of Manasses, who is nimbed, are, in this form, unthinkable in the supposed Byzantine model.[74]

A similar concept appears on fol. 91v where the tsar, standing next to the prophet and King David, receives a second crown and a scepter from an angel.[75] The relationship between rulers and God is exemplified by the content of the scroll held by David, which contains the "imperial" Psalm 20(21). David's function as a model for Byzantine emperors is also well-attested visually in the post-iconoclastic art.[76] The Bulgarian copy obviously replaced the Byzantine emperor of the model by that of the Bulgarian ruler.[77]

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71 See on this Heisenberg, "Über den Ursprung", pp. 303-10; Dujčev, *The Miniatures*, 127; Velmans, "La Chronique illustrée", p. 178; Džurova, "The Illustrated Middle Bulgarian Translation", esp. pp. 240-4, 246, 261-4; Velinova, "The Translation", p. 286.

72 On the style of the miniatures, see Velmans, "La Chronique illustrée", esp. pp. 182-5; Džurova, "The Illustrated Middle Bulgarian Translation", pp. 246-8.

73 On these images, see the detailed discussion in Džurova, "The Illustrated Middle Bulgarian Translation", pp. 249-64.

74 See also the discussion in Spatharakis, *Portrait*, pp. 159-60. Džurova, "The Illustrated Middle Bulgarian Translation", pp. 249-53, argues that the Bulgarian illustrator rearranged the figures of the Byzantine model in order to emphasize the role of the Tsar.

75 Džurova, "The Illustrated Middle Bulgarian Translation", pp. 258-9.

76 See on this Tsamakda, "König David" with bibliography.

77 The text mentions in the original Emperor Manuel I Komnenos, while the Bulgarian

On fol. 2r the death of Ivan Asen, son of the Tsar, is depicted according to the Byzantine iconography of the Dormition of the Virgin (*Koimesis*).[78] Around the bier are depicted Tsar Ivan Alexander, the patriarch of Trnovo, Tsarina Theodora, mother of the deceased prince, his widow Eirene Palaiologina, and further members of the family. The soul of the dead Ivan Asen is being carried by an angel and received in heaven, where the hand of God holding the souls of the righteous appears. Another angel stands to the right of the scene, receiving the soul of the prince. On the *verso* the narrative continues with the deceased prince entering Paradise and being received by the Mother of God and by Abraham.[79]

Finally, on fol. 205r, the last miniature of the codex offers a portrait of the ruler and members of his family being blessed from above by Christ, who is depicted with open arms as a sign of protection.[80] This representation is also inspired by Byzantine imperial iconography. Ivan Alexander stands in the middle, next to him his sons Michael and Ivan Stratsimir, while Ivan Asen IV is being accompanied by an angel, an allusion to his death.

Since the illustration repeatedly refers to the death of the prince, the production of the manuscript can be dated shortly after this event. On the basis of some notes in the manuscript it is generally accepted that the codex was produced in 1344/45 and belonged to Ivan Alexander.[81]

The illustrations related to the chronicle itself show an emphasis on themes connected to Bulgarian history and its relation to Byzantium, which all appear after fol. 145. The chronicle illustration begins with the Creation of Adam and Eve on fol. 7v and finishes with a double row of Byzantine emperors on fol. 204v. The content of the miniatures is inspired by the preceding or following chronicle passage, thus exhibiting a close text-image correspondence. The illustration includes not only images of wars and events related to emperors, but also scenes like the Crucifixion and the Anastasis, since biblical events were considered to belong to the world history. The visual narrative is compa-

version substituted his name with that of Ivan Alexander; see Heisenberg, "Über den Ursprung", p. 293. On the appropriation of Byzantine legacy by Tsar Ivan Alexander and on how his claims were advanced in the Manasses manuscript, see Boeck, "Displacing Byzantium", esp. pp. 199-208 and ead., *Imagining the Byzantine Past*, pp. 77-85.

78 Džurova, "The Illustrated Middle Bulgarian Translation", pp. 254-7.

79 Ibid., p. 257.

80 Andreev, "Ivan Alexandar"; Džurova, "The Illustrated Middle Bulgarian Translation", pp. 257-8.

81 Heisenberg, "Über den Ursprung", pp. 296-7. On the problems related to the dating of the manuscript, see also Velinova, "The Translation", p. 289. On the manuscript patronage of this Tsar, see Velinova, "The Translation", pp. 268-9.

rable to that of the Madrid Skylitzes, with which it shares several iconographic formulae and features of composition, but passages recounting events of the same emperors are rendered differently. The illustrated Bulgarian Manasses thus follows a different pictorial tradition.[82]

The illustration was obviously inspired by a Byzantine illustrated Manasses manuscript, but since the Bulgarian version differs from the Greek original and the miniatures also refer to the insertions made by the Bulgarian redactor,[83] we cannot establish the form of the hypothetical Byzantine model. The miniatures fit the ideological program of the Bulgarian court. Their main intention has to be seen in the frame of the use of the Byzantine chronicle as an instrument to promote Bulgarian tsarist ideology in the 14th century.[84]

The Chronicle of Niketas Choniates

There is only one illustrated copy of the Χρονικὴ διήγησις of Niketas Choniates. It is a major example of Byzantine prose, written in the 13th century. It covers the period from the death of Alexios I in 1118 to the year 1206, including thus the events around the Fall of Constantinople in 1204, which the author narrates as an eye-witness.[85] The author was a high official in the court of Constantinople and after 1204 he fled to Nicaea, where he probably wrote this work.[86] A copy of this work, a paper codex consisting of 325 leaves measuring 28.2-28.5×22-22.5 cm, is now kept in Vienna (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek,

82 Tsamakda, *Skylitzes*, p. 370 and *per indicem;* compare Džurova, "The Illustrated Middle Bulgarian Translation", pp. 244-6.

83 According to Dujčev, 21 miniatures illustrate the Bulgarian insertions; Dujčev, *The Miniatures*, p. 127. These miniatures often cover an entire folio, containing up to three miniature zones. Džurova, "The Illustrated Middle Bulgarian Translation", p. 261 argues that the miniatures on the Bulgarian-Byzantine relations, which appear both as friezes inserted in the text column and as full-page miniatures, appeared in this form already in the Byzantine model. Džurova and Velinova both claim that the Bulgarian copy is based on a Byzantine model of the 12th century and concretely the one commissioned by the *sebastokratorissa* Eirene; Džurova, "The Illustrated Middle Bulgarian Translation", pp. 262-4; Velinova, "The Translation", p. 286.

84 See on this Kaimakamova, "Turnovo-New Constantinople"; Džurova, "The Illustrated Middle Bulgarian Translation", p. 259.

85 Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. I.A. van Dieten. English translation: Niketas Choniates, *Historia,* trans. H. Magoulias. See also Simpson, *Niketas Choniates*.

86 On the author, see Van Dieten, *Niketas Choniates,* pp. 1-60; Treadgold, *The Middle Byzantine Historians*, pp. 422-56.

Vind. hist. gr. 53) and dates from the 14th century.[87] Although a 16th-century note at the end of the codex states that the copy was written by Choniates himself (*autographon*), paleography does not support this statement, which was probably inserted to increase the value of the manuscript.[88]

The codex contains two full-page miniatures painted on single leaves and inserted after the text was completed. The miniatures were overpainted when the manuscript was restored and probably rebound in the 16th century. A framed author portrait appears on fol. Iv, showing a figure seated and writing like an evangelist. An inscription above the frame of the miniature identifies the figure as ὁ χωνιάτης καὶ συγγραφεὺς τῆς βίβλου ταύτης ("Choniates, the author of this book") (Fig. 41). Niketas is wearing a tall white headdress, reminiscent of the Byzantine *skaranika*, but rendered erroneously with two horns. After a close examination, Spatharakis argued, that originally the author did not wear a headdress at all and that it was added by a westerner when the codex was restored and repainted.[89] To this repainting are also due the blue background of the miniature and other details.

The second full-page miniature on fol. 291v is a portrait of Emperor Alexios v Doukas Mourtzouphlos (who reigned for only two and a half months in 1204) as the accompanying inscription states. It faces the beginning of the chapter on this emperor. He is depicted standing face-forward and raising his hands in a gesture of supplication. He wears a lilac garment adorned with gold segments and ornaments inspired by oriental art. This costume is not imperial and corresponds more closely to garments worn by high officials. Imperial insignia are missing, while some elements, such as the diadem, are not original.[90] As Spatharakis suggested, it cannot be excluded that both portraits derive from another book and originally did not represent the author and Alexios v.[91]

Van Dieten proposed that the codex once included five more emperor portraits, a postulation that cannot be proved, but should definitely not be

87 Hunger, *Katalog*, pp. 58-9; Spatharakis, *Portrait*, pp. 152-8, figs. 98-9; Mazal, *Byzanz und das Abendland*, cat. no. 56, fig. 5.

88 The statement was written on fol. 323r by George Apoteras, John Zygomalas of Nauplia and John Malaxos of Nauplia in 1571 in Constantinople when the book was sold to the secretary of Emperor Maximilian II. Between this and the next folio a parchment strip was inserted, containing verses written by the Bishop of Ainos, mentioning a restoration of the codex. The codex entered the National Library of Vienna before 1576. See the literature given in the previous footnote.

89 Spatharakis, *Portrait*, pp. 154-5 with the previous discussion.

90 Ibid., p. 156.

91 Ibid., pp. 157-8.

excluded, since some folios were indeed removed from the codex.[92] The circumstances of the commission and use of this codex remain unclear, as well as the question whether this codex was illustrated for the first time or not.

The Chronicle of George Pachymeres

Born in 1242 in Nicaea, George Pachymeres was a high official of the church and the imperial court in Constantinople, in charge of juridical affairs.[93] He wrote a work entitled *Syngraphikai historiai* in 13 books, covering the period from the reign of Theodore II Laskaris (1254-1258) to the year 1308.[94] The only illustrated copy of this work is a 14th-century paper codex kept in Munich (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, gr. 442).[95]

This manuscript is illustrated with four full-page miniatures in watercolor. The first one appears on fol. 6v (Fig. 42) and shows on plain ground the frontally standing author in a *deesis* gesture, identified by an inscription. He is clad in clerical costume consisting of a white headdress, a long white garment (*sticharion*) and the *orarion*, a long strip hanging from his shoulder, on which the word ΑΓΙΟC (Holy) is written thrice. His carefully drawn face is probably a genuine likeness of the author.[96]

The three other miniatures depict frontally standing emperors; the ones whose reign is narrated by the author: on fol. 7v Theodore II Laskaris (r. 1254-1258), on fol. 174r Michael VIII Palaiologos (r. 1261-1282) and on fol. 175v Andronikos II Palaiologos (r. 1272-1328), all identified by inscription. They are all rendered similarly clad in official imperial costume with *sakkos*, *loros* and *stemma*, standing on a *suppedion* and holding a long cross and a scroll. All of them are nimbed. Their facial characteristics differ from each other, but do not exhibit the expressivity of the author's portrait. The *suppedia* were originally decorated with double-headed eagles, most of which became single-headed after restoration in the 16th century.[97]

92 Van Dieten, "Vind. His. Gr. 53".

93 On the author, see Lampakis, *George Pachymeres*.

94 For a recent edition with French translation see George Pachymeres, *Syngraphikai historiai*, ed./trans. A. Failler/V. Laurent.

95 The manuscript consists of 356 fols. measuring 19 × 28 cm; it contains mainly the history of Pachymeres along with the title of the work and the titles of the chapters on fols. 1-5 and 28 folios from the 16th century; see Hardt, *Catalogus*, pp. 369-71; Spatharakis, *Portrait*, pp. 165-72, figs. 106-10.

96 Spatharakis, *Portrait*, p. 167.

97 Ibid., pp. 168-9.

The Chronikon Syntomon of George Monachos (Hamartolos)

George Monachos (meaning monk) or Hamartolos (sinner), a monk who lived in Constantinople in the late 9th century, is the author of a world chronicle covering the period from the creation of the world to the year 842. His work is entitled "A compendious chronicle from various chronographers and interpreters, assembled and compiled by the monk George, the sinner".[98] Nothing is known about the author, except from the fact that he was a monk. This popular chronicle was translated into Old Georgian and Church Slavonic. Of this later version there exists an illuminated copy from the 13th/14th century in Moscow (*Russian State Library, F. 173 I, no. 100).[99] The text of this parchment codex (29 × 22.2 cm), consisting of 273 folios, is arranged in two columns, recalling the late antique practice. It contains 129 images, two of which are full-page miniatures and precede the text. Fol. 17v shows Christ enthroned between Prince Michael of Tver (1271-1318) and his mother Xenia, the commissioners of the manuscript. The facing miniature shows the author dressed as a monk and seated like an evangelist within an arched architectural frame. The miniatures illustrating the chronicle itself are, with few exceptions, framed and inserted in the text columns in various places and heights (Fig. 43), sometimes as many as three per page. Almost every page up to fol. 31 bears illustrations, from that point on miniatures appear rarely, while in some places there is free space left for an illustration, which was not executed (fol. 113v-114r), or there are unfinished miniatures (i.e. fols. 233r, 233v, 234v).

To what extent the Russian copy follows the layout of the Byzantine one is unknown. The methods of visual narration are identical to those found in the Madrid Skylitzes and other Byzantine narrative works. A number of miniatures are adaptations to the Russian environment, in which the manuscript was produced, that is Tver, but iconographic details, such as the costume of kings and emperors which copies that of Byzantine manuscripts, and other observations, leave no doubt that they depend heavily upon a Byzantine model.[100]

98 On the author and his work, see Treadgold, *The Middle Byzantine Historians*, pp. 114-20. Text edition: George Monachos, *Chronicon*, ed. C. De Boor/P. Wirth. On the date of the work see Markopoulos, "Συμβολή", who favors a date after 871; Afinogenov, "The Date of Georgios Monachos Reconsidered", dated the chronicle in the years 843-845.

99 Ainalov, "Letopicj Georgija Amartola"; Podobedova, "Otraženie"; Popova, *Russian Illuminated Manuscripts*, no. 17; Džurova, *Byzantinische Miniaturen*, p. 238, figs. 170-1. Knjazevskaja, "Drevnejshaja skavjanskaya rukopis'"; facsimile edition: *Litcevoj Tverskoj spisok*.

100 Compare for instance fol. 20v with an enthroned emperor or the Raising on a shield on fol. 88v with the images of the *Madrid Skylitzes fols. 12v, 230r; Tsamakda, *Skylitzes*, figs. 8 and 544.

The Epitome Historion by John Zonaras

John Zonaras was a high-ranking official of the 12th century and held the offices of a *megas droungarios* and *protoasecretes*. He is the author of an *Epitome Historion*, which begins with the creation of the world and continues until the enthronement of Emperor John II Komnenos (r. 1118-1143).[101] A 15th-century illustrated copy of this work is kept in Modena (Biblioteca Estense universitaria, α. S. 5. 05). It is a paper codex consisting of 295 folios measuring 16 × 25 cm. The manuscript, which was once owned by the humanist Alberto Pio (1475-1531), was acquired by the Modena Library in 1573.[102]

The Zonaras text is found on fols. 6r-263r and is written in a single column. It contains books X, 30 to XVIII, 25, beginning with the story of Cleopatra. A later scribe completed the missing text up to fol. 285 on a new paper. Three blank pages follow and the text continues again on fol. 289r, where all Byzantine emperors after Alexios I Komnenos (the point at which Zonaras' text stopped) are listed, ending with the last Byzantine emperor, Constantine XI Palaiologos (r. 1448-1453).[103] Below this list, another one is given with the names of empresses, from Helena to the wives of Constantine Palaiologos, followed by various other lists.[104]

The illustration of the manuscript consists of marginal portraits of emperors on fols. 6-285 (Fig. 44, fol. 59v). They are placed in the vicinity of the text relating the beginning of a reign, thus marking visually the change in power. Each of the folios 294r and 294v instead displays three rows of portraits ending with Constantine Palaiologos. The portraits were drawn with ink and then

101 On the author and his work, see Treadgold, *The Middle Byzantine Historians*, pp. 388-99. Text editions: John Zonaras, *Epitome historiarum,* ed. M. Pinder/Th. Büttner-Wobst; John Zonaras, *Epitome historiarum*, ed. L. Dindorf.

102 On this codex, see Spatharakis, *Portrait*, 182-3; Gratziou, "Μαρτυρίες"; *Byzantine Hours*, cat. no. 35 (J. Albani), with further bibliography.

103 Fols. 2r-5r contain a brief chronicle from the beginning of the world to the capture of Constantinople, accompanied by the inscription: "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth". Up to Constantine Palaiologos" (Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεός τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν ἕως Κωνσταντίνου Παλαιολόγου). The right margin contains the vertical majuscule inscription: "At the capture of the city" (ΕΝ ΤΗ ΑΝΑΛΩΣΗ ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ). The additions were thus made after the fall of Constantinople in 1453.

104 Fol. 289v: list of officials of the Byzantine court; fols. 290v-290r: list of patriarchs of Constantinople from Metrophanes to Gregory III; fols. 290v-291r: catalogue of the metropolitan sees of the patriarchate of Constantinople in hierarchical order; fols. 291r-292r: list of imperial tombs; fols. 292v-293v: list of Byzantine emperors from Constantine the Great onwards; fol. 295: description of the equestrian statue of Justinian I in the Augustaion in Constantinople.

colored. The nimbed heads of all emperors appear directly on the paper ground. Their crowns reflect the forms of the late Byzantine period. All emperors look frontally and seem distant and motionless, thus reflecting official portraiture. Their physiognomic characteristics are often inspired by those in older depictions in a very general manner.

The manuscript is thus the only one to provide portraits of all Byzantine emperors. All the evidence leads to the conclusion that the incomplete Zonaras manuscript attracted the attention of later readers who completed the text and decorated the codex with illustrations. The fall of Constantinople was perhaps the reason for this effort to preserve the memory of the lost empire.

The Church history of Nikephoros Kallistou Xanthopoulos

Among the numerous manuscripts containing works on church history, only one bears illustration. It is the codex Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vind. hist. gr. 8.[105] The author of this church history, which covers in 18 books the years up to 610,[106] is Nikephoros Kallistou Xanthopoulos, who lived from *c.*1256 until *c.*1335 and was a priest in the Hagia Sophia Church in Constantinople. He dedicated his work to Emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos.

The Vienna codex is the only manuscript containing this text and consists of two volumes. It comprises 499 parchment folios and measures 34/34.5 × 26 cm. It is dated to about 1320 and belonged once to the Manganon monastery in Constantinople.[107] The commissioner of this important codex remains unknown.

The decoration mainly consists of headbands marking the beginning of the books.[108] On fol. 11r, the title page of the book, there is a *pyle* decorated with a tendril, above which two birds are depicted, and an ornamentated initial N. On fol. 158r a headband marks the beginning of the second volume. Above it there is a bust of Emperor Constantine the Great, identified by an inscription. The miniature is inspired by the first line of the page, the beginning of Book 8, which mentions this emperor.[109]

105 Spatharakis, *Corpus*, p. 59 no. 232: Mazal, *Byzanz und das Abendland*, cat. no. 36, fig. 40; for a more recent and detailed description, see Gastgeber, *Bibliotheca Corviniana,* pp. 291-310 with the previous bibliography.

106 *PG*, vol. 145, cols. 549-1332; vol. 146; vol. 147, cols. 10-448. On the text, see Panteghini, "Kirchengeschichte".

107 Gastgeber, *Bibliotheca Corviniana,* pp. 291-2.

108 On the decoration of the codex, see ibid., pp. 302-4.

109 For a color reproduction, see Gammilscheg/Mersich, *Matthias Corvinus*, fig. 22.

The surviving illustrated manuscripts with historical content confirm that history as a literary genre invited illustration, but one can assume that most of them were decorated with author portraits, dedication images and/or miniatures showing emperors, while manuscripts with extensive narrative illustration remained exceptional and their production was due to special circumstances.

CHAPTER 6

Homeric Epics

Maria Laura Tomea Gavazzoli

Introduction

Homer's epic poems, Iliad and Odyssey, probably written in the 8th century BC, belong to the most important literary works of the ancient world and of world literature in general. In Byzantium, both poems were read, but only from the Iliad there survive manuscript illustrations. In 24 books, the poem narrates the events related to the Trojan War, caused by Helen's abduction by Paris of Troy, which ended with the conquest of Troy by the Greeks through the ploy of the famous "Trojan Horse". The Iliad relates the last year of the 10-year siege of the city.

There are more than 1,500 fragments of the Iliad dating from the 3rd century BC to the 6th/7th century AD. Over 200 Byzantine minuscule manuscripts containing the Iliad or parts of it are attested since the 9th century, a time when an intensified interest in Homer and classical literature in general can be observed, which was connected with Patriarch Photios and the Macedonian dynasty.[1]

In the entire Byzantine period, Homer's works played a major role in primary and higher education and there was a continuous occupation with them, reflected by the many commentaries written by Byzantine authors and by the fact that Homer was the most frequently cited author in Byzantine literature.[2] Basil of Caesarea (*c.*330-79) encouraged young people to study Homer: "all the poetry of Homer is a praise of virtue, and with him all that is not merely accessory tends to this end".[3] In the 12th century, Eustathios of Thessaloniki counted the Homeric epics among the Wonders of the World.[4] Apart from the constant copying of the epics, we owe their transmission to the West to the Byzantine scholars who fled from Constantinople in the 15th century. The *editio princeps* of the Iliad was published in Florence in 1488 by Demetrios Chalkokondyles, who by then was professor for Greek language in Florence.

1 On the text and the text tradition, see West, *Studies*.

2 Cupane, "Die Homer-Rezeption", p. 254.

3 Basil of Caesarea, *Address to Young Men*, 5:28, ed./trans. N.G. Wilson.

4 Eustathios of Thessaloniki, *Commentary on Homer's Iliad*, Prolegomena, I 1,8-10, ed. M. van der Valk; Cupane, "Die Homer-Rezeption", p. 254.

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Given the enormous significance of Homeric poetry in Byzantium, which can be easily compared to that of the Bible, it is perhaps surprising that only three Byzantine illustrated examples of the Iliad have been preserved.

The Ambrosian "Ilias Picta"

The Ambrosian "Ilias Picta" (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, F 205 inf.) is a collection of 52 painted parchment fragments, cut out from a luxurious Greek codex, in order to isolate or to preserve them. They depict 58 episodes distributed throughout the entire Homeric poem.[5] Purchased for the Ambrosian library as soon as it was founded by Cardinal Federico Borromeo in 1608, the miniatures were stuck upon folios of "charta bombycina", of the Arabic type, arranged in order and attached by the long side to form an album. The images, identified by *tituli* and brief summaries in medieval Greek, had their ground line towards the inner binding, while a commentary on the various scenes occupied a column written in a right angle on the supporting paper. This new binding probably served to provide two different perspectives, the one of the master and the one of a group of students sitting beside him and looking at the miniatures.[6]

The collection had been almost completely ignored until 1819, when the great philologist Angelo Mai, recognising its ancient character, detached the miniatures from the paper in order to commission drawings of them, which he published together with the Homeric text revealed on their back side.[7] However, the collection of the loose folios became truly accessible for a critical philological and palaeographic discussion after the publication of a facsimile edition in 1905.[8] The first thorough art historical research was conducted after the Second World War; especially interesting the ones by K. Weitzmann. Most important then are the numerous essays by Ranuccio Bianchi Bandinelli, which culminated in his exhaustive monograph in 1955.[9]

5 The illustrations for the books III, XVIII, XIX and XX are missing: Bianchi Bandinelli, *Iliad*, p. 37.

6 Palla, "Folia antiquissima", pp. 328-9, 347; reconstruction of a rebound folio with commentary, fig. on pp. 341-2.

7 Mai, *Iliadis fragmenta*, pp. XXX-XXXI dated the fragments to the 5th or 6th century; Palla, "Folia antiquissima", pp. 322-3.

8 Ceriani/Ratti, *Homeri Iliadis pictae fragmenta* (facsimile edition in heliotypy). A facsimile edition of the 52 fragments reproduced separately in outlines, with the lacunae, colours, recto (Greek text) and verso (miniatures) is now available: Celis Real, *Ilias Picta*.

9 Bianchi Bandinelli, *Iliad*.

Bianchi Bandinelli studied all the Iliad scenes represented in various visual media in conjunction with the Ambrosian ones;[10] paying attention on the relationship between the illustrations and the poem's verses and on the cadences of the recovered written text, the Roman archaeologist succeeded in drafting the most convincing reconstruction of the original codex. Produced on thick parchment,[11] the manuscript probably measured 36.6 × 28.8 cm; the text was written in uncial letters in 25 lines. The dimensions of the cut out fragments vary. Six pieces containing two superimposed miniatures measure approximately 17.8-18.8 × 22.5 cm. The remaining ones more or less follow the dimensions of the blue and red frames which separated the scenes from the text, measuring approximately 7-12.5 × 22.5 cm. According to the scholar, the original volume must have been decorated with *c.*180 miniatures, including at least one full-page miniature at the beginning of each book, distributed on 372-380 folios which were bound in quaternions.[12]

By dealing with the Ambrosian corpus from the artistic point of view, Bianchi Bandinelli first of all refuted the roman-centric vision favoured by art historians who were convinced that the vivid naturalistic illusionism and the narrative ability of the Ambrosian Iliad derived from the bequests of the Pompeian painting and attributed it thus to the area of Campania of the 3rd century. As a fine expert on the Greco-Roman art of the imperial period, he recognized instead the Hellenistic elements of this extraordinary, unique illustrated apparatus.[13] At the end of his analysis, he divided the miniatures into five groups according to the inhomogeneous pictorial sources from which the compositions derived: the first (A-A1, "in the manner of the roll") exhibits isolated figures, arranged on only one level on neutral ground, like the graphic illustrations on papyrus and the 1st-century *tabulae iliacae* ("Iliadic tables"). Group B-BB ("manner of the great paintings and friezes of the Hellenistic-Roman period") was inspired by Hellenistic mosaics of the 1st-2nd centuries AD (Fig. 45); group C-CC ("manner of Hellenistic painting in a 3rd century version") is based on 3rd-century works of the Eastern Mediterranean-Alexandria (Fig. 46). Group D ("manner of the Santa Maria Maggiore mosaics"), is stylistically similar to the narrative mosaics of the Roman basilica, dated to 432-440. The last group, E-C ("the early-Byzantine manner") should be considered as the personal and direct product of the painter which reveals affinity and con-

10 Ibid., pp. 84-7.

11 Due to the violent detachment from the paper and the use of solvent chemicals, the ruling is barely or not at all legible: Bianchi Bandinelli, *Iliad*, p.39.

12 Ibid. pp. 39-45, 157.

13 Ibid. pp. 9-23.

tacts with a more recent context: Egyptian textiles of the 5th-6th century, the older mosaics of San Apollinare in Ravenna, the ceramic of Uadi Sargah.[14]

The various sources were incorporated by a single hand which is evident particularly in the chromatic coherence, more inclined to an ornamental use of the colours than a descriptive and naturalistic one.[15] The "artisan" – as Bianchi Bandinelli prefers to call him – freely reuses the heritage from which he draws. His loyalty to the content of the text is very strong in the first and second books,[16] but he is also capable of simplifications in order to comply with the character of the compositions. This is to be seen for example in the miniatures V, VI and VII, illustrating the episode of Briseis (A, vv. 320-59): from the announcement of Agamenon's heralds who abducted the maid up to the arrival of Thetis, who came from the sea to consol her son,[17] Achilles' tent remains a firm scenario just re-modulated, the action of Patroclus is not represented and the same frame was used for two different actions.

Although the depiction of Briseis between Talthybius and Euribates repeats the scheme of a 4th-century papyrus,[18] the scholar did not believe that the Ambrosian Iliad follows an archetype in roll form, but that it was inspired by brief cycles executed in various epochs and in various formats, especially in monumental Hellenistic paintings or in panel. He did not accept all of Weitzmann's conclusions on the "natural" origin of the Ambrosian codex from an illustrated roll papyrus, and considered it instead to have been only one of the transmission channels of the Homeric models, but not the most important one.[19]

Bianchi Bandinelli believed the miniaturist to be active in a city rich in great libraries, where probably various illustrated copies of the poem were available, suggesting at first Constantinople during the reign of Anastasius (491-518)[20]; but about 20 years later, in an article written in the light of new palaeographic evidence published by Guglielmo Cavallo, he opted for Alexandria in Egypt.[21] The clever and convincing work of the young scholar had indeed traced scrip-

14 Ibid. pp. 111-33, 159-60; id., "Conclusioni , pp. 90-1.

15 Bianchi Bandinelli, *Iliad*, pp. 90-2, 158.

16 Ibid., pp. 53-9, 158.

17 For a detailed description of the relationship between text and image, see ibid., chapter II, pp. 53-83.

18 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Pap. gr. 128: Bianchi Bandinelli, *Iliad*, pp. 118, 172, fig. 109, pl. 12.

19 Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*, pp. 37-46; id., "Observations on the Milan Iliad", pp. 243-4; Bianchi Bandinelli, *Iliad*, pp. 117-9; 26-30, 160-1, 165.

20 Ibid., pp. 165-7.

21 Bianchi Bandinelli, "Conclusioni", pp. 87-96.

tural and stylistic evidence in the Greek text written in the verso of the miniatures supporting the production of the codex in an Alexandrian workshop in the time span proposed by Bandinelli.[22] From Cavallo's examination among other things interesting historical information emerges regarding the context of the creation of the Ambrosian codex: the script employed is a rare and archaizing mimetic application of the "formal round, or Homeric majuscule", widespread in literary luxurious rolls of the 2nd century AD. This type of script can be determined as pagan and secular par excellence, as it was never employed in Christian texts. Its reintroduction in 5th-century Egypt would seem to meet the requests of commissioners, who belonged to those pagan aristocratic circles from the library and the university of Alexandria who formed the last conservative nucleus resisting the new religion.[23]

The following history of the codex remains unknown, except for its presence in medieval Sicily. A modern palaeographic analysis of the script on the paper which was dismantled from the miniatures, recently allowed Luisa Palla to establish that the captions and the added *scholia* were written in a script used in the mid-12th century in the area of Reggio and Messina, fertile centres of book production, also of secular books.[24] More than six centuries after its execution, the *Ilias picta* was again used as an album serving didactic and/or reading purposes[25], in an area where the erudite tradition of the Homeric knowledge had remained alive during the entire Byzantine and Norman periods, although it was primarily an Homer reduced to a "technical instrument" for school exercise.[26]

The Homerus Venetus A

It is not by coincidence that the oldest preserved complete Iliad, the *Marc. gr. Z. 454 of the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana in Venice, copied in the imperial scriptorium of Constantine VII soon after the middle of the 10th century, was kept in Terra d'Otranto in the beginning of the 14th century.[27] Subsequent to the dynastic changes of the 13th and 14th centuries, in fact many Byzantine codices containing secular texts flowed into that territory, deriving from the

22 Cavallo, "Considerazioni", pp. 70-85.

23 Ibid.

24 Palla, "Folia antiquissima", pp. 329-35.

25 Palla, "Folia antiquissima", pp. 339-42.

26 Cavallo, "Lo specchio omerico", pp. 609-27, 615.

27 Mazzucchi, "Venetus A", pp. 428, 447.

libraries of the Greek speaking elites which revolved around the court in Palermo.[28]

The codex, known as *Venetus A*, was written by only one scribe on a white parchment, in the maximal format used in Byzantium of 39.5 × 29 cm.[29] The text (fols. 12-327), supplied with dense scholia, originally comprised 40 quaternions. They were preceded by a quaternion and a bifolium as guard leaves (fols. 1-11, with lacunae), which were dedicated to a *Vita of Homer* and a fragmentary epitome of Proklos' *Chrestomathia*, to which a hand of the end of the 11th century added a brief paraphrase of Heliodoros' *Aithiopika* on fol. 4v, which was later covered by a miniature.[30] The leaves were prepared with great care: the scribe in fact planned from the beginning a subdivision of the space available for the Homeric text in a single 12 cm wide column of 25 lines, which corresponded to as many verses, and left a more ample space with half line-spacing for the lateral comments. The original decoration was inspired by the refined sobriety of the late antique codices and the use of colours is restricted to golden, blue and purple, imperial colours[31] which enhanced the impression of the great elegance of the neo-hellenism of the Macedonian Renaissance.

A 15th-century restoration carelessly replaced the missing folios at the beginning (1-11), changing the original sequence and numbering. Following the succession of the texts, the correct sequence results as following: × 9/1 × 6 4 × × 8, where × indicates the losses and the slash the separation of the bifolium from the guard leaf of the first quaternio.[32]

For a long time, due to an erroneous interpretation of a letter by the humanist Giovanni Aurispa, it was believed that he himself had brought the Venetus A from Constantinople and sold it to Cardinal Bessarion, after whose death it passed to the Biblioteca Marciana in 1471-72.[33] When this hypothesis was proved wrong,[34] the question of its origin was discussed again. Only recently has Carlo Maria Mazzucchi discovered some notes concerning the owners of the codex, which testify that it was transported from Constantinople to Palermo, probably to the court of Roger II or William I of Sicily around the middle of the 12th century or shortly after.[35]

28 Cavallo, "Libri greci", p. 162.

29 Mioni, *Codices Graeci,* vol. II, pp. 236-40; Mazzucchi, "Venetus A", pp. 421-2.

30 Mazzucchi, "Venetus A", pp. 429-30.

31 Ibid., pp. 423-4.

32 Mioni, "Note sull'Homerus Venetus A", pp. 190-1.

33 Mioni, *Codices Graeci,* vol. II, p. 238.

34 Mazzucchi, "Venetus A", p. 428, note 65 with references.

35 Ibid., p. 428.

The new owner had miniatures inserted into the free spaces of the folios preceding the poem, inspired by the *Cypria* and the first book of the Iliad. However, these cannot be considered as illustrations related to the texts to which they were added or which they anticipate. They were either painted as full-page miniatures in the guard leaves which had been left blank for two centuries (fol. 9r, almost the entire fol. 9v, fol. 8v), or across the broad blank margins, beside the Proklos text, to which they are not related. Above the fragment of the *Aithiopika*, the full-length figure of Achilles was depicted, as already mentioned, which indicates that the commissioner did not hesitate to cover up the added text.

With some caution, one could say that at least two brief autonomous cycles can be distinguished. The first illustrated epitome, beginning on fol. 9r and perhaps ending on fol. 1v, comprises the events of Paris' judgment and finishes with Helen's decision to follow him and Aphrodite to Troy. In the Banquet of the Gods, the golden apple thrown by Eris sets free the yearning and rivalry of Hera, Athena and Aphrodite, feelings that the miniaturist effectively expresses with overloaded but eloquent gestures, repeating thrice the same scheme of their tense running behind Hermes to the mount Ida, where Paris awards the golden apple to Aphrodite, who in the next folio is represented leading him in a ship to Sparta (fol. 1r).

On the verso (Fig. 47), Helen is depicted in a window between two maids. Lower on the page, she again stands between the two, who are making contradictory gestures, the one warning, the other one encouraging her, causing her perplex expression. Across the lower margin, the ship with Aphrodite, Paris and Helen reappears, sailing towards the walls of Troy.

The protagonists and the places, always identifiable by *tituli*, are rendered with round lines, often drawn with dark strokes which uniformly enclose only a few colours – dark red, cerulean blue, yellow. The painter, careful in the details of costume and furniture, is coarse in the physiognomies, but becomes sharp in rendering Helen's piercing glances, recalling the Fatimid *nadir* of the ceiling of the Cappella Palatina in Palermo.[36]

We do not know what the following, lost folio contained, but the reappearance of the miniatures in fols. 6 and 4 seems to indicate the beginning of a new cycle, which freely remodels the episode of Chryseis and the conflict between Agamemnon and Achilles. Again, we find the same originality of composition, which neglects the models transmitted in the Ambrosian Iliad, and recalls the Homeric text in some secondary detail. The narrative sequence, now lacking

36 Furlan, "Le miniature dell'Omero Veneto", pp. 45-6; Gavazzoli Tomea, "Miniature di confine", pp. 476, 489.

tituli, begins with the capture of two young girls, clad in blue and red, presumably Chryseis and Briseis, lead away by two soldiers. A warrior in mail armour and yellow-golden helmet, perhaps Achilles, is riding alone in front of them, while in the following scene he leads one of the prisoners, Chryseis, in front of an enthroned king, Agamemnon. In the left corner traces of the other woman (Briseis?) are visible, seated near a man reclining on a bed. On the verso, arranged in a mirror-inverted manner compared to the recto, Agamemnon receives the request and a crown from Chryses, clad as a monk or hermit, with the sceptre and the divine band on his head (A, 14-15). In the lower miniature the old priest, holding an incense burner, is standing in front of the small statue of Apollo, placed under an edifice in Arabic style.[37] On the following folio 4r, Apollo, dressed like a Byzantine dignitary with a quiver at his back (A, 45), throws arrows from above towards a group of Greeks in tunic. On the verso, wild animals and one mythical creature tear apart naked bodies (A, 3-5). Only in this margin the classical inspiration shines through. The content of the miniatures evokes the venations of the late antique mosaics but is closer related to the lions of the marble candelabra (*c.*1150) in the Cappella Palatina of Roger II or to the drowned bitten by a raven in the Byzantine mosaic depicting the Deluge in the Cappella Palatina.[38] The form is distinguished by its graphic quality, charged with strength and energy, which enhances the organic sense of movement, highlighted through the two-colour rendering in black and yellow. To the right, Achilles, painted in larger scale between four Myrmidons, is instead depicted in a vivid pictorial style with covering colours, used for the gods in the first folios (Fig. 48).

Fol. 8v exhibits series of duels and combats on the white parchment ground, which is not structured. They are shown without a baseline on four levels: riders confronting each other, alone or in a couple, an attack of a fortified city, observed by an enthroned king, copying the figure of Agamemnon; below armed horsemen are assaulting a fortified city. In the upper right corner there are remnants of an elegant quadriga on which a charioteer, with a lash in the hand, leads away a female figure, which, to judge from the dress and posture, seems to be one of the goddesses. The actions and persons cannot be identified or otherwise specified and can be only generally connected to the fights that took place outside the Trojan walls.

The survey of the iconographic sources of these cycles excludes their derivation from a consolidated pictorial apparatus of the Iliad. They cannot be easily integrated even in a clear formal context. Many figures reuse compositions

37 Furlan, *Le miniature dell'Omero veneto*, p. 46.

38 Gavazzoli Tomea, "Miniature di confine", pp. 470-2.

from the middle Byzantine pictorial tradition, mainly found in the Skylitzes chronicle (*Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Vitr. 26-2), copied in San Salvatore in Messina in the 3rd quarter of the 12th century.[39] Moreover, the miniaturist prefers types and stylistic trends current in the artistic context of the contemporaneous Palermo, be they of Arabic style or unexpectedly inspired by late antique models.[40] Altogether, the illustration exhibits in fact a trilingual style, which is coherent with the multiethnic integration politics followed by Roger II and William I, and at the same time it shows a new rendering of sentimental moods which emerges among the privileged female protagonists.

This new attention to sentiments and emotions which appeared in that period, in the courtly environment, seems to be the natural consequence of the cultural renewal carried by the Norman knightly nobility to Southern Italy.[41] The Latin West, to which Homer was known only through Dares Phrygius and Dictys Cretensis, had begun to elaborate romances of the so-called Trojan Matter especially in Northern Europe, from which the new dynasty originated. Nevertheless, the new importance granted to female figures more likely goes back to the diffusion of Ovidius' *Heroides* containing the letters exchanged between Paris and Helen (*Heroides*, XVI, XVII) and Briseis and Achilles (*Heroides*, III) or to other Greek works expressing a similar sensibility.[42]

Illustrations of the Iliad in Rehdigeranus 26 of Wroclaw

The version of the Iliad, rewritten on a 10th-century manuscript in the palimpsest Rehdiger 26 of the University Library in Wroclaw, has been known since 1889, but has not received the merited attention as the third known manuscript containing a short illustrative cycle of the poem. The codex which once belonged to the Polish bibliophile Thomas Rehdiger, measures 36.5 × 25.6 cm and is composed of 120 beige parchment folios of mediocre quality. The Homeric text (fols. 6-119) is written by a single scribe and two assistants in two columns in a cursive minuscule attributed to the area of Salento around 1270.[43] The drawings on fols. 1r-3r, first published by Roberta Durante, are scattered on

39 Tsamakda, *Skylitzes*. See also Weitzmann, "The Survival of Mythological", p. 56.

40 Gavazzoli Tomea, "Miniature di confine", pp. 490-1. Furlan, *Le miniature dell'Omero veneto*, p. 45 dated the cycle to the end of the 12th or the beginning of the 13th century on the base of the late palaeographic dating of the *Aithiopica*.

41 Bertelli, *L'illustrazione di testi classici*, pp. 925-6.

42 Gavazzoli Tomea, "Miniature di confine", pp. 490-1.

43 Durante, "L' *Iliade* in Terra d'Otranto", pp. 493-8.

the entire page and depict persons and episodes of the Trojan War, identifiable by Greek *tituli*, sometimes also in Latin, and occasionally followed by a poem verse.[44]

In this late Italo-Greek narrative cycle, a keen but somewhat clumsy hand has drawn famous scenes in black or brown ink and also colour fields in red and ochre. They were selected from various parts of the poem, like Chryses' plea to Agamemnon (fol. 1r), the revenge of Apollo Smintheus (fol. 1v; A, 42-53) and also the duel between Achilles and Hector followed by the dragging of the Trojan hero's dead body (fol. 3r; X, 397-400).

On fol. 1r, in the middle of the page, Homer, bearded and clad in ancient costume, is painted seated on a chair. He is trying to explain the poem's first verse to Kalliope, who is dressed in red and ochre and recalls the female figures in the chivalric romances of the period of the Swabians, which the draftsman (the copyist himself?) wished to imitate (Fig. 49). In analogy, on fols. 2v-3r, dedicated to duels and fights between Achaeans and Trojans, are reproduced compositions of riders in action deriving from western or crusade models which were clearly more familiar to the illustrator.[45]

On a formal level, this late Iliad of Salento has almost nothing in common with the two older precious codices, but still some weak evidence leads to the belief that all of them were somehow connected to an illustrated Byzantine source: the figure of Chryses in front of Agamemnon (fol. 1r) shares a scheme applied to the same subject in the Venetus A. On fol. 2r the same ancient scheme of Briseis between Euribates and Talthybius (Fig. 50) is applied as in the Ambrosian Iliad and the well known papyrus 128 in Munich.[46] It is not possible today to indicate the ways of transmission, but everything leads to the assumption that for the single more well-known episodes the possible models must have been luxury objects like carved ivories, textile panels or metal works.

Conclusions

These three codices, so different from each other, do not permit general reflections on the Homeric illustration in Byzantine manuscripts. It could be interesting though to examine in depth the reason for the production, conservation and interventions made in the 12th and 13th centuries to the three manuscripts

44 Ibid., pp. 499-510, pls. on pp. 511, 13, 15-6, 17.

45 Ibid., pp. 505-7, with references to the classical study by Buchthal, *Miniature Painting*.

46 Miniature VI. Cfr. supra note 18.

in a western province, in the periphery of the Empire and in a period when it was not ruled by Byzantium anymore.

The politics used by the Norman and Swabian dynasties certainly helped the Greek speaking group to protect its written language which under the Normans flourished in Sicily and Calabria for centuries, and then with the Swabians in Salento, where the classical culture remained alive also in the ecclesiastical environment at least until the beginning of the Duecento.[47]

The three codices, each in its own way, basically testify a renewed interest in Homer, not only as a literary text, but as a secular book product. This indicates a revival of antiquity which recalls those "renaissances" that Erwin Panofsky believed to have been recurring in the medieval West[48] and which the East experienced likewise if not more lively with the Macedonian and the Palaeologan Renaissances. From this perspective, the reuse of the Ambrosian Iliad[49], as well as the purchase and so to say "modern" decoration of the *Homerus Venetus* in 12th-century Sicily seem to be signs of a conscious appreciation of the classical heritage, favoured by a particular secular commission. A hundred years later, between the end of the reign of the Swabians and the beginning of the reign of the Angevins, the copyist of the Rehdiger Iliad in his turn played an active part in the prolongation of the literary and librarian tradition, although he only disposed of simple means and contaminated some old noble sources with his diligent but awkward gothic inspired drawing.

This re-edition of the Iliad, half way between Greece and Terra d'Otranto, was perhaps not unrelated to the spirit of Renaissance fostered by the Palaeologans, who returned to Constantinople's throne after the humiliation by the long Crusader rule:[50] it certainly appears to be part of persistent identity-making resistances in the ancient Byzantine province.

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47 Cavallo, "Libri greci", pp. 162-9.

48 Panofsky, *Renaissance.*

49 "an act of pious preservation rather than of vandalism", Bianchi Bandinelli, *Iliad*, p.38.

50 The "ripresa di trascrizione, lettura, studio di testi antichi" of that period "altro non era che riappropriazione di una identità etnica": Cavallo, "Libri greci", pp. 170-1.

Romances and Novels

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CHAPTER 7

Barlaam and Ioasaph

Marina Toumpouri

The hagiographic novel *Barlaam and Ioasaph* narrates the story of an Indian prince, Ioasaph, son of the pagan king Abenner, a persecutor of the Christian Church in its realm. Ioasaph despite his father's precautions is converted to Christianity by the monk Barlaam. After Abenner becomes aware of the fact, he engages in more severe acts of persecutions and makes several attempts to make Ioasaph recant his faith that proves unshakable. He finally tries to seduce Ioasaph with power and glory by letting him reign over the half of his kingdom. The secular, yet holy life of power of Ioasaph inspires conversion to Abenner. After the death of his father, Ioasaph reigns during few more years over the entire kingdom. He then quits his throne to withdraw to the desert as an anchorite, next to Barlaam. After the death of the two holy men, their relics are moved to the capital of the Indian kingdom where numerous miracles are performed.[1]

The text carries often the name of John of Damascus (*c*.676-749). This conventional attribution, much disputed since the 19th century,[2] was recently definitely rejected, since internal and external evidence support that the Georgian Euthymios († 1028), cofounder of the monastery of Iviron on Mount Athos, carried out the translation of the story from Georgian into Greek, as well as the revision and extensive polishing of this first Greek version.[3] It is therefore assumed that Euthymios completed the translation shortly thereafter 985. By 1019 the revised version of the text was also in circulation.[4]

It is all but possible to know exactly when *Barlaam and Ioasaph* first received illustration. Since the oldest illustrated copies are dated to the second half of the 11th century and given the presence of scenes inspired by the novel in two marginal Psalters[5] of the same period, it may be assumed that the creation of

1 For a detailed summary, see *Barlaam and Ioasaph,* ed. R. Volk, vol. 1, pp. 158-239.

2 For an overview of the issue, including bibliography, see ibid., pp. 1-95.

3 On Euthymios and his work, see Kazhdan, "Euthymios the Iberian", p. 757. *Barlaam and Ioasaph,* ed. R. Volk, vol. 1, pp. 63-95.

4 *Barlaam and Ioasaph,* ed. R. Volk, vol. 1, pp. 86-7.

5 The scenes depict the Apologue of the man chased by the unicorn (*Barlaam and Ioasaph*, ed. R. Volk, 12:215-56, henceforth *Barlaam and Ioasaph*). Fol. 182v, Theodore Psalter (*London, Birtish Library, Add. 19352, dated 1066) and fol. 231v, Barberini Psalter (*Vatican City, Biblioteca

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the first extensive cycles of illustration has taken place soon after its translation and before the second half of the 11th century.

Today, 160 manuscripts containing the novel are known to survive, covering a time span from the 11th to the 19th century.[6] Of these, however, only six are illustrated. The earliest among them, Athos, Iviron Monastery, cod. 463 (Figs. 51-52), dates from the second half of the 11th century. Jerusalem, Greek Patriarchal Library, Stavrou 42 (Fig. 53)[7] and Ioannina, Zosimaia Library, cod. 1[8] date between the end of the 11th and the beginning of the 12th century. The only manuscript produced in the 14th century is *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 1128 (Figs. 54-56). Two manuscripts, the 11th century Sinai, Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sin. gr. 392 and Cambridge, King's College Library, cod. 45 (Fig. 57), dated between the end of the 11th and the beginning of the 12th century, stand isolated from the rest of the group since they contain sketches in their margins. In the case of King's College 45 nothing can conclusively demonstrate that it was originally meant to be illustrated. As a consequence, it is rather difficult to date accurately its illustrations. Unlikely, the spelling of the explanatory captions that accompany the sketches in Sin. gr. 392 hints that they have been executed long after it was copied, probably in the 14th or the 15th century.[9]

Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Barb. gr. 372, *c.*1095). The miniatures are discussed and reproduced in Der Nersessian, *Londres, Add. 19.352*, pp. 69-70, figs. 286 and 332. It should though be noted that the earliest known example of the representation of the same apologue is found on a textile fragment in Louvre (AF 6186) dated to the 10th century. See Kakovkine, "Une étoffe copte", pp. 55-61.

6 An annotated catalogue of the manuscripts can be found in *Barlaam and Ioasaph*, ed. R. Volk, vol. 1, pp. 240-495.

7 The National Library of Russia in Saint Petersburg possesses two folios of this manuscript. They have been allocated the number gr. 379. See ibid., pp. 434-5.

8 Until the beginning of the Second World War the largest part of the manuscript was housed at the Library of Zosimaia Schole of Ioannina, Greece. For its protection it was entrusted during the war to an unknown individual. Since then, this part of the manuscript is lost. Yet, it is not clear whether the manuscript was never returned to the Library after the end of the war, or whether it was returned and stolen at a later date. The University Library of Cambridge possesses 14 folios of this manuscript. They have been allocated the number Add. 4491. Finally, the Library of the University of Columbia in New York possesses four folios, allocated the number Plimpton MS 9. It is today possible to reconstruct the iconographic cycle of the manuscript despite the loss of its largest part, since some of its miniatures and the drawings made after them have been published in Der Nersessian, *L'illustration du Roman*, vol. 1, figs. 2, 6-9, 12, 14, 17, 21-2, 24, 28, 30, 32-3, 35, 39, 42-3, 46, 49, 53, 55, 57-8, 75, 78, 80, 88, 95-107; vol. 2, figs. 406-17.

9 *Barlaam and Ioasaph*, ed. R. Volk, vol. 1, p. 439.

Unfortunately concrete evidence, as to the circumstances of creation and the reception of the six manuscripts, is inexistent. However, Ioan. Zos. cod. 1's palaeographic and codicological characteristics clearly link it to a provincial tradition confined to the regions of Cyprus, Syria or Palestine.[10] In the case of Stavrou 42, internal evidence suggests that from at least the 13th century it was kept in Constantinople.[11] Finally, it was possible to identify Iviron 463's scribe and illuminator, the monk Constantine of the Louphadion Monastery in Constantinople.[12]

The picture we have about the illustration of *Barlaam and Ioasaph* is also enhanced by additional evidence collected from seven manuscripts that contain either spaces left for illustrations which were never carried out and are usually accompanied by explanatory inscriptions, or, explanatory inscriptions copied in the margins or within the body of the text. Two among them are kept in Oxford, two in Vienna, and three are kept respectively in Augsburg, Athens, and Istanbul.[13]

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10 See Kavrus-Hoffmann, "Catalogue", pp. 194-7; Toumpouri, "Book production in Cyprus".

11 In the 13th century the manuscript underwent a restoration during which the monk Antonios – who has signed on fol. 107v – completed the manuscript's lacunas, added the inscriptions that accompany the illustrations and copied passages from different texts. Among them, the *Synaxarion* of the Constantinopolitan Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis (fols. 1r-5v) and the *Typikon of the Great Church* (fols. 204v-208v), suggesting that the restoration could have taken place in the Byzantine capital. The presence of liturgical texts and Antonios' signature imply that in the 13th century the manuscript may have belonged to a Constantinopolitan monastery that remains unidentified. It was also recently revealed that the text and the explanatory inscriptions of Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vind. hist. gr. 54, were copied from Stavrou 42 in the 14th century, long before its transfer to Vienna in 1576. Stavrou 42 also remained in Constantinople until the 16th century when it was bought and transferred to Jerusalem, as the inscriptions on fols. 6r and 203r indicate.

12 Palaeographic, stylistic, and codicological comparisons with two illustrated manuscripts, a copy of the *Heavenly Ladder* of John Klimakos, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 394 and a copy of the *Liturgical Homilies* of Gregory of Nazianzus, Athos, Dionysiou 61 attest this. For this attribution and the features shared, see Corrigan, "Constantine's Problems"; D'Aiuto, "Su alcuni copisti", pp. 25-34. Recently it was argued that Iviron 463 may have been commissioned by a member of the imperial family or of the Byzantine nobility. See Toumpouri, "L'illustration du *Roman*".

13 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. gr. 66 (12th century); Oxford, Christ Church College, cod. 62 (executed between 1564 and 1565); Vind. hist. gr. 54 (14th century); Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vind. hist. gr. 49 (16th century); Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. I.1.2°1 (15th century); Athens, National Library of Greece, cod. 2528 (11th-12th century and 16th century); Istanbul, Patriarchal Library, cod. 56 (executed in 1575). Two more manuscripts should also be mentioned here. In Meteora, Transfiguration

Finally, the Greek Parliament houses the sole copy of a vernacular translation of the Greek-Byzantine version of the text that has come down to us. Athens, Library of the Greek Parliament, cod. 11, from the last decades of the 16th century, was written and illuminated by Loukas the Cypriot († 1629), Metropolitan of Hungro-Wallachia.[14] The manuscript contains a cycle of 23 full-page, water-colour miniatures, faithfully repeating the attitudes, gestures, and garments as well as the general narrative configuration of those in *Par. gr. 1128, suggesting that they derive from the same iconographic tradition.

Interrelationship of the Manuscripts

It was Sirarpie Der Nersessian's firm belief, who first examined in detail the images of the five Byzantine illuminated manuscripts and cod. 11 of the Greek Parliament, that a lost archetype existed, from which all the iconographic cycles derived.[15] The position has therefore changed recently, since evidence gathered by Robert Volk regarding the textual transmission of the text, made also possible a reassessment of its iconographic traditions. Volk's inquiry revealed that the text was transmitted in five versions (families A-E).[16] The group of illustrated – including also the ones that were meant to be illustrated – manuscripts comprises members of the text families B, C, D, and E (abridged version). Beyond the textual similarities that the manuscripts of the same

Monastery, cod. 374 (completed in 1359) the text was preceded by the portraits of Barlaam and Ioasaph (fols. 1v and 2r), today lost. In *Lesbos, Leimonos Monastery, MS 62 a later hand added in the left margin of fol. 57v a sketch in black ink which illustrates the Apologue of the man chased by the unicorn (*Barlaam and Ioasaph* 12:215-6). On these manuscripts, see *Barlaam and Ioasaph*, ed. R. Volk, vol. 1, pp. 240-495.

14 On this vernacular version, see Tsavari, *Βενετζάς Νικηφόρος,* pp. 18-22; Pérez-Martín, "Δύο νεοελληνικές διασκευές", pp. 47-61. On this manuscript, see Der Nersessian, *L'illustration du Roman*, pp. 27, 216, and passim; Toumpouri, "The Illustration of the Barlaam".

15 Der Nersessian, *L'illustration du Roman*, pp. 219-20. It should be noted that the scholar did not include in her *corpus* Sin. gr. 392, since its picture cycle was introduced to scholars in 2009, in *Barlaam and Ioasaph*, ed. R. Volk, vol. 1, pp. 439-42.

16 The oldest version is found in the manuscripts of the family C. The manuscripts of the family A contain the revised version of Euthymios' original text. Family B version combines elements of the versions A and C. Family D version depends upon versions A, B, and C. Family E version is an abridged one, without loss though of the plot-elements or a disorder in the narrative sequence, since only lengthy dialogues and doctrinal material have been eliminated. On each of these versions, see *Barlaam and Ioasaph*, ed. R. Volk, vol. 1, pp. 582-94.

family share, their identical explanatory inscriptions,[17] the correspondence between the passages selected for illustration, and, in several cases, the identical iconographic formulation of the scenes illustrating the same passage, prove that they are also drawing upon the same iconographic tradition.[18] Members of the same family form, therefore, a homogeneous group.

There are though some exceptions to this rule, worth mentioning. The first concerns King's College 45 and Iviron 463. Although they represent the same iconographic tradition, since the latter or its offspring served evidently as a model for the sketches of King's College 45, they comprise a different textual variant.[19] It is thus evident that the marginal sketches in the Cambridge manuscript are later additions and that it received illustrations after its text was copied, from an unknown today manuscript, which contained the same conflated version.

In Bodl. Laud gr. 66, one of the manuscripts with spaces reserved for illustrations that were never executed, there is enough disparity to suggest that it draws upon an iconographic tradition distinct from the filiations noted within the group of the surviving *Barlaam and Ioasaph* manuscripts.[20] The subject-matter of its four unpainted miniatures indicates that, at its initial conception, it would have been illustrated with an extensive narrative cycle.[21] A shift though in the page layout of the manuscript occurred after the completion of

17 The captions indicating the intended subject-matter of the images are also found in the uncompleted manuscripts. See ibid., pp. 525-81.

18 Family B: Aug. UL Cod. I.1.2º 1 and Vind. hist. gr. 49. Family C: Stavrou 42; Ioan. Zos. 1; Sin. gr. 392; Vind. hist. gr. 54; and Bodl. Libr. Laud. gr. 66. Family D: *Par. gr. 1128; Ist. Patr. Lib. 56; Ath. NL 2528 and Ox. CC gr. 62. Family E: Iviron 463. See ibid., pp. 525-81. It is important to note here that the absence of captions from Bodl. Laud. gr. 66, Iviron 463, and King's College 45 led Volk to overlook their pictorial cycles when discussing the iconographic traditions of the text, given that his study was based exclusively on textual evidence. Iviron 463 and King's College 45 form a distinct and homogeneous group on grounds of iconography. On this relationship, see below. See also the table that accompanies this chapter.

19 Iviron 463 is a member of the textual family E. King's College 45 contains a conflated version falling equally into families C, B, and D. On the two manuscripts, see ibid., pp. 269-72, 294-5.

20 Despite the absence of explanatory captions, the subject-matter of the unpainted miniatures is indicated by the location of the blank spaces within the column of script. The scenes are: fol. 9v, Birth of Ioasaph (*Barlaam and Ioasaph* 2:170-5); fol. 10v, a) Prediction of the astrologers (3:6-16), b) Ioasaph restricted in his palace (3:17-33); fol. 13r, King Abenner discussing with the chief satrap that became Christian (4:37-102).

21 This is suggested by a comparison of the short iconographic sequence of the manuscript with the subject-matter of the images that illustrate the corresponding passages in the rest of the illuminated copies. See Toumpouri, "Book Production in Cyprus".

fol. 13r, since spaces for the accommodation of miniatures ceased to be left.[22] The significance of this particular manuscript lies in the fact that its short sequence of scenes doesn't exhibit close affinities with its relatives of Family C, from which one could speculate its dependence on a now lost iconographic tradition.[23] Beyond its iconographic peculiarities, however, the absence of explanatory captions in the vicinity of the blank spaces is also suggestive. Even though nothing can demonstrate that their omission stems from the fact that the scribe had before him a manuscript without captions, it could imply an effort to create a new iconographic program inspired directly from the text, rather than depend upon an existing model.[24]

Finally, Sin. gr. 392 shares only one feature with the rest of the members of Family C and this is its text. Its marginal illustrations do not demonstrate even tangential ties with the iconographic cycles of the two manuscripts, Stavrou 42 and Ioan. Zos. 1. Similarly there are no affinities between Sin. gr. 392 and the two last members of the group, Vind. hist. gr. 54[25] and Bodl. Laud gr. 66 with respect of their explanatory captions, passages chosen for illustration and the intended subject-matter of the images. The explanatory inscriptions of the 11th century Sin. gr. 392 were ascribed to the 14th or the 15th century and thus their presence suggests a later attempt to illustrate it. There does not, however, seem to be sufficient evidence for determining whether the drawings have been inspired directly from the text, or, whether the person responsible for their execution was working with a lost today illustrated manuscript of the novel before him.

Page Layout

The fact that different formats were used by the illustrators of the *Barlaam and Ioasaph* manuscripts – from unframed isolated figures to developed framed

22 What prompted this abrupt decision remains today irretrievable. On the confection of Bodl. Laud. gr. 66, see Hutter, *Corpus*, vol. 3.1, pp. 138-9; Carr, *Byzantine Illumination, 1150-1250,* pp. 268-9; Toumpouri, "Book Production in Cyprus".

23 Hutter, *Corpus*, vol. 3.1, p. 139; *Barlaam and Ioasaph*, ed. R. Volk, vol. 1, pp. 385-6; Toumpouri, "Book Production in Cyprus", pp. 315-8.

24 Toumpouri, "Book Production in Cyprus", p. 318.

25 In Vind. hist. gr. 54 the explanatory captions of the miniatures were copied from Stavrou 42 in the margins and within the body of the text. On fol. 35r, the sole sketch of the manuscript (in red ink and in the same brown-black ink used for copying the text) illustrates the fable of the bird-catcher and the nightingale (*Barlaam and Ioasaph* 10:29-61). It occupies the right margin and part of the text block.

narrative sequences – indicates that formal eclecticism was acceptable. Despite, though, the absence of formal homogeneity, the illustrations are always placed as close as possible to the passage that inspired them. In the case of the manuscripts with miniatures inserted within the text,[26] they are placed above the passage that they illustrate, a practice common among Byzantine illuminated manuscripts of all genres.[27]

The miniatures in Stavrou 42 and Ioan. Zos. 1 share the surface of the page equally with the text. Those displaying two or more scenes, each presented in a different register, are occupying habitually the largest portion of the page. Integral illustrations are also to be found in both manuscripts.[28] In *Par. gr. 1128 there are also large compositions arranged in two or more registers. Scenes are not though expanding always vertically but also in horizontal sense, since a much narrower space is often allotted to the miniatures.[29] The multiple-register format was though completely rejected in Iviron 463. Instead, Constantine recognized fully the potential of the horizontal juxtaposition of scenes, for the creation of images remarkably sensitive to the progress of the narration. He managed therefore in several cases to introduce up to four episodes in the narrow frames that occupy the width of the column of the text (13 cm) and are measuring less than 4 cm in height.[30]

26 Stavrou 42; Ioan. Zos. 1; Iviron 463; *Par. gr. 1128.

27 See the rest of the chapters in this volume.

28 Ioan. Zos. 1: fols. 3r (Abenner comes across two monks; The two monks are burned); 88r (Baptism and First communion of Ioasaph) and 105r (Araches comes across two monks; The two monks are arrested and taken to Abenner). Stavrou 42: fols. 75r (Apologue of the man chased by the unicorn), 92r (Apologue of the young rich man and the poor girl), 108r (Baptism and First communion of Ioasaph), and 159r (Nachor finds a hermit; Baptism of Nachor). See Der Nersessian, *L'illustration du Roman*, vol. 1, figs. 80, 25, 41, 77, 94; vol. 2, figs. 412-5.

29 The heights of the miniatures in *Par. gr. 1128 range between 3 cm and 10.5 cm. For purposes of comparison we can mention that the miniatures of Stavrou 42 range between 7.5 cm and 13 cm, while those in Ioan. Zos. 1, between 8 cm and 17 cm. Full-page miniatures were painted on fols. 1v (Portrait of Barlaam), 34v (The Hebrews are eating; The Hebrews are dancing, Fig. 56), 62v (Examples of Christian philanthropy), and 147r (The pagan priests visit Theudas; Theudas visits king Abenner) of *Par. gr. 1128. Der Nersessian, *L'illustration du Roman*, vol. 2, figs. 171, 230-1, 249-250, 340-1.

30 There is only one instance, i.e. the full-page portrait of the author (fol. 1v) that opens the manuscript, of a miniature occupying the totality of the page. Another exception is provided by the miniature on fol. 107v, which is 8.2 cm tall.

The marginal sketches of King's College 45 appear for the most part in the upper and inferior margins, and less often, in the lateral.[31] The reason for this tendency is overt if we recall that the sketches were copied from Iviron 463 – or from a now lost exemplar the model of which was the latter – , in which the illuminations were created expressly to fit in the longitudinal spaces provided for them. For that reason, illustrations depicting episodes necessitating the presence of several figures or of different inanimate elements mentioned by the text, or those composed by several scenes, necessitated the use of the upper and lower margins. In the lateral ones are found simpler scenes, usually those showing two individuals conversing with each other.[32] In contrast, the general tendency in Sin. gr. 392 is to use either the upper or the lower corners of the pages, position which makes possible the expansion of the illustrations in both vertical and horizontal senses.[33]

Character of the Illustration

The set of narrative images that illustrate the six *Barlaam and Ioasaph* manuscripts is undeniably the most important inspired by a saint's Life in the Christian East.[34] It is also the only known Byzantine manuscript tradition of a saint's *Vita* that includes copies with a lengthy cycle of illustrations.[35] Despite Euthymios' purpose, acknowledged in the prologue, i.e. to hand down to memory the prowess and virtuous deeds of the two saints that by self-denial emulated the conversation of angels, it is surprising that the pictorial hagiographic

31 With the exception of fol. 98r of which the lower and lateral external margins are both used.

32 The two exceptions being the illustrations on fols. 21v and 77r. The first illustrates the fable of the bird-catcher and the nightingale (*Barlaam and Ioasaph* 10:29-61). It shows the bird-catcher trying to kill the bird with a knife. The latter depicts the baptism of Ioasaph (*Barlaam and Ioasaph* 19:107-110).

33 Except in fols. 27r, 87r, 101r, 113r, and 114r where images appear in the upper, lower or external margins. See *Barlaam and Ioasaph*, ed. R. Volk, vol. 1, pp. 439-41.

34 See comparable evidence in: Weitzmann, "Selection", pp. 84-6; Ševčenko, "Hagiographical illustration", p. 896; Ševčenko, "The 'Vita' Icon", p. 150. For the total number of miniatures and scenes in each manuscript, see the table that accompanies this chapter.

35 On narrative cycles devoted to a Saint's *Vita* found in manuscripts, see Weitzmann, "Selection", pp. 84-6; Ševčenko, *Metaphrastian Menologion*, passim.; ead., "Hagiographical illustration", p. 896; ead., "The 'Vita' Icon", p. 152.

narrative, the most worthy of record, was overlooked by art historians.[36] Whatever the reason for this, it should be taken into account that pictorial hagiographic narratives are products of a genre that is "concomitantly literary and artistic"[37] and although text and image are relying on different conventions and methods of construction, their initial aim is to provide a proof of sanctity.[38] It is thus appropriate to consider that the text and the images in the *Barlaam and Ioasaph* illustrated manuscripts constitute two distinct versions of the same story, both rooted, however, in the horizon of expectations of the hagiographic genre.

It was already pointed out that hagiography, like every literary genre, depends upon predictability, formula, and repetition. Endless renewal through variation, or even, the violation of its own formulas and norms were though required in order to continue to be effective, and in this manner, to survive.[39] This comes as no surprise in view of the fact that, as long as circumstances of culture, society, and religious concerns were changing, the patterns of construction of sanctity were also changing, since the need for the creation of new powerful narratives was constantly required.[40] Hence, among the enormous quantity of Byzantine biographical material labelled "hagiography", are also to be found texts, the aim of which is the demonstration of the sanctity of individuals in the possession of economic and political power, theoretically opposed to the ideals of behaviour that the *Vitae* share. This is the reason why they are almost always abandoned voluntarily in the search of holiness.[41] Exceptionally, however, the saintly virtues of emperors and other members of the imperial family were also celebrated in Byzantium, unlike in Western Europe, where the canonisation of royals was a much more common practice.[42]

Barlaam and Ioasaph can be recounted among those rare examples, given that it undertakes to show how a prince, Ioasaph, while resident within the community managed to perform his extraordinary feats of virtue through the practice of monastic asceticism and, moreover, to invest the courtiers and his kingdom with his sanctity. Looking though more carefully at the generic quali-

36 Weitzmann, "Selection", p. 87; Ševčenko, "Hagiographical illustration", pp. 896-7; ead., "The 'Vita' Icon", p. 152.

37 Hahn, *Portrayed on the heart*, p. 5.

38 Patlagean, "Sainteté et pouvoir", pp. 92, 99-101.

39 See indicatively Agapitos, "Mortuary Typology", pp. 105-6; Patlagean, "Sainteté et pouvoir", pp. 94-7.

40 Broadly on this issue, see Kazhdan/Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture*.

41 Browning, "The 'low level' saint's life", pp. 126-7.

42 On this issue, including past bibliography, see Spanos, "Imperial sanctity", pp. 197-8; id./Zarras, "Representations of emperors", pp. 63-78.

ties of the *Vita*, it is easy to recognise that Ioasaph's uncommon type of sanctity knits together a combination of themes and issues that habitually are to be found in earlier hagiographic narratives.[43] Ioasaph practices monastic virtues, even during the period of his catechism. He attains solitude through prayer and mental discipline, rejects family ties, resists temptation, and pursues humility and contemplation. He acts also as a bishop, though not appointed to an established see, since he undertakes to spread the word of God: he preaches and instigates baptisms, despite the dramatic reaction of his father. After his coronation he enters officially in a quasi-clerical role and he becomes legitimately responsible for the souls and spirituality of his subjects, for which he takes care with acts of exceptional charity, or, with medicine of their souls.

Structurally the *Life* falls into two parts, pivoting at chapter 36. The first part covers the period from Ioasaph's birth to his abdication. It shows the formation and testing of the saint. Thus, the section as a recluse in his house (chapters 2-5) is followed by the section which concentrates on his initiation (chapters 6-20). After his baptism (chapter 19), follows a rich and complex section (chapters 21-33) that describes the efforts of Abenner to extinct every Christian element from his kingdom and the struggle of Ioasaph, not only to defend his faith, but also, to complete his mission of conversion of his father and of his subjects. The last section of the first part is a short one (chapters 33-36). It describes Ioasaph's reign over the half and later over the entire Indian kingdom. The second part of the *Vita* (chapters 36-40) covers the period from Ioasaph's entry into eremitical life (chapter 36) to the enshrinement of the relics of Barlaam and Ioasaph (chapter 40).

The organization and the rhythm of progression of the narrative makes clear that great care was taken to put emphasis on the events of the period during which, like the rest of the Christians of the pagan kingdom, Ioasaph was trying to resist his father's rage. The sanctity of Ioasaph gains its force from the juxtaposition of the events of his life with those from the life of Abenner and of his court. The effort therefore to present in detail the attitude and the acts of the pagan king that may be considered, in several cases, as digressive, in fact, accentuates the moral opposition between the father and the son, the Christian and the pagan, the virtuous and the wicked. In this way, particular emphasis is put on the virtues of Ioasaph, serving equally as evidence of his full commitment and zeal for the Christian faith since he achieves, despite his father's reaction and effort to bring him back to paganism, to bequeath a heritage of Christian, sanctified land and purified community. The example of Ioasaph

43 On innovation and the quality of intertextuality of the hagiographic genre, see Constantinou, "Subgenre and gender", pp. 412-4.

rises thus above and beyond the type of the saintly king since it resolves the conflict opposing saintly virtuous and political good. What might be considered as a *Life* providing a model of conduct exclusively for those who wield power is finally revealed to be an example of extreme humility. Hence, through the example of Ioasaph, every Christian can see a reflection of the humility of Christ, the humblest of the kings.

Even though Ioasaph came at a point to be considered as a paradigm of royal conduct and despite the fact that gradually his cult acquired political overtones,[44] the six iconographic cycles do not appear to be concerned with expressing precise ideological coercions and purposes. On the one hand, the broad range of narrative moments and actions, chosen to be depicted in all the *Barlaam and Ioasaph* manuscripts – a total of over than 350[45] –, indicates that the purpose of the illuminators was to create a pictorial narrative as effective as the text. On the other, the fact that the illustrations are scattered throughout the 40 chapters of the *Vita* and none of the cycles suggests a deliberate attempt to provide a more expansive visual treatment of a particular period of Ioasaph's life – as a prince and heir of the throne, as a crowned king, as a hermit – makes evident that the individuals involved in their production were not particularly interested in directing the viewer's focus by emphasizing specific themes more than others. For that reason, since the majority of the text is given over to describing Ioasaph's life before his crowning – including the different incidences related to the effort of his father to extinct Christianity – , the majority of the images illustrate what is recounted prior to this event. Likely, the comparatively brief evocation of the events from the two following periods of his life, explains why they are illustrated by a much smaller number of images. Thus, as two different versions of the same story, the pictorial cycles are giving an impression of wholeness and simultaneity that lends further strength to the text to achieve its effects.

The images contained in the six *Barlaam and Ioasaph* manuscripts may be divided into three categories: portraits, illustration of the narrative sections and illustration of the dialogic sections. To the first category belong the two full-page frontispieces: the portrait of the unidentified seated author in Iviron 463 (fol. 1v; Fig. 51), showing him writing in a codex on his lap, and monk Barlaam's standing portrait in *Par. gr. 1128 (fol. 1v). In the 14th century copy are found also the standing portraits of the biblical and the patristic authors,

44 Djurić, "Le nouveau Joasaph", pp. 99-109; Guran, "L'auréole de l'empereur", pp. 161-86; Drpić, "Art, Hesychasm, and Visual Exegesis", pp. 224-5.

45 The scenes that would have been depicted in the unfinished manuscripts were also included.

painted next to the passages from their works quoted in the text.[46] Finally, in the margins of Sin. gr. 392 has been depicted, without textual justification, a number of Saints and Evangelists.[47] The saints in both the Parisian and the Sinai copies, whatever the location and scale of their portraits, are frontally represented. What allows their identification, when inscriptions are omitted, is either their costume or the scroll they hold, inscribed with words from their works.

To the second category belongs the vast majority of the images: those illustrating the narrative sections of the text. The illustrations of this category adhere closely to the text. They are always visualizing the event recounted or the situation described by a succession of action scenes, or, a single representation.[48] It has already been pointed out that in manuscripts belonging to the same text family, we find the same passages illustrated with the same narrative scene. The selection though of the iconographic components for the illustration of the same passage, even between members of the same family, can vary in the number of figures and their poses, their garments and the objects in their hands, as well as the landscape and furniture elements, despite the fact that in several cases evidence for their presence is provided by the text. Thus, the degree of variation in detail and form between the miniatures of Ioan. Zos. 1 and Stavrou 42 betrays, not a direct dependence of the two manuscripts on a common model, but more likely a situation in which a common source lies behind them, a source used though with discretion by the illuminators.

The situation contrasts in the case of King's College 45 and Iviron 463 since an examination of their narrative cycles reveals both a common selection of scenes and iconography, generated beyond any doubt by the direct dependence

46 Three unidentified Prophets, fol. 39v; Prophet Isaiah and Saint Paul, fol. 50r; King David, fols. 79v and 103v and; Saint Gregory of Nazianzus, fol. 80r; Der Nersessian, *L'illustration du Roman,* vol. 2, figs. 246, 254, 281, 299, 282.

47 Saint Onoufrios, fol. 16v; Mark the Evangelist, fol. 21r; John the Evangelist, fol. 25r; Matthew the Evangelist, fol. 26r; Saint Ephraim, fol. 36v; Saint John Kolobos, fol. 37r. The sketches remain unpublished. For a description of the iconographic cycle of Sin. gr. 392, see *Barlaam and Ioasaph*, ed. R. Volk, vol. 1, pp. 439-41.

48 Exceptionally problems of text-image correspondence are raised. They can result from the insertion of a scene that the passage supposed to be illustrated does not fit its iconography, like in the case of the miniatures on fols. 17v, 95r, 182v of *Par. gr. 1128. In other cases, a number of iconographic details in the miniatures cannot be explained by the text they illustrate. Their presence may be due to the conflation of two different narrative scenes, for example in: *Par. gr. 1128, fols. 10v, 169r. It may also be the product of negligence or misunderstanding of the content of the text, like in the case of: Ioan. Zos. 1, fol. 13v; *Par. gr. 1128, fols. 25v, 113v, 141v.

of the first upon the latter. This overall correspondence is particularly noticeable in the case of the Oriental costume in which the lay men are portrayed. Constantine – the copyist and miniaturist of the Athonite manuscript – who undertook to enhance the effect of authenticity of the narrative, called upon iconographic witnesses. His effort of persuasion concentrated particularly upon place. He took therefore great care in elaborating the images he painted by including iconographic elements that could localize the actions depicted in the East, where the story takes place (*Barlaam and Ioasaph* 1:1-4). The lay figures he represented are therefore in their majority distinctively endowed with a turban, while a certain number of miniatures, for example those on fols. 3r and 5v, are inhabited by dark-skinned individuals.

The third category includes the images that illustrate the content of the edifying dialogues between Barlaam and Ioasaph.[49] It is noticeable that the total number of illustrations in this category is very small, compared with those belonging to the previous one, despite the fact that the dialogic sections constitute by far the largest proportion of the text.[50] It may therefore be assumed that this is due to a general abstinence from the illustration of these parts of the text. There is reason, however, to believe that this is not exactly the case. Even though the content of very few dialogic sections has found a pictorial expression, a relatively large number of illustrations, depicting two or more individuals conversing with each other, are punctuating them in all the manuscripts. This suggests that the presence of these repetitive compositions was prompted by the desire to provide both narrative and dialogic sections with illustrations, in order to avoid the interruption of the visual narration and hence, not to give up the attempt to provide a pictorial version as faithful as possible to the narrative.[51]

Only very few of the topics taken up in Barlaam's moralizing and theological discourses have been chosen to be illustrated. The majority of images belonging to this third group are in fact illustrations of the ten fables – most of them

49 There are though few exceptions. See below, note 53.

50 The number of miniatures that illustrate the content of the dialogic sections of the text are: Ioan. Zos. 1: 17; Stavrou 42: 14; Iviron 463: 11; King's Collge 45: 10; Sin. gr. 392: 1; *Par. gr. 1128: 75. For the total number of miniatures in each manuscript, see table 7.1 that accompanies this chapter.

51 On the role of the pictorial formula of the interlocutors, see Toumpouri, "Vies à lire, Vies à voir", pp. 115-9.

traced to an Indian source[52] – that were inserted in the text.[53] The illustration provided for these short stories doesn't present habitually a differentiation in the treatment of the text from the illustration of the narrative sections. Thus, each fable is illustrated either by a succession of action scenes that provide a detailed account of the story, or, a single representation, illustrating a single incident, or alternatively, providing a condensed version of the tale. Perhaps the most notable example is the Apologue of the man chased by the unicorn (*Barlaam and Ioasaph* 12:215-6) that was illustrated, with the exception of Sin. gr. 392, in all the manuscripts.[54] The rendering of the story differs though significantly. In Ioan. Zos. 1 (fol. 54r) and Stavrou 42 (fol. 71r) the images, pulled from the text and painted in the entire space of the folio, offer a compact version of the tale since they concentrate upon the dramatic moment in which the man is found in the pit, safe from the unicorn, yet, held by the branches of a tree – the roots of which are gnawed by two rats – and being menaced by four asps and the dragon at the bottom of the pit. In contrast, in the case of King's College 45 (fol. 41v, Fig. 57) and *Par. gr. 1128 (fol. 70v), the established convention was followed since the images are placed respectively in the lower margin and within the text. The depiction of the fable is also much more narrative, given that it is illustrated by two distinct scenes: the first is depicting the hero of the apologue fleeing the unicorn, and the second, climbing a tree. Moreover, the illustration of the story in *Par. gr. 1128 emerges as an effort to make a moralizing statement since the two narrative scenes are associated with a third one, a feast scene, a reference to the warning of the apologue against the vain pleasures of life (*Barlaam and Ioasaph* 12:217-220).

Despite the fact that there are no parallels of this type of pictorial composition blending two ways of relating to the text – a depiction of an episode

52 Tagliatesta, "Les représentations iconographiques", pp. 4-5; *Barlaam and Ioasaph*, ed. R. Volk, vol. 1, pp. 105-15; Toumpouri, "L'homme chassé par l'éléphant", pp. 423-38.

53 The fables are narrated by Barlaam to Ioasaph, with the exception of the tenth fable, known as the Apologue of the prince and the devils that deceive men (*Barlaam and Ioasaph* 30:1-29), narrated to Abenner by the magician Theudas. The miniature of fol. 118v in *Par. gr. 1128 should also be mentioned here. It illustrates a part of Abenner's conversation with a group of monks arrested by his soldiers. One of the monks refers to the hounds tamed for hunting, from which the quarry is taken violently as soon as it is seized (*Barlaam and Ioasaph* 23:58-65), a metaphor for Abenner's behaviour who pretends to care for his subjects, being though interested only in using them for his own profit.

54 Der Nersessian, *L'illustration du Roman*, vol. 1, figs. 24-5; vol. 2, figs. 87, 266-7. The absence of the depiction of the fable from Iviron 463 may be attributed to the loss of the leaf between the actual fols. 38 and 39, where the image was painted. This appears to be further corroborated by the presence of the scene in King's College 45.

mentioned by the text and an allusively charged narrative scene – as far as the illustration of the ten fables is concerned, either in *Par. gr. 1128 or in the rest of the manuscripts, it exemplifies the iconographic diversity and the moralizing propensity that recurs in the 14th century copy, restricted though to the dialogic parts of the text. The tendency to provide these particular parts of the text with a far denser and sophisticated picture cycle – despite the fact that the pictorial formula of the interlocutors is used also repeatedly throughout *Par. gr. 1128 – appears to be the most characteristic aspect of its illustration, as well as, what differentiates the conception of the Late Byzantine iconographic cycle from the earlier ones.

*Par. gr. 1128 is also the sole copy in which passages dealing with doctrinal concepts, Barlaam's admonitions,[55] as well as passages referring to the history of the Church and of the Christian monasticism,[56] have been supplied with images. The illustrations of those passages may be characterized as literal, since they were inspired by specific words or phrases in the text. For example, the miniature on fol. 82r, for verses 15:135-9, in which Barlaam elaborates on the free will of man, is a simple composition showing springs of water, the force, the depth and the substance of which are used as a metaphor of the human thoughts and actions of which men are the absolute masters. Another example, displaying also a close fidelity to the words of Barlaam, depicts two men venerating the icon of Christ (fol. 99v, Fig. 54). The image is illustrating a passage on the concept of the true presence of Christ within the images and on the worship of the holy icons, insisting on the physical contact with them (*Barlaam and Ioasaph*, 19:81-105).

The tendency to adhere closely to the text is also notable in the case of the depictions devoted to historical subjects, like the one on fol. 100v, showing – as the inscription "Η σύνοδος ἡ ἐν Νικαίᾳ" states – the First Ecumenical Council convened in 325 in Nicaea.[57] What is though manifest is that it can't be considered as a "historical" one, given that the portraits of the Apostles have been integrated in the scene. The miniature conforms to the text relating that Barlaam informs Ioasaph that the Christian faith was "preached by the Apostles

55 On death (*Barlaam and Ioasaph,* 8:100-6, fol. 58r); On charity (9:69-71, fol. 61v); On charity (9:76-85, fol. 62v); The kingdom of heaven (11:148-9, fol. 177v); On the virtue of almsgiving (15:5-6, fol. 77v); The way of the cross (15:44-52, fol. 79r); The narrow and wide gates (15:55-63, fol. 79r); The light of Christ (15:77-98, fol. 80v); On the liberty of man (15:130-9, fol. 82r).

56 The martyrs (*Barlaam and Ioasaph,* 12:23-53, fols. 180v, 47r); The Council of Nicaea (19:104-7, fol. 100v); On the worship of holy icons (19:81-105, fol. 99v); The poverty and self-denial of the monks (12:53-60, fol. 47v); The practice of prayer (12:60-75, fol. 63r); The way of life of the monks (12:75-215, fol. 64v; 18:72-91, fol. 93r).

57 Der Nersessian, *L'illustration du Roman*, vol. 2, fig. 297.

and [was] established by the inspired Fathers at divers Councils", while immediately after, he refers to the Council, during which the Nicene Creed that he is about to teach to Ioasaph, was formulated (*Barlaam and Ioasaph*, 19:104-7). Thus, the anachronistic representation that illustrates both of the two subsequent passages shows four haloed bishops, represented seated in frontal attitude, with a *suppedion* at their feet, flanked by four haloed Apostles, is much more than a simple narrative image. It stands in fact midway between icon and narrative episode and functions, other than confirming the authority of the text, as a demonstration for the accuracy of Barlaam's quotation of the Creed.

Another notable aspect of *Par. gr. 1128's illustration of the dialogic sections is the number of biblical episodes and parables recounted or evoked by Barlaam that received illustrations, considerably larger than that in the rest of the manuscripts.[58] But than this quantitative fact, it is much more significant that certain among these episodes illustrated in the aforementioned manuscript have been combined with the depiction of events, not mentioned explicitly by the text. The sequence in question illustrates chapter 7, which is dedicated exclusively to Barlaam's exposition on God's substance and manifestation. It includes Old Testament scenes only. Indicatively, in Iviron 463 (fol. 26v; Fig. 52) and King's College 45 (fol. 2r), the Crossing of the Red Sea was illustrated by a single image, showing Moses between two clusters of Israelites, extending a staff held in his outstretched right hand and looking at the drowning Egyptians. In the case of the Late Byzantine copy, the same episode belongs

58 Ioan. Zos. 1: New Testament: Parable of the sewer (fol. 12r). Stavrou 42: New Testament: Parable of the sewer (fol. 31v). Iviron 463: Old Testament: Noah's ark (fol. 25r), Crossing of the Red Sea (fol. 26v). New Testament: Parable of the sewer (fol. 20r), Last Judgment (fol. 28v). King's College 45: Old Testament: a) Abraham praying, b) Abraham teaching his children (fol. 1v), Crossing of the Red Sea (fol. 2r), Moses striking water from the rock (fol. 2v). *Par. gr. 1128: Old Testament: a) Creation of the angels, b) Creation of the earth and the sea (fol. 29r), a) Creation of Adam, b) Creation of Eve (fol. 29v), Life of Adam and Eve in the Paradise (fol. 30r), The fallen angels (fol. 30v), a) Satan tempting Eve, b) Adam and Eve eating the forbidden fruit (fol. 31r), a) Madness of men, b) Noah's ark (fol. 31v), Noah and his family (fol. 32r), Adoration of the idols (fol. 32v), a) Abraham praying, b) Abraham and his family (fol. 33r), The Israelites are collecting the quails and the manna (fol. 33v), a) The Israelites are guided by the column of fire*, b) Crossing of the Red Sea (fol. 34r), a) The Israelites are eating and drinking*, b) Dance of the Israelites* (fol. 34v), Moses receiving the Law (fol. 35r). New Testament: a) Annunciation, b) Nativity (fol. 35v), Baptism (fol. 36r), Miracles (fol. 36v), Christ teaching (fol. 37r), a) The Jews chase Christ, b) Betrayal of Judas (fol. 37v), a) Crucifixion, b) Anastasis (fol. 38r), Incredulity of Thomas (fol. 38v), Parable of the rich man and Lazaros (fol. 48r), Parable of the wedding banquet (fol. 49r), The rich and the kingdom of God (fol. 78v), Communion of the Apostles (fol. 99v), Parable of the prodigal son and parable of the lost sheep (fol. 178r).

to a narrative sequence of six scenes (fols. 33v, 34r-v and 35r; Figs. 55-56), which provides a fuller account of the wanderings of the Israelites in the wilderness. Yet, only three out of the six are picturing episodes mentioned by Barlaam (*Barlaam and Ioasaph*, 7:104-23).[59] The representations that compose the sequence form two coherent groups of three. The first (fols. 33v and 34r, Fig. 55)[60] focuses on God's miraculous intervention and omnipresence, in reference to verses 113-5. Thus, in addition to the episode of the Crossing of the Red Sea (fol. 34r) recounted by Barlaam (*Barlaam and Ioasaph*, 7:109-13), the sequence includes two more scenes of miracles: The Israelites collecting the quails and the manna (fol. 33v); and The Israelites being guided by the column of fire (fol. 33v). The second sequence (fols. 34v and 35r; Fig. 56) concentrates instead on events exemplifying transgression against God. With respect to the chronological order of the events as recounted in the Exodus text, the ultimate scene of the sequence (fol. 35r) showing Moses receiving the Law (Ex 34:4-5) – the only episode mentioned by Barlaam (*Barlaam and Ioasaph*, 7:115-6) –, is preceded by the two interpolated scenes. Both of them are associated with the construction and worship of the golden calf that took place during Moses' absence. Following the biblical account (Ex 32:6)[61], the Israelites are shown in the upper register of the miniature of fol. 34v eating and drinking, and in the lower register, dancing, after they have adored and offered their offerings to the golden calf. It is notable that the two images, although based upon the account of the Exodus, bear no relation to the illustrated Octateuchs, in which the two episodes are never illustrated. Similarly, the episode of the adoration of the golden calf in the marginal Psalters differs in most respects from the two scenes in *Par. gr. 1128.[62] The fact implies that either they derive from an unknown today iconographic tradition, or, that they have been expressly invented for the

59 The biblical episodes not mentioned by Barlaam are indicated in the previous note with an asterisk.

60 It should be noted that between fols. 33v and 34r a blank folio was inserted when the manuscript received a new binding, probably in the 16th or the 17th century. See: *Barlaam and Ioasaph*, ed. R. Volk, vol. 1, p. 408.

61 Ex 32:6, "They got up early the next day and offered up entirely burned offerings and brought well-being sacrifices. The people sat down to eat and drink and then got up to celebrate".

62 In the marginal Psalters the episode of the adoration of the golden calf illustrates literally Ps 105:19-20 ("At Horeb they made a calf and worshiped an idol cast from metal. They exchanged their Glory for an image of a bull, which eats grass."), as in the case of *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 20, fol. 16v; *London, British Library, Add. 40731, fol. 178v; *Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 733, fol. 78v; Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, 78 A 9, fol. 190v. There seems though to be an exception since the scene in *Lond.

illustration of the biblical material that forms part of Barlaam's exposition and that their textual source must have been the biblical account. If the latter was the case, it is evident that the sequence is much more than a simple illustration of the scriptural narrative discussed in the text. Through an inventive combination of episodes recounted in the Book of Exodus, although not all of them mentioned by Barlaam, and the manipulation of elements of the traditional iconography, the images sanction a particular reading of the narrative they are supposed to illustrate. In fact, the two sequences supply a moral reading of the account of the wanderings of the Israelites in the wilderness, through the comparison between the images depicting God's miraculous interventions for their survival and those evoking their weakness and lack of faith in His providence, meant to be considered as an example to avoid.[63] The sequence in question proves therefore to be much more than "mere illustration" since it changes the way the story is perceived.

What appears therefore clearly is that the intention behind the creation of the different pictorial versions of the *Barlaam and Ioasaph*, that we presented all too briefly above, was neither to produce images conveying specific messages, nor to reinterpret the events recounted with the aim to recreate new meanings, despite the sporadic apparition of such examples in the 14th century copy. Instead, they concentrate on communicating the core content of the passage they illustrate. This emphasis on the essential was rather due to a predilection of the planners of the manuscripts to create unambiguous compositions, in order to serve the process of visual narration and as a consequence, to provide an additional way of perpetuating the memory of the deeds of saints Barlaam and Ioasaph.

Add. 19352, fol. 143v, in relation to Ex 32:6 includes two men: the first dancing in front of the golden calf and the latter blowing a horn.

63 On comparison as a form of expression and its didactic function in Byzantium, see Maguire, "The art of comparing in Byzantium", pp. 88-103.

TABLE 7.1 *Synoptic table of the Barlaam and Ioasaph manuscripts*

	Text family	Date	Illustration	Frames
Augsburg, Cod. I.1.2°1	B	15th century	- 123 explanatory captions - in the margins	no
Vind. hist. gr. 49	B	16th century	- 7 explanatory captions - in the margins	no
Sin. gr. 392	B	11th century	- 36 illustrations - 36 scenes - in the margins - with later explanatory captions (14th-15th century)	no
Ioannina, Zosimaia Schole 1	C	11th-12th century	- 55 miniatures - 65 scenes - within the column of script - with explanatory captions	yes
Jerusalem, Stavrou 42	C	11th-12th century	- 61 miniatures - 88 scenes - within the column of script - with later explanatory captions (13th century)	yes
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud gr. 66	C	12th century	- 4 unfilled spaces - within the column of script - no explanatory captions	no
Vind. hist. gr. 54	C	14th century	- 73 explanatory captions - in the margins and within the column of script	no

TABLE 7.1 *Synoptic table of the Barlaam and Ioasaph manuscripts* (cont.)

	Text family	Date	Illustration	Frames
Par. gr. 1128	C	14th century	- 211 miniatures - 223 scenes - within the column of script - with explanatory captions	no
Istanbul, Patriarchal Library, cod. 56	D	1575	- 138 explanatory captions - in the margins and within the column of script	no
Athens, National Library of Greece, cod. 2528	D	11th-12th century (fols. 7r-219v) 16th century (fols. 1r-6v)	- 2 explanatory captions in the 16th century folios - in the margins	no
Oxford, Christ Church, gr. 62	D	1564-1565	- 180 unfilled spaces - within the column of script - with explanatory captions	no
Athos, Iviron 463	E	11th century (second half)	- 79 miniatures - 137 scenes - within the column of script - no explanatory captions	yes
Cambridge, King's College, cod. 45	BCD	end of 11th - 12th century	- 90 illustrations - 134 scenes - in the margins - no explanatory captions	no

CHAPTER 8

The Alexander Romance

Nicolette S. Trahoulia

The immense popularity of the *Alexander Romance* during the medieval period is attested by the many versions that existed, not only in Latin and Greek, but also in Armenian, Syriac, Arabic, Persian, Coptic, Ethiopic, Serbian, English, French, German, and Hebrew. This fantastic account of the life of Alexander the Great took shape during the period between the 3rd century BC and the 3rd century AD.[1] The mistaken attribution to Kallisthenes is found in John Tzetzes in the 12th century.[2] Kallisthenes is known to have accompanied Alexander on his campaigns and written an historical account of his life.[3] While the *Alexander Romance* does contain historical material also found in other sources, such as Arrian, much of the *Romance* is fictional. The *Romance* begins with Alexander's mother, Olympias, conceiving her son as a result of her relations with the Egyptian pharaoh and magician Nektanebo, who comes to her bedchamber in the guise of the god Ammon.[4] The account of Alexander's military campaigns is a mixture of historical detail and fantasy. Many of the episodes recounted must have circulated as independent stories, or wonder tales, from an early period.[5] The structure of a number of these tales, such as the meeting of Alexander and Candace, resembles in broad terms the literary form of the ancient Greek novel.[6] Large portions of the *Romance* are devoted to descriptions of Alexander's journeys in strange and unknown lands where he encounters mythical creatures, such as the dog-headed men. The *Romance* ends with Alexander's death in Babylon, poisoned by his cupbearer as part of a conspiracy back at the Macedonian court.

Eighteen manuscripts survive of the Greek *Alexander Romance*, comprising five different recensions. The oldest extant manuscript dates to the 11th century (*Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 1711) and contains the α

1 Merkelbach/Trumpf, *Die Quellen des griechischen Alexanderromans*, p. 59; Stoneman, "The *Alexander Romance*", p. 118; Jouanno, *Naissance et metamorphoses*, pp. 26-8.

2 John Tzetzes, *History*, ed. P.A.M. Leone, p. 15, line 331.

3 Stoneman, "The *Alexander Romance*", p. 119.

4 For an English translation of the *Alexander Romance,* see *Alexander Romance,* trans. R. Stoneman.

5 Stoneman, "The *Alexander Romance*", p. 121.

6 Ibid., p. 123.

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recension.[7] Earlier Greek editions of the text are attested by Julius Valerius' Latin translation in 330 AD, as well as the Latin translation by the Archpresbyter Leo in the 10th century.[8]

The oldest illustrated Byzantine manuscript of the *Alexander Romance* is *Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barocci 17, a manuscript with 120 spaces for illustration, out of which only 31 were actually executed.[9] The manuscript has been assigned a date in the first half of the 13th century on the basis of paleography.[10] It contains the ε recension of the text.[11] *Barocci 17 is a small codex, measuring 157 by 114 mm. The miniatures are integrated into text folios, occurring at the top, middle, or bottom of the folio. Much of the paint has flaked off the simply rendered illustrations, many of which were rather clumsily retouched by a later hand. The miniatures are reproduced in Irmgard Hutter's Corpus, accompanied by descriptions.[12]

Another manuscript, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Marc. gr. Z. 408, has 86 spaces for illustrations that were never executed. This 155 folio manuscript contains the verse version of the *Alexander Romance* (fols. 16-142), as well as various other texts, including the verse chronicles of the capture and recovery of Constantinople from the Latins (1204-1261).[13] Only the text of the *Alexander Romance* has spaces intended for miniatures, either at the top, middle, or bottom of the folio. Each folio has short titles in the upper or lower margin that indicate the content of the text on that folio and possibly the intended subject for the illustration. However, since all folios have these titles, with or without spaces for illustration, they cannot be assumed to be picture rubrics. Marc. gr. Z. 408 measures 215 by 140 mm and has been dated to the late 14th century.[14]

The only surviving Byzantine manuscript of the *Alexander Romance* with extensive illustration is a luxury edition of the text: *Venice, Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Postbizantini, cod. 5 (Figs. 58-59). This large manuscript (320 by 240 mm) contains 250 illustrations spread over its 193 folios of bombycine,

7 The critical edition of *Par. gr. 1711 is Pseudo-Kallisthenes, *Historia Alexandri Magni,* ed. G. Kroll; for the date, see Merkelbach/Trumpf, *Die Quellen des griechischen Alexanderromans*, p. 59.

8 Stoneman, "The *Alexander Romance*", p. 118.

9 Hutter, *Corpus*, vol. 11/2, pp. 33-6.

10 Ibid., p. 33.

11 *Vita Alexandri,* ed. J. Trumpf.

12 Hutter, *Corpus*, vol. 11/2, pp. 33-6, 116-36.

13 Mioni, *Codices Graeci,* vol. 2, pp. 161-5.

14 For bibliography, see Matzukis, "The Alexander Romance", pp. 109-17; the text of the Alexander poem is edited in *Alexander rex,* ed. S. Reichmann.

also known as "oriental paper". Many of the illustrations are full-page, indicating the importance of visual narrative to the overall function of the manuscript. This manuscript also contains the longest version of the *Romance*, the γ recension.[15] In addition to the Greek text, Turkish captions were written around the illustrations when the manuscript passed into Turkish hands.

Kondakov discussed *cod. 5 briefly in his pioneering study of Byzantine illustrated manuscripts, assigning it a 14th-century date.[16] It was not until almost a century later that the miniatures were published by Andreas Xyngopoulos, who dated the manuscript to the 14th century on the basis of paleography and the style of the miniatures.[17] Xyngopoulos attempted to explain what he described as western and Islamic stylistic and iconographic elements in the illustrations by proposing that the manuscript was produced in Crete by artists working from a 13th-century Palestinian prototype.[18] In 1979 Liam Gallagher effectively eliminated Xyngopoulos' supposition of a Cretan provenance when he identified the title of the emperor in the manuscript's frontispiece as that used by the emperors of Trebizond, a Byzantine satellite state on the Black Sea (Fig. 58: fol. 1r).[19] He also provided a codicological study of the manuscript, diagramming the quires in their present condition.[20] In the same volume, Fonkič connected *cod. 5 with Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Marc. gr. Z. 511, a codex containing a collection of ancient texts, among which are various texts on Alexander the Great. Fonkič identified the same scribe in the red captions or headings used in both manuscripts.[21] One of the texts in Marc. gr. Z. 511, Manuel Philes' *Στίχοι εἰς τὸν Βασιλέα Ἀλέξανδρον*, provides a terminus post quem of the beginning of the 14th century for that manuscript since Philes lived from ca. 1275 to 1345. Thus, Fonkič's connection with the Marciana manuscript supports a 14th-century date for *cod. 5.[22]

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15 Two other manuscripts contain the γ recension: the 14th-century *Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barocci 20 and the 16th-century *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. suppl. gr. 113. This recension has been published in *Alexander magnus*, ed. U. Von Lauenstein/H. Engelman/F. Parthe.

16 Kondakov, *Histoire de l'Art Byzantin,* vol. 2, pp. 174-5.

17 Xyngopoulos, *Les Miniatures du Roman d'Alexandre*, pp. 93-7.

18 Ibid., p. 96.

19 Gallagher, "The Alexander Romance", pp. 170-205.

20 Ibid., pp. 192-205.

21 Fonkič, "Notes paléographiques", pp. 163-4. It should also be noted that, like *cod. 5, Marc. gr. Z. 511 is composed of bombycine, the type of paper commonly used for Trapezuntine manuscripts. On this, see Trahoulia, *The Venice Alexander Romance*, p. 63, note 39.

22 For more on the similarities between these two manuscripts and their implications, see ibid., pp. 62-4.

Since the work of these scholars, I devoted my doctoral dissertation to a comprehensive study of *cod. 5. Following Gallagher's identification of the title used for the emperor in the frontispiece, the dissertation provides persuasive evidence to suggest the manuscript was made for the Trapezuntine emperor Alexios III, who ruled from 1349 until 1390.[23] The dissertation also undertakes a detailed stylistic and iconographic analysis of the miniatures and identifies the hands of three artists.[24] The use of Georgian script in the illustrations suggests these artists were probably Georgian-speaking, or members of the Laz population living within the Trapezuntine Empire.[25] Stylistic comparanda are presented to further confirm a 14th-century date.[26] The manuscript's text is analyzed and shown to be a deliberate blending of two earlier recensions, β and ε, so that passages are chosen from the earlier works on the basis of emphasizing Alexander's Byzantine imperial qualities and his overall glorification.[27] An appendix gives English translations for a selection of the Turkish inscriptions that accompany the miniatures and draws general conclusions about the identity of the scribe.[28] Finally, the use of Alexander the Great as an imperial model for Alexios III is set within the larger context of the history of this paradigm in Byzantium from the reign of Constantine the Great (306-337) to the last Byzantine emperor, Constantine XI Palaiologos (r. 1449-1453).[29] The dissertation was followed by the publication of a full-color facsimile of the manuscript accompanied by an extensive introduction.[30]

The Turkish inscriptions have attracted additional attention, most notably from the Ottoman historian Dimitris Kastritsis. Kastritsis speculates that they were added to the manuscript at the court of Mechmet II (1451-1481) after the Turks took Trebizond and acquired the manuscript, citing Mechmet's well-

23 Ibid., pp. 53-64.

24 Ibid., pp. 97-161.

25 Ibid., pp. 98-100.

26 In particular, close stylistic parallels are made with the so-called Abgar Roll (*New York, The Morgan Library and Museum, M. 499, and *Chicago, University of Chicago Library, Ms. 125), as well as a number of Georgian manuscripts: ibid., pp. 115-8, 122-6.

27 For the text as deriving from β and ε, see Merkelbach/Trumpf, *Die Quellen des griechischen Alexanderromans*, pp. 208-09; Jouanno, *Naissance et metamorphoses*, pp. 441-58. For a detailed analysis of what is taken from which source and the overall implications of the choices made, see Trahoulia, *The Venice Alexander Romance*, pp. 72-96.

28 Trahoulia, *The Venice Alexander Romance*, pp. 64-5 and 221-6.

29 Ibid., pp. 9-52.

30 Trahoulia, *The Greek Alexander Romance*.

known stylization of himself as a "new Alexander".[31] Kastritsis provides English translations for certain of the captions and proposes that the Turkish scribe composed his inscriptions upon hearing the Greek captions read and then translated out loud by someone with sufficient knowledge of the language.[32] However, as this scholar further shows, the Turkish inscriptions often elaborate on the Greek captions by adding details that would make sense in a specifically Ottoman cultural setting and ultimately present Alexander as the ideal Ottoman sultan.[33] The work of translating the Turkish inscriptions has also been undertaken by Bellingeri, who published Italian translations for a selection.[34] A full translation and analysis of all Turkish captions is a project that still needs to be undertaken.[35]

*Cod. 5's text, the so-called γ recension, is an exceptional rendering of the *Alexander Romance*. Compared to other recensions of the story, this is the most byzantinizing portrayal of Alexander. The process of converting Alexander into a Byzantine emperor begins with the ε recension, the version contained in *Barocci 17, the earliest extant attempt to illustrate the text in Byzantium. For the most part, the γ recension uses the byzantinizing descriptions of ε, but switches to β's text whenever that one is more byzantinizing or presents a more glorious description of Alexander.[36] Moreover, in certain instances γ further elaborates on Alexander's glory above and beyond either ε or β.[37] Thus, one of the most interesting things about this manuscript is the very deliberate crafting of its text, a type of composition that raises new and interesting questions in the study of text transmission in Byzantium in general. The text may have been created specifically for *cod. 5, or it may have been chosen for this particular manuscript because of its especially byzantinizing and laudatory characterization of Alexander.[38]

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31 Kastritsis, "The Trebizond Alexander Romance", pp. 107-8; we also know from the 15th-century historian George Sphrantzes that Mechmet possessed a manuscript of the life and deeds of Alexander: George Sphrantzes, *Chronicle*, ed. I. Bekker, p. 93, lines 10-1.

32 Kastritsis, "The Trebizond Alexander Romance", pp. 109-10.

33 Ibid., pp. 111-9.

34 Bellingeri, "Il 'Romanzo d'Alessandro'", pp. 31-60.

35 Interpreting the Ottoman inscriptions was also the subject of a lecture by Merih Danali Uz, "Interpreting at the Margins: The Byzantine Alexander Romance and its Ottoman Commentator", College Art Association 2009.

36 For a detailed analysis of the text, see Trahoulia, *The Venice Alexander Romance*, pp. 72-96; for the text of the β recension, see *Alexander magnus*, ed. L. Bergson.

37 Trahoulia, *The Venice Alexander Romance*, pp. 82-3, 93-4.

38 For the difficulties in dating the γ recension, see ibid., p. 74 note 10 and Jouanno, *Naissance et metamorphoses*, p. 441.

In illustrating *cod. 5 the patron of the manuscript spared no expense. More than half of the book consists of illustrations, most of which are full-page. Gold leaf is used liberally as a ground and as adornment for figures, particularly for Alexander's imperial garments. Red, purple, and blue dominate, creating an extremely sumptuous visual effect. The richness of the illumination makes paging through the book an engaging visual experience. Added to this is the fact that, as a large codex, its full-page illustrations have a monumental quality. A number of illustrations are divided into two registers so as to depict more than one narrative moment, but also quite often are packed with images meant to depict as full a visual rendering of the text as possible. This dense pictorial narrative also uses particular devices to create an almost cinematic rendering of the story.[39] For example, in some illustrations, several overlapping figures of Alexander depict his movement through the pictorial space (Fig. 59, fol. 140r).[40]

I have argued elsewhere that the emphasis on pictorial narrative in this manuscript relates directly to its overall function: facilitating visual and oral performance of the text before an audience. This performance could then reinforce the presentation of the Trapezuntine emperor as a "new Alexander".[41] Just as the text transforms Alexander into a Byzantine emperor, the miniatures present him in Byzantine guise acting within a Byzantine setting, thereby blurring the visual distinctions between past and present, ruler and exemplum. In addition to highly creative depictions of the Romance's fantastic episodes and the strange creatures Alexander encounters, a number of miniatures consistently present conventional images of rulership, such as the ruler enthroned or leading his army on horseback. The repetitive and somewhat standardized nature of these images would visually ground the otherwise fantastic narrative, insuring that it contains enough of the familiar to still be associated with the present.

The manuscript opens with a dedicatory portrait of the emperor for whom the book was made (Fig. 58: fol. 1r). His title is written across the top of the folio: "In Christ God, faithful emperor and autocrat of all the East and Pe[rateia]".[42] This is a form of the title used by the emperors of Trebizond.[43] To the right of the imperial portrait is another text, written in the first person

39 Trahoulia, "Pictorial narrative", pp. 150-61.

40 Ibid., pp. 152-61.

41 Ibid., pp. 148-9.

42 "Ἐν Χ(ριστ)ῷ Θ(ε)ῷ πιστὸς Βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ πάσης ἀνατ(ολῆς) καὶ πε[ρατείας]".

43 Gallagher, "The Alexander Romance", pp. 170-205; Trahoulia, *The Venice Alexander Romance*, pp. 54-6.

in which the ruler addresses a now lost facing miniature of Alexander.[44] It reads: "I, O brave emperor Alexander, most excellent of all crowned men and ruler of all the world, having contemplated your great labors and [deeds], and your all-triumphant kingship, I had the desire …".[45] Although the page is torn and the inscription ends abruptly, we can speculate that the emperor's desire was to read about and see images of Alexander's great triumphs and adventures, to which he alludes in the surviving inscription.[46] The facing illustration of Alexander may then have been accompanied by an inscription in which he replies to the emperor.[47] The emperor's identity is a matter of conjecture, the most likely candidate being Alexios III who was compared to Alexander by the court panegyrist Stephanos Sgouropoulos.[48] In addition to ruling for more than 40 years (1349-1390), Alexios III was a patron of the arts and can be connected with a number of artworks and building projects.[49]

During the waning years of the Byzantine Empire, Alexander the Great became an increasingly appealing paradigm for an emperor.[50] As the empire faced the growing threat from the east in the form of the Ottoman Turks, the example of Alexander who defeated the eastern threat of his day, the Persians, became especially compelling. Indeed, Byzantine texts regularly referred to the Turks as Persians.[51] The last Byzantine emperor, Constantine XI Palaiologos, is urged by the Trapezuntine-born Bessarion to remember the example

44 The emperor folio has been rebound as a recto, but was originally a verso as is indicated by the wide inner margin with Turkish inscription; on the other folios, the wider margin is the outer one and the Turkish inscription is written on the outer margin. In the original arrangement, this folio would have formed a bifolio with the recto image of Alexander in the familiar diptych arrangement of frontispiece portraits. Confirmation of this is found in the Turkish inscription accompanying the surviving frontispiece. This inscription labels the emperor as Alexander's grandfather, presumably because when the Turkish was written there were two imperial images, Alexander and the emperor. See Trahoulia, *The Greek Alexander Romance*, p. 39; Gallagher, "The Alexander Romance", pp. 180-5; Xyngopoulos, *Les Miniatures du Roman d'Alexandre,* p. 15; and Bellingeri, "Il 'Romanzo d'Alessandro'", p. 58.

45 "ἐγώ, βασιλεῦ Ἀλέξανδρε γενναι[ῖε] στεφηφόρων ἀριστ[ε] καὶ κοσμοκράτ[ωρ] τοὺς σοὺς κατιδ[ὼν] καμάτους καὶ τὰ [ἔργα], ὑπερνικώς[αν] τῶν ὅλων βασιλε[ίαν] ἔσχον πόθον…".

46 Gallagher, "The Alexander Romance", pp. 182-4.

47 Trahoulia, "Pictorial narrative", pp. 147-8.

48 Stephanos Sgouropoulos, *Encomium*, ed. T. Papatheodoridou, p. 280, lines 188-9.

49 Trahoulia, *The Venice Alexander Romance*, pp. 59-62.

50 Ibid., pp. 40-50.

51 Ibid., pp. 43-4.

of Alexander the Great in his struggle to save Constantinople from the Turks.[52] On the eastern fringes of Byzantium, the Trapezuntines must have felt a special need for an imperial paradigm skilled in dealing with "eastern" problems.

How the manuscript came to Venice is not certain. The Greek Confraternity in Venice was formed in the 15th century, while the church of San Giorgio, its focus, was finished in 1572.[53] Founded upon the Greek Confraternity, the Hellenic Institute was established in 1951.[54] The earliest mention of the manuscript in the archives of the church of San Giorgio dei Greci is in 1882.[55] We know, however, that Byron saw the manuscript during his stay in Venice in 1816-1818.[56] Over the centuries, gifts of precious objects, property, and money were bequeathed to the confraternity by members of the Greek community in their wills.[57] It is possible the manuscript came into the confraternity's possession as just such a gift. It is also possible that the manuscript was originally part of Cardinal Bessarion's collection.[58] While *cod. 5 is composed of bombycine, paper of eastern manufacture, the flyleaves are of western paper, indicating that it was rebound at some point after the codex came to Venice. Watermarks on these flyleaves suggest the paper was manufactured in the 17th or 18th century.[59]

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52 Contained in a letter to Constantine while he was still despot of the Peloponnese. Bessarion, *Letter to Constantine XI Palaiologos*, ed. S. Lampros, p. 37, lines 5-6.

53 Manoussacas, "The history of the Greek Confraternity", p. 325.

54 Ibid., p. 333.

55 Gallagher, "The Alexander Romance", p, 174 note 22.

56 Ibid., p, 175 note 22.

57 Manoussacas, "The history of the Greek Confraternity", p. 327.

58 Marc. gr. Z. 511, the manuscript Fonkič connects with *cod.5, was indeed part of Bessarion's library: Omont, *Inventaire des Manuscrits Grecs*, p. 34, item no. 348.

59 Trahoulia, *The Venice Alexander Romance*, pp. 67-8.

CHAPTER 9

The Vatican *Epithalamion*

Cecily Hennessy

The illustrations in the Vatican *Epithalamion* (marriage poem), *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1851, are vivid and evocative.[1] The seven illuminations show a walled city, its surrounding waters and bridges, its buildings and ceremonial tents, and an array of courtiers and members of the imperial family all participating in a complex narrative. The protagonist is a small female figure who arrives by boat. The accompanying poem, only surviving in part, reveals that this book, not much larger than an A5 sized piece of paper, belonged to this girl, a foreign princess.[2] It was originally perhaps 32 pages long (eight bifolia) and is now just 16 (four bifolia).[3] From the text and the images, the story emerges of the girl's betrothal to the son of the emperor, her arrival, her reception by the women of the Byzantine court, her visual transformation into a Byzantine *augusta*, an impending meeting with the emperor and a first encounter with her future sister-in-law in the splendour of an imperial tent.

Not surprisingly, since none of the protagonists are named and there is no specific reference to the culture from which the princess came, much that has been written on the manuscript has explored its date and the identity of the characters. Regardless of the specific context, the text is rich in detailing court custom in the reception of foreign brides, and the illustrations show vibrant and uncommon examples of imperial dress and regalia. These images give women and girls a prominent role, in contrast to formal imperial portraits which tend to be dominated by sons and dynastic hopes.

The miniatures depict the bride and groom as children (probably pre-pubescent if our identification is correct), who are placed in official and responsible positions in a diplomatic setting. The sister of the groom, who may have been

1 The manuscript is usually now referred to as the "Vatican *Epithalamion*" and the name is retained here, although the use of the term *epithalamion* has been questioned by Michael Jeffreys, who uses *eisiterioi*. See Jeffreys, "The Vernacular εἰσιτήριοι for Agnes of France", p. 104.

2 Belting observed that she was the recipient, Belting, *Das illuminierte Buch*, p. 27; the Greek text is published in Spatharakis, *Portrait*, pp. 220-7; an English translation in Hilsdale, "Constructing a Byzantine 'Augusta'", pp. 461, 465, 467, 468, 470, 474; a German translation in Strzygowski, "Das Epithalamion", pp. 547-5; the manuscript measures 227 by 170 mm; Canart, *Codices Vaticani Graeci,* vol. 1, p. 324.

3 Canart, *Codices Vaticani Graeci,* vol. 1, p. 324.

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of a similar age, was also given familial and ambassadorial duties. The manuscript gives a pictorial glimpse of the duties held by children at court, particularly girls. It shows a rite of passage, the bride's liminal experience and her transformation from a girl to a woman and from an outsider to an insider. The manuscript appears to be a memento of these significant changes in her life and provides a rare example of a book made for a young recipient.[4]

Let us look at the text and images in their probable original order.[5] Paul Canart suggested that two folios at the beginning are lost. The extant text, on fol. 8r, opens with a partial letter from the father of the bride written to the Byzantine emperor. He wrestles with the idea of giving up his daughter, the light of his life, but resigns himself to it in recognition of the emperor's greatness. On fol. 2r, the narrator tells how the father of the bride sent a messenger by sea to the *porphyrogennetos*, the groom. Below the text is a representation of a walled city, which is commonly held to be Constantinople.[6] It is by the sea with a large domed church, presumably Hagia Sophia, and a smaller one to the left, maybe Hagia Eirene. The arrival of the messenger is shown on fol. 2v in a full-page illumination, read from bottom to top: in the lower register, the messenger steps out of a boat and, above, kneels before one of three officials and hands him a scroll. In the upper register, this official presents the scroll to the emperor, who is enthroned with his son to the left and surrounded by the court entourage. On the adjacent folio, 7r, in a further full-page illumination read from bottom to top, the emperor followed by his son ascend stairs and, in the upper register, stand on a dais with a tall imperial female figure, presumably the empress, as a herald proclaims the agreement of the marriage. On the verso, the text records the joy of the emperor and his people and, on fol. 1r, tells of the arrival of a further message from the ambassadors. In a miniature, the messenger gives the scroll to the emperor, who sits enthroned with his attendants. On the verso, the text proclaims the arrival of the bride.

Three folios are then missing, and the text resumes, on fol. 3r, with "after these things" and tells how the emperor sends at least 70 female members of the imperial family to receive the princess, and one in particular is to help her

4 First proposed in Hennessy, "A Child Bride"; see also, ead., "Vatican Epithalamion", pp. 149-50; ead., *Images of Children in Byzantium*, pp. 174-6; the rite of passage theme was also applied in Hilsdale, "Constructing a Byzantine 'Augusta'".

5 Canart, *Codices Vaticani Graeci,* vol. 1, p. 324; the order given here seems now generally accepted: Spatharakis seconded Canart, see Spatharakis, *Portrait*, pp. 218-9; alternate numbers of folios and their arrangement have been put forward in Strzygowski, "Das Epithalamion", pp. 555-6; Papademetriou, "'Ο ἐπιθαλάμιος", pp. 452-60; Belting, *Das illuminierte Buch*, pp. 28-9.

6 First noted in Strzygowski, "Das Epithalamion", p. 548.

change into the dress of a *despoina* and *augusta*. This scene is illustrated in the full-page illustration on the verso (Fig. 61). The location of the events is shown in the centre of the page as a decorated arched bridge with a harbour and islands. Above, the princess disembarks, dressed in a red cloak and distinguished by a halo, and steps forward from her attendants to be greeted by three female courtiers dressed richly and identically in red and gold garments. The princess then appears standing on a red and gold couch, clad in a red-purple gown with broad sleeves edged with gold, similar to that of the courtiers. In the lower register, she sits enthroned and shown frontally, flanked by six female courtiers.

One folio is then missing, and the text picks up on fol. 5. It extols the castle where she is to meet the emperor on the following day and tells how her future sister-in-law, the *basilissa*, came out to greet her. The city is again shown at the bottom of fol. 5v. The meeting itself is depicted in a full-page miniature on fol. 6r, again in two registers (Fig. 60). The bride and the *basilissa* are pictured embracing in the upper register, within the tent, while below they are shown seated together on a couch within a red and gold chamber, with three women in attendance outside. The exterior appearance of a tent, apparently this tent, is in the top left corner. The text on fol. 6v describes this meeting, and continues on fol. 4 (although there would originally have been a folio in between, presumably with two full-page miniatures as the text seems to run continuously). The princesses are likened to stars, but the Byzantine princess's beauty is second to that of the bride. The narrator tells how he will go on to recount events on future days, but here the text ends. Canart suggested that one further folio is lost.

To date, there are two long-standing and one more recent proposals as to the occasion being marked. In 1901, Josef Strzygowski suggested the book was Palaiologan and dated it to either of the marriages of Andronikos II Palaiologos, son of Michael VIII.[7] Andronikos married Anna, daughter of Stephen V of Hungary in 1272, and then Eirene, daughter of William VI of Montferrat in 1285. Strzygowski's view was revived in 1995 by Antonio Iacobini who argued for Andronikos' first marriage.[8] At the time of this marriage, the couple were aged about 14 and 12. In 1902, S. Papademetriou suggested it was the marriage between the French princess Agnes, Louis VII's daughter, and Alexios II Komnenos, Manuel I's son.[9] Agnes was renamed Anna on her arrival in Constantinople in 1179, at the age of nine when her groom was ten. Although

7 Ibid., pp. 561-7.

8 Iacobini, "L'epitalamio", pp. 362, 375; reiterated in id., "La memoria" p. 279.

9 Papademetriou, "Ο ἐπιθαλάμιος", p. 452 and throughout.

many scholars had endorsed a Palaiologan date, Hans Belting returned to the idea of the Komenian one in 1970, and it has since been the commonly-held view.[10] It is adopted in general references and has been espoused, most prominently, by Ioannis Spatharakis, Michael Jeffreys, Cordula Scholz and Cecily Hilsdale.[11] My own suggestion is that the manuscript is dated to 1356 and the marriage between Maria, the daughter of the Tsar of Bulgaria, Ivan Alexander, and John V's son, Andronikos IV. She was aged nine and he eight and Andronikos's sister, Eirene, was about seven.[12]

There are certain facts given in the text that set parameters for the identification of the occasion, namely that the bride came from abroad and that her father was living; the groom was a *porphyrogennetos*, that is a male born to the ruling emperor; he was already made co-emperor (since the foreign princess is referred to as *augusta*); his father was living; he had more than one sister, since the Byzantine *basilissa* is described as the first or 'eldest' daughter; and that his sister was a *porphyrogennete*, that is a female born to the emperor. Furthermore, the illustrations suggest that the events took place in Constantinople and that both the bride and groom were children or adolescents. The arguments used for identification have depended on the type and style of the text, the nature of the script, the style of the decorated initials, and the iconographical details of dress and regalia.

Let us look first at the justification for a dating of 1179 and the marriage of Agnes and Alexios II. Papademetriou's view was that Alexios was the age to be described as βρεφόθεν (from babyhood), used in the text; that the messenger would have taken a sea route from France; that Manuel's court would have had some 70 female family members; that Maria Komnene, the groom's sister, was a *porphyrogenneta* and the first daughter.[13] Belting argued that the pictures are as hard to classify as the text, and, in a note, that the initials fit better with a 12th-century than a Palaiologan date.[14] Spatharakis pointed to elements of dress that he considered consistent with the 12th century.[15] Jeffreys argued that the text is similar to 12th-century ceremonial poems celebrating major events

10 Belting, *Das illuminierte Buch*, p. 27 and n. 90; Iacobini, "L'epitalamio", p. 362; on the pre 1970 authors who supported a Palaiologan date, see ibid., p. 377, n. 8.

11 Spatharakis, *Portrait,* pp. 210-30; Jeffreys, "The Vernacular εἰσιτήριοι for Agnes of France", p. 101 and throughout; Scholz, "Der Empfang", p. 129 and throughout; Hilsdale, "Constructing a Byzantine 'Augusta'", pp. 459-61.

12 Hennessy, "Vatican Epithalamion", pp. 142-9.

13 Summarised in Spatharakis, *Portrait*, p. 213.

14 Belting, *Das illuminierte Buch*, p. 27 and n. 90. Belting also argued that Andronikos II Palaiologos was not a *porphyrogennetos*.

15 Spatharakis, *Portrait*, p. 230.

written in *political* verse. He also highlighted the apparent importance of the empress Maria of Antioch, the wife of Manuel I, who supported the pro-Latin factions and was perhaps the patron of the book (the empress is shown as large on fol. 7r).[16] Maria Parani accepted the 12th-century date.[17] Hilsdale argued that the details of the dress and *suppedia* (footstools) are closer to 12th than to 13th or 14th century examples.[18]

The arguments for a Palaiologan date are largely based on the costume, but with evidence from related texts, script and initials. Strzygowski, in his late-13th century dating, cited various features of the dress and regalia, particularly that of the empress on fol. 7r, which does not have the characteristic shield-shaped panel (*thorakion*), which is found on Komnenian examples.[19] Ebersolt simply stated that the dress was Palaiologan.[20] Lazarev, recognising that the manuscript's style was unique, ascribed it to the beginning of the 14th century.[21] Canart dated it the 13th or 14th century, on the grounds of the script and the dress.[22] Jeffreys, although reinforcing the Komnenian date of the text, stated that the "large, rounded archaising hand" was "almost undatable" and that the illustrations look "more the product of fourteenth- or fifteenth-century decadence" than of the 12th century.[23] Giancarlo Prato found parallels with Palaiologan manuscripts.[24] Iacobini's 13th-century identification was dependent on Palaiologan parallels in dress, script and the decorated initials.[25]

My argument for the 14th-century date highlighted the historical difficulties with the two former identifications. The marriage of Andronikos IV meets all the historical requirements of the poem. It was then similarly based on the dress and regalia as well as examples of script, text and elements of the vocabulary. Parallels were also made with certain other manuscripts.[26] More recent

16 Jeffreys, "The Vernacular εἰσιτήριοι for Agnes of France", pp. 105-11.

17 Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality of Images,* p. 52, n. 5.

18 On *suppedia* see Hilsdale, "Constructing a Byzantine 'Augusta'", p. 459 and ns. 18-22; on dress, see n. 17.

19 Strzygowski, "Das Epithalamion", pp. 563-5.

20 Ebersolt, *Arts somptuaires de Byzance*, pp. 126-7, fn. 7; id., *La miniature byzantine*, p. 59.

21 Lazarev, *Storia,* pp. 370, 416, n. 58.

22 Canart, *Codices Vaticani Graeci*, vol. 1 , pp. 324-25; following Belting's comments, Canart revised this in a note to say he could not rule it out being 12th century, see Canart, *Codices Vaticani Graeci*, vol. 2, p. XLVI.

23 Jeffreys, "The Vernacular εἰσιτήριοι for Agnes of France", p. 103.

24 Prato, *Scritture librarie arcaizzanti*, pp. 169-71.

25 Iacobini, "L'epitalamio", throughout.

26 Hennessy, "Vatican Epithalamion"; on Iacobini's response, see Iacobini, "La Memoria", pp. 279, 288-9.

discussion by the editors of Pseudo-Kodinos' *Book of Ceremonies* (14th-century) has mentioned the incongruity of the manuscript with a 12th-century date.[27] They suggest "the dating of the manuscript and its illuminations is important for the study of Pseudo-Kodinos because the manuscript is either the earliest attestation (12th-century) of many features found in the ceremonial book or it reflects aspects of court dress and ceremonial known also from Pseudo-Kodinos".[28]

It is not surprising that the manuscript has caused so much debate since it has no direct parallels. This in itself is fascinating: the book is an example of the diversity of texts and imagery produced in Byzantium. Furthermore, the Vatican *Epithalamion* is visually arresting and gives intriguing insights into the Byzantine capital and the elaborate ceremonies that took place in the city, at the harbour and the palace, on daises and in tents. It says much about diplomatic and human relations between a bride's father and an emperor, between an emperor and his son, and between a young foreign bride and her new family.

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27 Pseudo-Kodinos, *De Officiis,* ed./trans. R. Macrides/J.A. Munitiz/D. Angelov, pp, 47, n. 52, 121, n. 295, 337, 350, esp. 364-5 and table 3; on the reception of a bride, see also pp. 436-7.

28 Pseudo-Kodinos, *De Officiis,* ed./trans. R. Macrides/J.A. Munitiz/D. Angelov, pp. 364-5.

PART 3

Religious Manuscripts

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CHAPTER 10

The Complete Bible

Elisabeth Yota

Introduction

The Bible,[1] whose name comes from the neuter plural of the Greek word *τὰ βιβλία* (the books), is a collection of books considered sacred by Judaism and Christianity. The biblical canon – the number and the order of the chosen books – varies not only according to time and place but in particular according to faith – Judaism or Christianity – and even within a faith itself.[2]

In Byzantium, the Bible as a complete work consists of all the books of the Old Testament[3] and also those of the New Testament.[4] The Church Fathers emphasize the unity and consistency of the Old and New Testament; this consistency derives from divine inspiration, the Bible being a work of the Holy Spirit.[5]

The Byzantines' Old Testament is the Septuagint,[6] a Greek translation of the Holy Books originally written in Hebrew.[7] Among these we count for the Old

1 On the Bible see in particular: Brown, *Bibles Before the Year 1000*, pp. 27, 45-56; Carleton/Paget/Schaper, *The New Cambridge History of the Bible*; Marsden/Matter, *The New Cambridge History of the Bible*, vol. 2, particularly the articles of Crostini, "The Greek Christian Bible" and Parpulov, "The Bible of the Christian East"; Klingshirn/Safran, *The Early Christian Book*; Lowden, "Beginnings of Biblical Illustration", pp. 9-59.

2 Holmes, "The Biblical Canon", pp. 406-26; Scarvelis Constantinou, "The Canon of Scripture", pp. 1-6.

3 On the Old Testament in Byzantium, see Magdalino/Nelson, *The Old Testament in Byzantium*, and its bibliography.

4 We expect soon the publication of a symposium on the New Testament which took place at Dumbarton Oaks on the 26-28 April, 2013 and was organized by R. Nelson and D. Krueger.

5 *ODB*, vol. 1, col. 288.

6 The question of language is clearly posed by Justinian in Novella 146, where he refers to the Septuagint: the use of Greek is necessary for the increased understanding of the sacred texts. See Congourdeau, "La Bible", forthcoming. I would like to thank M.-H. Congourdeau for allowing me to read his text before being published.

7 Western Christians used a Latin translation, the Vulgate of St Jerome. See Bogaert, "La Bible latine".

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Testament the 39 books of the Jewish canon considered "canonical",[8] as well as other books which were approved for reading, collectively called the deutero-canonical books (or Apocrypha).[9] For the books of the New Testament,[10] only the canonical status of the Book of Revelation remained problematic (and this only until the 7th century).[11]

Biblical exegesis arose from the need to understand the Bible better or to make an interpretation of it. By and large the writings of the Church Fathers serve as commentaries (*catenae/scholia*) to the different biblical books.[12] These Bible commentaries are mainly read by the learned – scholars and clerics – and form a source of inspiration for bishops writing their sermons.

Testimonia from the Early Christian Period

Given that a complete Bible contains a significant number of books, preserved copies are rare and those containing illustrations are exceptional. From the early Christian period three manuscripts have survived to the present day, but they contain no illustrations. Despite their fragmentary state, a number of elements indicate that at an earlier stage they did contain all the books of the Bible.

The oldest among these seems to be the *Codex Vaticanus* (*Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1209).[13] It was likely produced at Caesarea between the end of the 3rd and the middle of the 4th century. Originally the manuscript contained the entirety of the Septuagint and all of the New

8 The *Pentateuch*: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy; the Historical Books: Joshua, Judges, Ruth, I-II Samuel, I-II Kings, I-II Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah; the Wisdom Books: Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon; the Prophetic Books: Isaiah, Jeremiah, Lamentations, Ezekiel, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi.

9 Judith, Tobit, the four books of the Maccabees, Wisdom, Sirach, Baruch, the Letter of Jeremiah, the Greek passages of Esther and Daniel, the four books of Esdras, Psalm 151, the Odes, the Psalms of Solomon and the Prayer of Manasses. See Congourdeau, "La Bible", forthcoming.

10 The four Gospels (Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John), Acts, the Epistles, and John's Revelation.

11 Congourdeau, "La Bible", forthcoming.

12 Ibid.

13 Andrist, *Le manuscrit B*. See *Vita Constantini* 4.36 in Eusebios of Caesarea, *Life of Constantine,* ed./trans. A. Cameron/S.G. Hall, pp. 166-7 (transl.); pp. 326-7 (comm.). See also www.efg-hohenstaufenstr.de/downloads/texte/codex_vaticanus.html (accessed 1 July 2014).

Testament. Presently, several small *lacunae* are discernable. The text is written on 759 leaves of vellum, in three columns. Only the poetical books are written in two columns.[14] The text is written in a splendid uncial script of the Alexandrian type.[15]

The *Codex Sinaiticus* also dates from the 4th century (between 325 and 360).[16] It was discovered in the 19th century by Constantin von Tischendorf, who happened upon it at St. Catherine's Monastery on Sinai. Since then other fragments from this manuscript have been found and are preserved at different institutions: St. Catherine's Monastery, the British Library, the Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek and the National Library of Russia.[17] The manuscript contains 347 folios (199 for the Old Testament and 148 for the New Testament) of large and elegant uncials, the work of three different scribal hands.[18]

The *Codex Vaticanus* and the *Codex Sinaiticus* are the two oldest manuscripts to contain the entirety of the biblical canon. Researchers who have made careful study of these manuscripts maintain the hypothesis that they were both produced at Caesarea and must have been two of the 50 copies of the Greek Bible which the emperor Constantine I commissioned from Eusebios of Caesarea.[19]

Shortly after this, the 5th century saw the production of the *Codex Alexandrinus*, which takes its name from the city of Alexandria.[20] This codex is the first of the three uncial manuscripts to be known to a larger audience. It contains 773 leaves of vellum, of which 630 are for the Old Testament and 143 for

14 Since the edition of the theologians B.F. Westcott and F.J.A. Hort in 1881, the *Vaticanus* has served as the primary model for every edition of the Septuagint and the Greek New Testament.

15 Aland/Aland, *The Text of the New Testament*, pp. 107-9.

16 Parker, *Codex Sinaiticus*.

17 *Sinai, Monastery of Saint Catherine, NE gr. MG 1; *London, British Library, Add. 43725; *Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, gr. 1; *Saint Petersburg, National Library of Russia, gr. 2, gr, 259, gr. 843, O 156. In 2005 the British Library launched an interdisciplinary research program which oversees the conservation, digitization, and translation of the *Codex Sinaiticus*. See the manuscript in its entirety on the site www.codex-sinaiticus.net/en/ (accessed 1 July 2014).

18 Jongkind, *Scribal Habits*, pp. 12-3.

19 Eusebios of Caesarea, *Life of Constantine* 4.36, ed./trans. A. Cameron/S.G. Hall. Some doubts remain as to whether the *Codex Vaticanus* did indeed belong to the group of 50 manuscripts commissioned by Constantine I. See in Andrist, *Le manuscrit B* the articles by P.M. Bogaert, C.B. Amphoux and P. Andrist.

20 McKendrick, "The *Codex Alexandrinus*", pp. 1-16. See also <http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=royal_ms_1_d_viii_fs001r> (accessed on 1 July 2014).

the New Testament. The text is written in red ink and features a large uncial script.

The only illustrated Bible preserved from the early Christian period is written in Syriac and kept in Paris (Bibliothèque nationale de France, *Par. syr. 341).[21] It is dated to the 6th or the 7th century and was probably made in northern Mesopotamia. The manuscript contains 246 folios and the text is written in three columns. Each miniature is placed at the beginning of the book it illustrates. Besides the numerous portraits, some miniatures present scenes drawn from the books of the Bible. Such is the case for those preceding the Book of Exodus (fol. 8r) and the Book of Job (fol. 46r). Other miniatures feature allegorical scenes, such as that belonging to the Book of Proverbs (fol. 118r), which shows the Virgin and Child surrounded by Solomon, who embodies the wisdom of the Old Testament, and Ecclesia, a personification of the Christian church (Fig. 62). The rich illustration of this Syriac manuscript can only strengthen the hypothesis that there were illustrated copies of the entire Bible in existence in the early Christian period.

The Bible of Leo the Patrician

The codex commonly known as the Bible of Leo the Patrician (*Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Reg. gr. 1) is certainly the only extant illustrated manuscript of the entire Bible.[22] Produced in the first decades of the 10th century, only the first volume remains, comprising the books of the Old Testament through Psalms. Fol. Ir contains the first of two tables of contents, which covers both volumes; fol. 4v has a second table, referring only to the books copied in that first volume.[23] In total, the two volumes contained 60 books (34 for the Old Testament and 26 for the New).[24] 25 books were copied in the first volume and 35 in the second.

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21 Weitzmann, *Book Illumination*; Sörries, *Die Syrische Bibel von Paris*.

22 The bibliography for this manuscript is copious. See earlier bibliography in Dufrenne/Canart, *Die Bibel des Patricius Leo* and Canart, *La Bible du Patrice Léon*.

23 Canart, "Notice codicologique et paléographique", pp. 4-6; pl. 1 (fol. Ir) and pp. 5; fig. 1 (fol. 4v).

24 The complete manuscript was thus an *ἑξηκοντάβιβλος*, a Bible consisting of 60 books, one of the set numbers during the formation and development of the canon of the two Testaments. See ibid., p. 6 and notes 6 and 7. We find this referred to in the inscription of the miniature on fol. 2v: ΛΕΩΝ ΠΑΤΡΙΚΙΟΣ ΠΡΑΙΠΟΣΙΤΟΣ Κ(ΑΙ) ΣΑΚΕΛΛΑΡΙΟΣ ΠΡΟΣΦΕΡΩΝ ΤΗΝ ΕΞΗΚΟΝΤΑΒΙΒΛΟ(Ν) ΤΗΝ ΥΠΕΡΑΓΙΑΝ ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΝ, "Leon, patrician, praepositus and sacellarius, offering the corpus of sixty books [to] the most holy Theotokos". For more on

The extant volume contains 565 leaves of parchment, on which the text stands in two columns, written in red ink.[25] Three different but contemporary scribes worked to complete the text using a miniscule bookhand which can be dated to the beginning of the 10th century.[26]

The biblical text is prefaced by a table of contents (fol. 1r) and by a dedicatory epigram on fols. 1r and 1v, which is surrounded by an ornamental band giving the precise number of books of the Bible, the correlation between the Old and New Testaments, and the name of the commissioner.[27]

For the initial table of contents, the painter has chosen the shape of a large cross; within this are 60 medallions, each inscribed with the name of a biblical book. The central medallion contains a portrait of Christ, while a medallion situated above the cross's vertical bar features a portrait of the Virgin. Lastly, in the remaining space around the cross are representations of David and Moses in the upper half, with Peter and probably Paul in the lower. Such a composition is unattested elsewhere.[28]

Thanks to the first two miniatures (fols. 2v and 3r), we learn by whom and for whom the manuscript was made.[29] On fol. 2v, Leo – patrician, sacellarius, and praepositus – appears in semi-proskynesis and presents the Bible to the Virgin (Fig. 63). She assumes the role of intermediary between Leo and Christ. With her right hand she accepts Leo's gift and with her left she points to Christ, who is shown bestowing blessings from heaven. In the upper margin of the folio we read that the Virgin has accepted Leo's gift,[30] while an epigram surrounding the miniature discloses the reason for the gift.[31] It is highly likely that

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the biblical canon, see the treatment and bibliography in Holmes, "The Biblical Canon", pp. 406-26 with previous bibliography.

25 411-414 × 267-286 mm. For a codicological and paleographical study of the Leo Bible, see Dufrenne/Canart, *Die Bibel des Patricius Leo*, pp. 53-70 and Canart, "Notice codicologique et paléographique".

26 Canart, "Notice codicologique et paléographique", pp. 27-47.

27 For all the epigrams in the Leo Bible, see Mango, "The Epigrams".

28 *Ibid.*, pp. 87-93.

29 For the miniatures adorning this manuscript see the articles of Suzy Dufrenne in Dufrenne/Canart, *Die Bibel des Patricius Leo*, pp. 11-51 and Dufrenne, "Les miniatures".

30 Η ΠΑΝΑΓΙΑ ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟϹ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΟΥ Χ(ΡΙϹΤΟ)Υ ΠΡΟϹΔΕΧΟΜΕΝΟΙ ΤΗΝ ΒΙΒΛΟΝ ΠΑΡΑ ΛΕΟΝΤΟϹ ΠΡΑΙΠΟϹΙΤ(Ο)Υ ΠΑΤΡΙΚΙΟΥ Κ(ΑΙ) ϹΑΚΕΛΛΑΡΙΟΥ, "The Most Holy Theotokos and Christ receiving the Bible from Leo, praepositus, patricius and sacellarius". Mango, "The Epigrams", p. 65.

31 ΑΛΛΟΙ ΜΕΝ ΑΛΛΩϹ ΤΗ ΠΑΝΟΛΒΙΩ ΦΥϹΕΙ / ϹΠΕΝΔΟΥΝ ΨΥΧΗϹ ΤΟ ΔΩΡΟΝ ΕΜΦΡΟΝΩ ϹΧΕϹΕΙ, / ΕΓΩ ΔΕ ΛΟΙΠΟΝ ΕϹΘΛΟΝ ΕΥΤΕΛΕϹ ΘΥΩ / ΕΚ ΠΙϹΤΕΩϹ ΠΛΗΝ ΤΗΝΔΕ ΤΗΝ ΒΙΒΛΟΝ Θ(Ε)Ω / ϹΥΝ ΤΗ ΤΕΚΟΥϹΗ ΜΗΤΡΙ Κ(ΑΙ) ΘΕΟΤΟΚΩ, / ΠΡΕϹΒΕΙϹ ΠΑΛΑΙΑϹ ΚΑΙ ΝΕΑϹ ΤΟΥϹ ΠΡΟΚΡΙΤΟΥϹ / ΕΙϹ ΑΝΤΑΜΕΙΨΙΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΜΩΝ ΕΓΚΛΗΜΑΤΩΝ, "Other men in

Leo commissioned this Bible as a gift for a monastery dedicated to St Nicholas, whose portrait appears on fol. 3r.

The saint appears between two figures in deep proskynesis – one the abbot Makar[32] and the other Constantine (protospatharius and Leo's brother), who was the monastery's founder.[33] The attitudes of these persons (Leo's half-kneeling stance before the Virgin and the other two figures' low bowing before the saint), along with the accompanying inscriptions and epigrams, clearly show that the artist, when deciding what posture to give each, took into account both their rank and their reasons for donating. Leo, through his offering, hopes for the remission of sins, while Constantine gives thanks to St Nicholas[34] for helping him found the monastery. On either side of these two miniatures (fols. 2r and 3v) is a floral cross adorned with precious stones. These in turn are set within an architectural framework composed of two columns, atop which rests an arch decorated with ornamental patterns (a crenellated and a garland pattern). As Suzy Dufrenne has rightly noted, it is common practice in Byzantine manuscripts to decorate one of the first pages, or the binding, with a monumental cross.[35] In the Leo Bible more specifically, these crosses frame the two donor portraits (fols. 2v and 3r) and thus make an "appeal for divine protection".[36]

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other ways pour out to blessed Nature the favours of their souls. In prudent state they act; but as for me, I make my gift this book – a vile yet an honest sacrifice – with all my faith, to God and the Mother who bore Him, the Theotokos. I present the reverend elders – the advocates of the Old [Testament] and the New – for the remission of my crimes"; ibid.

32 Ο ΕΥΛΑΒΕΣΤΑΤΟΣ ΚΑΘΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ ΜΑΚΑΡ ΚΗΜΕΝΟΣ [*sic*] ΠΡΟ ΤΩ(Ν) ΠΟΔΩ(Ν) ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΥ, "The most reverend abbot Makar, prostrate at the feet of St Nicholas"; ibid., p. 66.

33 ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ Ο ΕΝ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΑ ΤΗ ΛΗΞΕΙ ΓΕΓΟΝΟΣ [*sic*] ΠΡΩΤΟΣ ΣΠΑΘΑΡΙΟΣ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΣΑΚΕΛΛΑΡΙΟΥ Ο Κ(ΑΙ) ΤΗΝ ΜΟΝΗΝ ΜΕΤΑ Θ(ΕΟ)Ν ΣΥΣΤΙΣΑΜΕΝΟΣ, "Constantine of blessed demise, the former protospatharius, brother of the sacellarius, who, after God, founded the monastery"; ibid.

34 The inscription around the miniature is a prayer to St Nicholas: ΝΙΚΟΣ ΛΑΟΥ ΜΟΧΘΗΡΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΚΑΚΟΥΡΓΙΑΣ / ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΠΟΝΗΡΩΝ ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΩΝ, ΔΙΔΟΥ, ΜΑΚΑΡ, ΤΩ ΤΗΝ ΜΟΝΗΝ ΣΟΙ ΠΡΟΣ ΜΟΝΑΣ ΖΩΗΣ ΘΕΕΙΝ / ΞΕΝΟΤΡΟΠΩΣ, ΑΥΘΙΣ ΤΕ ΤΩ ΔΕΙΜΑΜΕΝΩ, ΝΕΜΩΝ ΚΑΤ'ΑΜΦΩ ΤΗΝ ΧΑΡΙΝ, ΤΩ ΜΕΝ ΚΡΑΤΟΣ / ΙΛΑΣΜΟΝ ΕΝΘΕ ΤΩ ΔΕ ΤΩΝ ΟΦΛΗΜΑΤΩΝ, "[Thou who art] the victory of the people over wretched wrong-doing and evil spirits, grant (oh blessed one) the [founder?] of your monastery that he may speed in wondrous way to the abodes of life, and likewise to its builder, as you dispense your grace to both – strength to the one, then to the other a remission of his debts"; ibid.

35 Dufrenne, "Les miniatures", p. 107.

36 Ibid.

The other frontispieces adorning the manuscript feature themes from the Old Testament. Formerly spread throughout different places in the manuscript,[37] these miniatures illustrated the beginnings of 13 of the 25 books copied in the first volume (five for the Pentateuch, six for the Historical Books, one for Job, and one for the Psalms).[38] The full-page miniatures show elaborate compositions without any distinct separation between the registers (fols. 46v, 116r, 155v, 383r). In most cases the theme that emerges in the foreground occupies the entire composition and is enhanced by an archaizing architectural backdrop situated in the background (fols. 263r, 281r, 450v, 487v).

The study of these frontispieces shows that the represented subjects are not only inspired by the books they precede but also draw on the adjacent books (e.g. the Anointment of David or the Cycle of Elijah). In this way, the images can become "true visual commentaries"[39] which accompany and serve as references for the books of the Bible. It happens on occasion that an image does not refer to the book it introduces but acts, rather, only as a complement to it. This is the case for the frontispiece for the Book of Leviticus (fol. 85v), where the Levites bear the Ark of the Covenant, an element drawn only from the Books of Numbers and Deuteronomy (Fig. 64).[40]

The similarities between the Leo Bible, the Paris Psalter (*Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 139) and the homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus

37 Everything suggests that, from the beginning, the miniatures and the text of this Bible were the result of one and the same production. The intervention of modern conservators has completely changed the structure of the codex by detaching the miniatures from the body of the manuscript. The current location of the frontispiece of "the Creation" (fol. 11r) situated just after the cross-shaped table of contents (fol. 1r) was likely also caused by reordering of the folios during a more recent rebinding. Normally this frontispiece would precede the beginning of the text of Genesis on fol. 5r. Folios bearing frontispieces were later bound together in a separate volume under the shelf mark Reg. gr. 1B. See Canart, *La Bible du Patrice Léon*, pp. 51-2 and p. 82.

38 Ibid., pp. 83-4. They are: fol. 11r the Creation (frontispiece of Genesis); fol. 46v Exodus (frontispiece for Exodus); fol. 85v the Transport of the Ark of the Covenant by the Levites (frontispiece of Leviticus); fol. 116r the Twelve Tribes of Israel (frontispiece of Numbers); fol. 155v Moses Receiving the Law (frontispiece of Deuteronomy); fol. 206r the Judges of Israel (frontispiece of Judges); fol. 263r the Anointment of David (frontispiece of 2 Kings [2 Samuel]); fol. 281v the Coronation of Solomon (frontispiece of 3 Kings);. fol. 302v the Meeting between Elijah and Ahab and the Ascension of Elijah (frontispiece of 4 Kings); fol. 383r Judith (frontispiece of the Book of Judith); fol. 450v Eleazar and the Maccabees before King Antiochus (frontispiece of 4 Maccabees); fol. 461v Job (frontispiece of the Book of Job); fol. 487v David (frontispiece of the Psalms).

39 Canart/Dufrenne, "Vaticanus Reginensis", p. 631.

40 Dufrenne, "Les miniatures", p. 183.

(*Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 510) become readily apparent on several points,[41] particularly in terms of their structure and composition, the development of the scenes, and also their themes. We might recall that the themes of Exodus, Moses receiving the Law, the Anointment and Coronation of David,[42] and of David as King are also featured in *Par. gr. 139,[43] while in *Par. gr. 510 we find the Anointment of David, Moses Receiving the Law, Moses and the Burning Bush, the Drowning of Pharaoh's Army, the Ascension of Elijah, and Job.[44] These similarities have led scholars to form a hypothesis that the three manuscripts must have had a common model dated to before the time of Iconoclasm and available in Constantinople, whence the three codices certainly originated.[45]

Lastly, the Leo Bible also contains non-figurative decoration which accompanies especially the beginning of texts: headpieces and initials with floral motifs (foliage, floral crowns, rosettes, and palmettes) and geometrical designs.[46] The shapes and the patterns are simple, executed using a basic chromatic palette, mostly in blue and red (fols. 45v, 156r, 205v, 229r, 232v, 262v, 282r, 303r, 321r, 337r, 359r, 382v, 394r, 406v, 451r, 462r).

The "Niketas Bible"

Dating also to this same period is the "Niketas Bible", the only other Bible cotaining figurative illustrations. Only three volumes of this Bible have been preserved, each held at a different library: *Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 5.9; Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, B. I. 2; and Copenhagen, Royal Library, GKS 6 2°.[47] The Florentine codex contains the texts

41 This comparison was already made by H. Buchthal. See his *The Miniatures of the Paris Psalter*, pp. 18, 24, 30, 34. On this subject see also Dufrenne, "Les miniatures de l'onction de David".

42 In the Leo Bible, the subject is the Coronation of Solomon but the iconography is entirely the same.

43 See note 41.

44 Brubaker, *Vision and Meaning*, figs. 10, 13, 23, 28.

45 Canart, *La Bible du Patrice Léon*, p. 178; id./Dufrenne, "Vaticanus Reginensis", p. 631.

46 On non-figurative decorations in the Leo Bible, see Hutter, "The Decoration".

47 In the preface to Isaiah of the Florentine manuscript, the name of the donor is mentioned. He is named as Niketas, an imperial official who bore the title *koitonites*. He must also have commissioned the Turin and Copenhagen manuscripts. At the end of the text of the prophets in the Turin codex is a subscription with a 6th-century date; this allows the model for the Niketas Bible to be securely dated to that period. See Belting/Cavallo, *Die*

of the four Major Prophets and the manuscript in Turin has the books of the twelve Minor Prophets, while the Copenhagen volume contains the Book of Job and the six Books of Wisdom. In each one of these manuscripts the main text is surrounded by commentary occupying the spacious margins. According to H. Belting and G. Cavallo, the three volumes contain paleographical, iconographical, and stylistic characteristics which allow for the hypothesis that they were all part of one and the same edition of the Bible. Despite their current, fragmentary state, it is possible that these manuscripts were not just parts of the same Bible, but that the three volumes by themselves constituted a complete Bible, or at least a complete Old Testament,[48] though this theory has not been met with unanimous approval among specialists.[49]

The three volumes of the "Niketas Bible" feature more cursory illustrations in comparison to those of the Leo Bible. In the Florentine manuscript, only a portrait of the prophet Jeremiah (fol. 128v, Fig. 84) remains surrounded by a double ornamental border and followed by a long inscription;[50] three other portraits of the prophet must at some point also have adorned his text.[51] As for the other volumes of the "Niketas Bible", at the beginning of the text of the Turin codex there are two miniatures on facing pages (fols. 11v-12r) with medallion portraits of the Minor Prophets,[52] while the Copenhagen manuscript formerly had a portrait of Job, which has since disappeared, and a portrait of Solomon, which still graces the beginning of the Books of Wisdom (Fig. 65).[53] Scholars consider these miniatures to have been created either by the same painter or by the same workshop. Stylistically, the miniatures in the three volumes of the "Niketas Bible" are supposed to bear a strong resemblance to the hypothetical model of the 6th century.[54]

Bibel des Niketas, pp. 12-5. On this manuscript see also Lowden, "An Alternative Interpretation"; Brown, *Bibles Before the Year 1000*, no. 69, pp. 305-6. See also chapter 16 in this volume.

48 Belting/Cavallo, *Die Bibel des Niketas*, pp. 15-9.

49 See Lowden, *Illuminated Prophet Books*, pp. 14-22.

50 Ibid., figs. 3-5.

51 Traces of colour on the opposing page would confirm this hypothesis.

52 Belting/Cavallo, *Die Bibel des Niketas*, figs. 7-8.

53 Ibid., fig. 1.

54 Contra this hypothesis, see Lowden, "An Alternative Interpretation", n. 48.

The Old Testament

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CHAPTER 11

The Book of Genesis

Markos Giannoulis

"In the beginning" of the Bible there is placed the Book of Γένεσις (Genesis), which is the Greek word for Birth, Origin or Creation. That name was given by the old Greek translation, the Septuagint, whereas the original Hebrew title was taken after the first word (Gen. 1:1) of the simple but powerful opening sentence of this writing: "Bereshit", meaning "as when first" or "in the Beginning". Both titles may be considered most appropriate, because they emphasise one of the main topics of this book, the origins of all things. The Genesis account contains answers – at least from the viewpoint of the Jew, Christian and Muslim believers – to such fundamental questions as: how the universe originated, when, how and why the mankind came into being, and what is the cause of death in humans. Moreover, it penetrates the past to great depth and gives further details about the origins of the races and languages of mankind. Whether one actually believes in these particular biblical stories today or not, one thing cannot be doubted: it is ranked among the most influential writings in human history. Just two examples of many may here suffice: for centuries this book has been invoked to portray women as inferior to men, often leading to discrimination against women; the Church Father Tertullian[1], for instance, when he comes to speak about women, associates them repeatedly with Eve and describes them finally as "diaboli ianua" ("devil's gateway"). The authors of the American Declaration of Independence also had the same story in mind when they composed the ringing statement: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator". But not only in the culture of the past, but even in that of the present does Genesis play a significant role. In the modern western civilisation (and beyond) many social norms, practices and attitudes towards gender, marriage and homosexuality are related to Genesis and its interpretation.

The putative author[2] of this influential work, along with the rest of the Torah/Pentateuch, is Moses, the central human character of much of this literary entity of five books, one of the greatest teachers for the Jews, one of the

1 Tertullian, *De cultu feminarum* 1.1, ed. M. Turcan, pp. 42-4.

2 For a useful introduction to the layers of Genesis, for the so-called Yahwistic and Elohistic sources and further bibliography, see Fischer, *Genesis*, pp. 156-66.

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biggest prophets for the Muslims and a forerunner of Jesus Christ for the Christians. Like other manuscripts of this era, there is no evidence, external or internal, in favour of any claimant to the authorship of the book. It was not until the Greco-Roman Period that the tradition of Mosaic authorship gained currency and in the past it was scarcely challenged. Today, however, most scholars regard Genesis as an amalgam of the work by several authors or teams of authors, who incorporated diverse traditions and different narrative sources. This compilation most likely took place at different locations over a period of several centuries, beginning sometime after the establishment of the monarchy in Israel in the 9th century BC or later, while the last part of this synthesis should be dated in postexilic times, about the 6th or 5th century BC. A strong narrative link between these different sources and traditions is forged by the "toledot" headings ("generations" or "descendants"). Setting them within this framework has given the sense of an integrated whole and a connection to the different stories and the two main sections of the 50 short chapters of Genesis; i.e. the first section with the first eleven chapters which deal with primeval history, from the Creation to the Deluge and the recreation or the multiplication of humanity after the catastrophic destruction of men and animals by the Flood; and the second section with the remaining 39 which cover events from the ancestral history, beginning with God's promise to Abraham and ending with the story of Joseph and his death in Egypt. Despite the long lists of generations, the authors succeeded in giving an impressive and fascinating account, which in a masterly way, after the wide-angle overview of the beginning of the Creation, focuses on the ancestors of the Jews; the themes include stories of deception, love, desire, jealousy, murder, betrayal, adventurous journeys, flaws, failures and, of course, end with a solution or at least a promise of a solution or a salvation. Perhaps this is another reason, why there is such a plethora of versions and interpretations of Genesis, both in literature and visual arts.

Among all these noteworthy works of visual art through the centuries, two deserve particular attention: the so-called Cotton Genesis (London, British Library, Cotton Otho B. VI) and the Vienna Genesis (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vind. theol. gr. 31), which are the central concern[3] of this chapter. We have therefore to focus our attention on two Early Byzantine manuscripts whose images are among the oldest witnesses of picturing Genesis and at the same time some of its most extensive illustrations. Their

3 As their detailed description would go beyond the scope of this paper, the Ashburnham Pentateuch (*Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. nouv. acq. lat. 2334) and other later medieval illustrated manuscripts of the Genesis are excluded. For these, see Verkerk, *Ashburnham* and Lowden, "Genesis", pp. 42-8.

importance for history of both art and scholarship can hardly be overemphasised, since both manuscripts have triggered a complicated discussion, which has been by no means restricted to their description and interpretation. The discussion gave rise to complex and critical questions, some of which remain unanswered, about the origins of Christian art and the development of the illustrations in roll and codex.

The first manuscript of the two, which has challenged long-held art historical methodologies and has defied scholarly attempts to understand it in a wider religious and cultural context, is the Cotton Genesis. This name derives from its first known owner Sir Robert Cotton (1568-1631), a British statesman and important book-collector in London. It is now preserved at the British Library under the signature MS Cotton Otho B. VI. When exactly and how Cotton acquired this manuscript in the first place are actually unknown. There are two traditions concerning the early history of the manuscript: according to the first, Cotton received the manuscript from king James I; according the second, stemming from Cotton himself, it was brought from Philippi in north-eastern Greece by two Greek bishops who gave it to Henry VIII, relaying to him that the manuscript was so old that it had once been owned by Origen. Since this was not written until centuries after Origen's death (*c.*254), this legendary association with the Christian writer of the Early Church seems to be, rather, a story invented in order to increase the manuscript's importance. However, there is no evidence for the first tradition either; therefore neither of them[4] has any strong claim to reliability. Since the last folio of the manuscript once bore the signature of Thomas Wakefield,[5] a Cambridge humanist, who died in 1575, one thing can be certain, namely that as early as that year the precious manuscript had reached England and that at the end of 1611 it had already entered Cotton's collection. His correspondence[6] with Sir Henry Savile of Eton, who had the chance to borrow the manuscript, provides us with this *terminus ante quem* for its acquisition. After that, Cotton lent it again to two individuals, in 1616 the recipient was the royal librarian Patric Young and in 1618 the recipient for four years was Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc, an extraordinary polymath and antiquarian, who lived at that time in Paris. Between 1630 and 1683 it was in the possession of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel. Cotton's

4 There is absolutely no evidence of a visit by two bishops from Philippi to England or of presentation of any book by the king to Cotton; see Carley, "Cotton Genesis", pp. 249-51 and Weitzmann/Kessler, *The Cotton Genesis*, pp. 4-5.

5 Carley, "Cotton Genesis", pp. 251-3 and Weitzmann/Kessler, *The Cotton Genesis*, pp. 4-5.

6 For these two letters written to Cotton by Savile, the first undated and the second on 18 December 1611, see Carley, "Cotton Genesis", pp. 246-7 and 262-5.

grandson, Sir John Cotton, managed then to reclaim it with great difficulty and at great expense and he finally bequeathed it to the British people. A crucial incident for the fate of the manuscript took place in 1730, when, along with the rest of the Cottonian library, it was transferred to Ashburnham House at Westminster, a safer location, as was then thought. However, on October 23, 1731 erupted a disastrous fire and the Cotton Genesis was one of the several hundred treasures of the library which were severely damaged. Unfortunately, only heavily charred and shrunken fragments[7] survived, and what remained was moved the same year to the newly-founded British Museum. Despite the mutilations and the damage that the Cotton Genesis sustained, it is possible to be discussed and examined, even at second hand, thanks to the laborious work[8] of Kurt Weizmann and Herbert Kessler, who have managed to give us a rather good impression of its original state allowing some insight into its nature. In its condition before the fire, it was already reduced to 166 folios; however, on the basis of early collations and the surviving scarps of the parchment, it can be safely assumed that the volume once comprised 221 folios of vellum. The folios were gathered in 21 quires of ten leaves (quinions) and in two shorter quires for the eleven remaining folios, measuring[9] at least 33 cm in height and 25 cm in width. The manuscript's Greek uncial script, written in dark ink, was organised in a single column in every page of about 30 characters per line.

But what distinguish the manuscript are without doubt its miniatures. The investigations have shown that originally the codex must have contained some 339 miniatures dispersed throughout the codex, corresponding to their appropriate place in the text. This was an extremely ambitious undertaking, which is in fact the richest pictorial cycle from all known illustrated Genesis manuscripts, picturing the Genesis account in exceptional detail, down to the births or deaths of persons mentioned in the genealogies. The framed miniatures with some 500 episodes were as wide as the text but varied in height, from full-page format, often in that case divided into two registers, to about

7 After the fire, about 60 fragmentary leaves were recorded by the deputy librarian of the Cotton Genesis, David Casedy. Some of them were borrowed in 1743 by George Vetrue to make watercolour drawings; five of them are lost and four found their way to the library of the Bristol Baptist College. The four Bristol fragments were purchased by the British Museum in 1962 and since then all known remnants of the original manuscript have been held together; see Carley, "Cotton Genesis", pp. 247-8 and Weitzmann/Kessler, *The Cotton Genesis*, pp. 6-7.

8 This work was published in 1986; see Weitzmann/Kessler, *The Cotton Genesis*.

9 Lowden believes that the margins were larger and seems to be right about the page layout and the relation of width to height of the miniatures; see Lowden, "Genesis", pp. 48 and 53, fig. 1 and id., "Beginnings of Biblical Illustration", pp. 13-5.

one-quarter of a page. The reconstruction of the manuscript was primarily based of course on the fragments which survived the fire and on the three pages of partial transcription of the text, as well on the two watercolour copies of the miniatures, which are what has been preserved from an excellent idea that was never realised. While Peiresc had the manuscript on loan in Paris, he intended to produce a facsimile of the Cotton Genesis and therefore employed Daniel Rabel (1578-1637), who painted these two watercolours, apparently in order to serve as samples for copper plate engravings. The Frenchman Rabel was known for his botanic watercolours, so maybe this is the reason why he chose to copy the miniature[10] of the third day of Creation referring to the vegetation. As one can see from this watercolour and the remnant of the miniature of fol. 3r, the Creator appears on the left side of the picture in a garden characterised by a wide variety of plants and fruit trees (Fig. 66). The youthful beardless Creator, like a philosopher, wears a long tunica and a pallium; he raises his right hand in a gesture of speaking, implying that he creates through the word. The appearance of God in the Cotton Genesis is also pictorially rendered in the form of a hand which stretches forth from a segment of the sky in the left or in the right upper corner of the miniature. But obviously, a critically different iconographic choice has been made for the depiction of the Creator. The divinity who ordains the creation has been taken over by the Christ-Logos, recognisable by the cross-nimbus and the cross-staff in his left hand.[11] Such details make it clear, that the task of the illustrations was not only to increase the value of the manuscript or just to clarify the text, but also to interpret the narrative according to the essential Christian doctrines. Along with the Creator-Logos there appear in the miniature three winged women in white peploi. These three female figures in the centre of the miniature personify the specific day of the Creation and elaborate the biblical account with elements borrowed from the Greco-Roman imagery. To the same iconographic tradition belongs also the flora, which is far more specific than the Genesis text. In the Septuagint it is only mentioned that "the earth bring forth grass, the herb yielding seed, and the fruit tree yielding fruit after his kind" (Gen. 1:11). But in the miniature grass, bushes, flowers, shade and fruit trees are brought into

10 *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. fr. 9530, fol. 32r. The other watercolour was "God commanding Abraham to leave Haran": *Par. fr. 9530, fol. 31r; see Weitzmann/Kessler, *The Cotton Genesis*, pp. 3-5, figs. 1 and 2, cf. also the original fragment of that miniature fig. 6. See also Effenberger, "Markuskirche", pp. 80-2.

11 See also the Creator in the miniature with the depiction of the introduction of Eve to Adam on fol. 9r: Weitzmann/Kessler, *The Cotton Genesis*, p. 55 and fig. 5. It is worth noting that the three arms of the cross are extended beyond the circle of the nimbus; this cross-nimbus-type of the Cotton-Genesis is not very common in the Byzantine art.

existence in precise botanical categories, represented by identifiable species, such as – among other – apples, cumin, a black poplar and a chrysanthemum. The source of these can indeed be traced in the illustrated botanical treatises of Late Antiquity.

It turns out that the artists of the codex created a series of detailed and lively images which go beyond the text itself or the Christian exegesis; these miniatures are deeply rooted in the older and contemporary extra-biblical imagery. The fact that the Cotton Genesis served as a model for a number of other narrative cycles in the Middle Ages has proved invaluable for the page-by-page reconstruction of the codex. Among its descendants, the 13th-century mosaics in the atrium of San Marco in Venice[12] seem to copy directly from the miniatures of the Cotton Genesis. The first to recognise the close relationship between the monumental mosaic cycle of San Marco and the manuscript, over a century ago, was the Finnish scholar Johan Jakob Tikkanen. However, since then scholars have debated whether the Cotton Genesis itself or another "sister" manuscript was in fact the model of the mosaics. It is true that, despite the striking similarities, there are differences between the mosaics and the Cotton Genesis; for instance, if one compares the scene of the third day of the Creation from the Cotton Genesis discussed hereinabove to the respective scene of the so-called Creation Cupola of San Marco, at the southern end of the west wing of the basilica,[13] one notices that details such as colour and costume – like the Creator's nimbus or the garland of the personifications – have been altered; also the plants in the foreground have been eliminated by the Venetian mosaicists, reducing the composition horizontally (Fig. 66). However, we must bear in mind the following: it is scarcely conceivable that the then around 700 year-old, precious, fragile codex was taken up on the scaffold to be slavishly copied. The person(s) who conceived the decoration of the atrium rather used the miniatures of the manuscript as an inspiration for a monumental pictorial project in a very different medium on a very different scale and format.[14] This mosaic narrative cycle was also designed, updated and modified to fulfil a very different purpose than the manuscript, namely to decorate a specific part[15] of a church; a church of a city which claims Constantinople's prestige and

12 Weitzmann, "San Marco", pp. 105-42; Kessler, "Genesis"; Büchsel, "Schöpfungsmosaiken"; Effenberger, "Markuskirche".

13 For a full view of the Creation Cupola, see Effenberger, "Markuskirche", fig. on p. 78 and Büchsel, "Schöpfungsmosaiken", figs. 1-6.

14 Kessler, "'The Most Lamentable Relic'", pp. 105-7 and id., "Genesis", pp. 19-22.

15 For a comprehensive explanation of the function of the atrium and its decoration, see: Brenk, "San Marco", pp. 49-67.

inheritance. In addition, it seems possible that many folios of the Cotton Genesis had already gone missing[16] by that time, meaning that a number of scenes were designed without the prototype, which is an additional explanation for some of the discrepancies. Therefore, both references and deviations indicate only the depth of meaning in the mosaics and are no reason to speculate that some other "sister" manuscript was available to the Venetians rather than the Cotton Genesis.

Thus, we can assume that the manuscript, before finding its way to England, had reached Venice by the 13th century. However, whence it travelled to Venice, by whom and for whom it was made, are questions still unanswered. Whilst on the basis of palaeography and iconography the codex can be convincingly dated to the end of the 5th or into the 6th century, no secure provenance can be established. That it was created in the environs of Egypt, especially in Alexandria,[17] is a possible assumption – which has gained wide acceptance – but it lacks strong evidence. It is clear that its Alexandrian origin was postulated within the framework of larger overarching theses of a lost illustrated Jewish prototype and the evolution of images in rolls and codices.

The same questions have also dominated the scholarly dialogue about the other important illustrated Genesis, the so-called Vienna Genesis from the 6th century, a book similar to, and at the same time very different in many respects from, the Cotton Genesis. The Vienna Genesis is by far the best preserved among this group of very early Christian manuscripts and has therefore undergone repeated detailed scientific analysis,[18] giving rise to violent controversies. Its name derives from its present location in the National Library of the Austrian capital, where it is designated as Vind. theol. gr. 31. On the basis of notes written on folios, it is known that in the 14th century the manuscript was in Italy, most likely in Venice. As early as the mid-17th century the manuscript was in Vienna and in 1664 was transferred to that city's Imperial Library.

16 On the missing folios with very instructive comparisons between the illustrated manuscript and the atrium mosaics, see: Kessler, "Venetian Revisions", pp. 77-91.

17 Weitzmann/Kessler, *The Cotton Genesis*, pp. 30-1 and Kessler, "Genesis", pp. 17-8. M. Büchsel proposed as place of origin Rome: Büchsel, "Schöpfungsmosaiken", pp. 59-61. Recently M. Büchsel has suggested again the same origin. He bases this opinion on the assumption that some iconographic choices of the illustrated manuscript and the mosaics can be explained by the Augustinian exegesis: Büchsel, "Bildgenese", pp. 104-25. However, in my opinion, this assumption appears to be less plausible. The influence of the Augustinian theology on the visual language was rightly criticised by B. Brenk: Brenk, "San Marco", p. 63.

18 Zimmermann, *Wiener Genesis*, pp. 54-9 and Lowden, "Beginnings of Biblical Illustration", pp. 16-8.

The codex is also of a considerable size, measuring between 30.4 and 32.6 cm in length and between 24.5 and 26.6 cm in width. In its present condition, it consists of 48 folios, made up of quaternions (gatherings of eight leaves). Investigations of the binding have shown that the codex must have originally contained at least twice as large a number of pages. The text, organised in a single column, is penned in Greek uncials with silver ink (now blackened) on purple-stained vellum, which makes it likely that the luxury codex was made for a member of the imperial family. The volume of the text on each folio varies, but the most common scheme is some 15 lines per page and it always occupies the upper part of the page. The lower half of each folio has always been reserved for a framed or an unframed miniature, painted directly on the purple background, giving the impression that the entire page is a balanced and unified field. It is not clear if the text was written first and then the miniatures were added later or vice versa,[19] but it is certain that the Genesis text was adjusted so as to keep it in step with the relevant illustration at every page. Sections, phrases, words of the Septuagint, especially monotonous parts like prayers, genealogy-lists or repetitions, were left out, others shortened and condensed, with the result that the text follows as closely as possible the illustrations which are the work of many artists.[20]

The most significant feature of the codex is the dominance of image over word and it has been quite rightly described as a "picture bible". Most of the miniatures comprise several scenes and are generally arranged in two superimposed registers. For instance, several episodes of the life of Jacob are shown in only one miniature[21] on fol. 12r (Fig. 67). The painter with an ingenious arrangement has succeeded in connecting the two level-frieze and in packing a maximum of scenes in one setting without any distinct demarcation. The continuous narration begins at the upper left side of the miniature where Jacob on his way to meet his brother Esau leads his two wives and sons toward a bridge. The procession in space is also a procession in time and the main figures appear again crossing a bridge as they circle down into the lower zone at the right side of the picture. Using the bridge as connecting and directional device, the sequence of the episodes advances on the lower zone, now from right to left, where Jacob is wrestling with an angel and – painted right next to

19 The fact that the text is written in some cases over the frame of the miniatures maybe indicates that the miniatures were painted before the addition of the text; see for instance fols. 1v or 2v.

20 The number of the illuminators has been the subject of controversy. B. Zimmermann reduces their number from eleven to six: Zimmermann, *Wiener Genesis*, pp. 220-30.

21 Ibid., pp. 129-33.

the struggle – Jacob is gaining a new name[22] because of his perseverance. This chain of events ends at the left bottom with Jacob's family continuing the journey.

However, the painters have not always divided the miniatures into two layers comprising two, three or more episodes. On some pages a single scene occupies the whole miniature. An example is the picture of the Deluge[23] on fol. 2r. The artist depicts the ark during the flood used a highly sophisticated palette of colours to render the suitably dramatic atmosphere of the scene. The dominant colour is blue for the flood-water and the torrential rains and the eye is drawn to the dark blue painted ark in the middle of the image. Around the half-submerged ark, animals and humans, among them mothers with children in their arms, lie dead, while two figures have raised their hands to the sky in agony. The scene is remarkable for its relative lack of scale and perspective, which serves to emphasise the overwhelming nature or the desperation and tragedy of those who remained outside the ark.

It has been often proposed that the theological scope of the images is rather limited. It is clear that the luxury book was primarily a sumptuous picture book for the purpose of the owner's prestige. That apart, it cannot be denied that the full range of theological meanings can be discerned from the images, especially from those that occupy an entire miniature with one scene. Maybe this is the reason why the artists have not set out some of the miniatures in two rows with many scenes. The Deluge, for example, has been possibly highlighted to be interpreted – in a simple fashion – as a lesson that God knows how to deliver his people and to punish the wayward humans or – in more complicated way – as a prefiguration of the Baptism of Christ; Christ is in that case the new Noah and the ark is the Church. Typologically connected with the crucifixion of Christ was maybe also the miniature with the depiction of Jacob's blessing upon Ephraim and Manasseh with crossed hands on fol. 23r, a scene that was also given particular prominence.[24]

Another crucial point for the analysis of the manuscript is that disproportionate attention has been paid to the episodes of Joseph's life.[25] This is by far the largest pictorial cycle of the manuscript and the text has not been abbreviated in order to fit in as many miniatures as possible. In picturing these episodes the artist deviated from the text and embellished it with extra-biblical

22 The receiving of the blessing appears on fol. 12v.

23 Zimmermann, *Wiener Genesis*, pp. 82-5.

24 Ibid., pp. 178-81.

25 For the pictorial cycle of Joseph's life in the Vienna Genesis, see Giannoulis, *Moiren*, pp. 125-38.

elements. These have been regarded by many scholars as traces of Jewish legends, mostly from the Midrash. According to this school of thought, these miniatures are key-witnesses to the theory that late antique, illustrated Jewish books influenced early Christian imagery. However, we should keep in mind the fact that these Jewish legends were not as popular as one may think. Did the artists know these legends? Furthermore, is it possible that not even a fragment of these illustrated manuscripts has been preserved or mentioned in literary sources? In my view, a more careful examination shows that many of the extra-biblical elements have an explanation in the words of the Genesis account itself, while others are adaptations of contemporary Greco-Roman imagery in order to enhance and enrich the story of Joseph. For instance strong evidence of Jewish origins[26] was thought to be found on fol. 17r (Fig. 68). This represents Joseph interpreting the chief butler's and chief baker's dream in prison. Outside the prison, to the right, stands a woman often identified, according to Jewish legend, as Potiphar's wife visiting Joseph secretly in prison. Despite the fact that this identification is in many aspects problematic, this interpretation overlooks the real meaning of the scene. This episode is less about history and more about destiny. This explains the presence of the woman who is crucial for the understanding of the image. She is a personification of fate and appears at the moment that Joseph foretells the destiny of the two prisoners. This moment is of great importance to the destiny of Joseph himself as well. Like the personifications of the fates, who appear for instance on the Prometheus-sarcophagi,[27] the woman at the right side of the prison indicates to the significance of the moment, pointing to a sundial on the top of a column. The reason for such adaptations is – in my eyes – that Joseph's life was the most interesting for the viewers, a story with many resemblances to another popular hero, namely Hippolytos, who had also been accused of rape.

It is clear from the above that the Genesis account is transformed into an experience which speaks directly to the contemporary Christian aristocracy. Finally the Vienna Genesis can safely be placed in the first half of the 6th century, though its origin has been disputed. The lack of consensus regarding this important point as well shows once again that our knowledge about this manuscript too is limited or – in other words – it is "in the beginnings".

26 Zimmermann, *Wiener Genesis*, pp. 162-4.

27 Giannoulis, *Moiren*, pp. 137-8.

CHAPTER 12

The Joshua Roll

Vasiliki Tsamakda

The Joshua Roll (*Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Pal. gr. 431), which contains parts of the Old Testament Book of Joshua, is in many aspects a highly extraordinary illustrated manuscript. Until the 13th century, it remained in Constantinople before being transferred to the West, where it can be traced from about 1500. In the second half of the 16th century, it formed part of the Biblioteca Palatina.[1] Since its first monographic presentation by K. Weitzmann in 1948, this famous manuscript has been the object of numerous studies and caused intensive discussions about its origin, date and function.[2]

The first unusual feature of this manuscript is its format: it is a 10.64 m long parchment roll (*rotulus*), a format that was used in Antiquity (although the antique rolls were made of papyrus), but which was carried into Byzantine times only for books of liturgical content[3], chrysobulls and typika. The Joshua Roll is thus in this regard an exception. In its present form, the roll consists of 15 sheets, approximately 30 cm in height and of varying length (min. 42 cm; max. 89.5 cm), which were horizontally jointed with each other to form a continuous strip.[4] The beginning and the end of the scroll are missing. In the 13th century, various religious texts were added on parts of the verso side of the scroll.[5]

Content and text-image layout of the manuscript are also remarkable. The Book of Joshua as a single edition is unknown. In Byzantine manuscripts this Book normally forms part of the Octateuch, of which some illustrated copies exist.[6]

1 Mittler, *Bibliotheca Palatina*, p. 138. Of its previous owners two are known: Niccolo Leonico Tomeo (1456-1531), who taught Philosophy and Greek in Padua and Venice, and the manuscript collector Ulrich Fugger (1528-1584). On the provenance of the manuscript, see also Wander, *The Joshua Roll,* pp. 143-4.

2 Weitzmann, *The Joshua Roll.* On this manuscript, see also Schapiro, "The Place of the Joshua-Roll"; Mittler, *Bibliotheca Palatina,* pp. 136-40, cat. no. C 11; Kresten, *Il rotolo di Giosuè*; Wander, *The Joshua Roll*; facsimile editions: *Il Rotulo di Giosuè*; Mazal, *Josua-Rolle.*

3 See chapter 21 in this volume.

4 The sheets were detached in 1902 and are currently kept separately under Plexiglas; see Wander,*The Joshua Roll*, p. 17.

5 See on this Schreiner, "Die Prachthandschrift".

6 On the illustrated Octateuchs, see the next chapter in this volume.

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The Book of Joshua consists of two main parts and a concluding part. It relates the entry of the Israelites into Canaan under the leadership of Joshua, the conquest of the land (chapters 1-12), its division between the twelve tribes (chapters 13-22) and closes with two farewell speeches of Joshua, as well as with an account of Joshua's death and burial (chapters 23-24). In its present form, the Joshua Roll only contains chapters 2:15-10:27, that is, roughly half of the biblical account. Thus, it can be said with certainty that it lacks the first chapter, but it is not clear whether it originally included all the chapters of the Book of Joshua.

The text is mainly written on the lower part of the scroll in columns of varying width that follow each other horizontally and consist of one to five lines. The text thus plays a clearly subordinated role and the image dominates. The passages are written in a cursive majuscule script that shows the influence of the minuscule script and is the work of one scribe, who also wrote most of the captions. A second scribe was responsible for some captions in a calligraphic uncial script type (e.g. sheet X). This scribe has been identified as Basil, monk and *calligrapher*, who was active in the third quarter of the 10th century.[7]

The text does not exactly correspond to the Septuagint, but represents a choice of redacted passages, rather as excerpts that in some places display lacunae and/or additions.[8] It is assumed that the lacunae resulted from the fact that the model of the Joshua Roll was illegible at the time of the copying process. This is a strong indication that the Joshua Roll was not created *ad hoc*.[9] According to Wander, other alterations of the Septuagint text were deliberate and were introduced in order to suit the pictures.[10]

The width of the text columns normally follows that of the miniatures. Obviously, the passages were added after the miniatures had been executed, since some lines follow the contours of the depicted persons, as on sheet IV (Fig. 69). Moreover, in this case the passages were also written between the two

7 This scribe also wrote the marginal catena of Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Ross. 169, containing Saint John Chrysostom's Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans and dated by colophon to 961; see Kresten, *Il rotolo di Giosuè*, pp. 18-9; see also Wander, *The Joshua Roll*, pp. 18-9, 94.

8 For the text, see Lietzmann, "Zur Datierung der Josuarolle"; for the relationship of text and images, see Wander, *The Joshua Roll*, pp. 19-24 and chapter 2.

9 On this question, see Tselos, "The Joshua-Roll"; Lowden, *The Octateuchs*, p. 107; Kresten, "Hinrichtung". Some features of the text point to the text tradition represented by the famous Codex Alexandrinus (*London, British Library, Royal 1 D V-VIII), 5th century, which contains the Septuagint; see Mittler, *Bibliotheca Palatina*, p. 136; Wander, *The Joshua Roll*, pp. 22-3.

10 Wander, *The Joshua Roll*, p. 22.

protagonists of this passage, the Archangel Michael und Joshua.[11] The excerpts actually function as explanatory comments to the miniatures.[12] In this regard, the Joshua Roll deviates strongly from "normal" books, the physical text-image relationship being reversed.

The illustration consists of 36 scenes arranged next to each other from left to right, that is, continuously as a picture frieze. The images are not divided from each other by lines, but by free spaces or various architectural and landscape elements. The latter, though, do not only function as structural elements, but also unify the scenes when they appear on the upper part of the scroll as a common background (e.g. sheet IX). The scenes may be placed at different heights and sometimes superimposed scenes appear, as in sheet XI, showing the king of Ai before Joshua, while another scene above depicts soldiers capturing the king. This illustration system is a typical example for the so-called papyrus or chronicle style and also recalls works of Late Antiquity, such as the friezes of antique triumphal columns, among others.[13]

The content of the miniatures generally corresponds well with the subordinated text passages.[14] The first preserved scene shows the spies sent by Joshua to view the land fleeing. Above them, another typical feature of the Joshua Roll appears: a reclining personification. Several personifications of mountains, rivers and cities accompany the scenes and so increase the antique character of the imagery.

The illustration heavily uses imperial imagery and highlights the role of the triumphant Joshua in long monumental compositions, as on sheets XII and XIV, which due to the format of the scroll are much more impressive than they would be in a codex. Joshua is the only person bearing a nimbus, apart from the Archangel Michael and the personifications of Jericho and Ai. All the actions dealing with the triumphal conquest of the Promised Land revolve around the constantly repeated figure of Joshua. He is depicted as the leader of his army (e.g. sheets I, III, V), dispatching or receiving messengers (sheets VI, VII) and captives (e.g. sheets XI, XII, XIV), and several times in prayer (e.g. sheets VIII, X, XI), thus functioning not only as a successful general, but also as a model for piety. This imagery, as well as the various battle scenes, are common in historical illustrated manuscripts, as well as in biblical ones.

11 Compare also sheet VIII, where part of the text is written above the scene showing Joshua and the Israelites praying.

12 See on this also Wander, *The Joshua Roll*, p. 60-1.

13 On *the papyrus style*, see Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*.

14 As Wander, *The Joshua Roll*, p. 20 puts it: "the verse excerpts provide the clearest and most accurate description of the illuminations".

The whole impression of the decoration of the scroll is strongly reminiscent of antique art. The images are drawn on the parchment with fine lines and look almost transparent. Many elements are outlined with ink that looks the same as the ink used to write the text and the captions.[15] The facial characteristics are also rendered with dots of this ink, as well as hair, halos and other details. The range of colours is very limited: ochre, blue and purple – in various gradations – prevail. Architectural elements and landscapes are rendered almost monochromatically in pale ochre tones and sometimes highlighted with white or blue; in this respect the trees are especially impressive. Purple is used for the roofs. Figures are more vividly coloured. Garments and armour are purple and blue. The whole impression is that of an ethereal atmosphere. At the same time, and notably in spite of this, some figures, such as the priests carrying the Ark of the Covenant on sheets II and V, are rendered plastically. Shadows and the perspective used make the illustration voluminous and together with the personifications and the painting technique are reminiscent of classical art. At the same time, the images reveal weaknesses, such as the awkwardly sitting Joshua on sheet XII.

The style of this manuscript[16] fits very well to the general characteristics of the so-called Macedonian Renaissance, a disputed term used to describe and explain the classicizing art of the period of the Macedonian dynasty (867-1056) as an artistic revival. In fact, the Joshua Roll is regarded as the chief work of art of this period, the embodiment of the "Macedonian Renaissance".[17]

The closest parallels for some scenes of the Roll can be found among the Byzantine ivories. It has been shown that some 10th-century ivory plaques, which belonged to caskets, are closely related to the Joshua scroll, either depending upon the Roll itself or its model. This is especially the case for the

15 The assumption put forward by various scholars that the drawings were initially monochrome painted in grisaille, is purely hypothetical; on this point, see the discussion in Wander, *The Joshua Roll*, pp. 82-3 with the earlier bibliography.

16 This style has been compared to the one of the wall paintings in the Church of the Holy Virgin in Castelseprio, previously dated to the 7th or 10th century; see Weitzmann, *S. Maria di Castelseprio;* Morey, "Castelseprio". A radiocarbon analysis resulted a dating between 778 and 952; see Leveto-Jabr, "Carbon-14 Dating".

17 For the so-called Macedonian Renaissance, see Weitzmann, "Macedonian Renaissance"; id., "The Classical Mode". Compare the remarks by Lowden, *The Octateuchs*, pp. 116-7 on the significance of the Roll for Weitzmann's concept of the "Macedonian Renaissance". For a critique of this concept, see Hanson, "The Rise and Fall of the Macedonian Renaissance".

plaques kept in the Metropolitan Museum in New York.[18] They depict scenes illustrating Josh 8:10-23, 9 and 10:26. Not only is their iconography very similar to that of the scroll (sheets X-XI), but the plaques also repeat the passages of the scroll together with their lacunae.

The imagery of the Joshua Roll is also found in the later produced illustrated Octateuchs. The iconographic similarity is so obvious that one has to assume, either that the Octateuchs copied the Roll, or that both are based on a common pictorial source.[19] However, it is not easy, nor perhaps possible, to reconstruct this lost model, its format, date and character. While Weitzmann claimed that the Roll was an original, consciously archaizing creation of the 10th century, for which an early illustrated Octateuch in codex form was used as a model,[20] a number of other scholars posited that the model of the Joshua Roll could only have been in scroll form itself.[21]

The close relationship between the scroll and the ivories, as well as analogies to other illuminated manuscripts and the script, point to a common origin and milieu of production, that is, Constantinople. The purpose and function of the scroll are highly disputed. Since the main subject of the illustration is the triumphal conquest of the Promised Land,[22] the scroll has been seen in the frame of the Byzantine wars against the Arabs since it emphasizes military conquest under the leadership of Joshua. Schapiro put forward the theory that the successful leader Joshua served as an allusion for a Byzantine emperor, either Nikephoros II Phokas (r. 963-969) or John I Tzimiskes (r. 969-976), both

18 On these plaques, see Evans/Holcomb/Hallman, "The Arts of Byzantium", p. 49. On their relationship to the Joshua Roll, see the discussion in Wander, *The Joshua Roll,* pp. 23-4, 57, 59-60.

19 On the relationship between the Roll and the Octateuchs, see Weitzmann, *The Joshua Roll,* pp. 30-8; Lowden, *The Octateuchs*, pp. 105-19.

20 Weitzmann considered the Joshua Roll to have been an *ad hoc* product of the 10th century inspired by the triumphal columns und using Octateuch and antique imagery. Later, the author suggested that a Chinese illustrated scroll may have provided the model; see Weitzmann, "Ancient and Medieval Book Illumination", p. 10.

21 E.g. Schapiro, "The Place of the Joshua-Roll", pp. 162-3; Mazal, *Josua-Rolle,* p. 76; Lowden, *The Octateuchs*, pp. 116, 118.

22 As mentioned above, the surviving part of the scroll focuses on the conquest of the Promised Land, but we do not know if the scroll originally included only this part of the biblical story or the entire Book of Joshua. We also do not know if there existed other rolls like the Vatican one. For an estimation of the original extent of the Roll, see Weitzmann, *The Joshua Roll*, pp. 89-99; Lowden, *The Octateuchs*, p. 114. Both concluded that the Roll included only the first 12 chapters of the Book of Joshua. For the lost scenes, see Wander, *The Joshua Roll,* pp. 25-9.

of whom waged campaigns in the Holy Land.[23] According to another theory, the model of the Joshua Roll was created in the 7th century for Emperor Herakleios (r. 610-641)[24] whose important victories over the Persians and his recovery of the True Cross made him one of the most important Byzantine emperors.

Regarding the commissioner of the Roll and the purpose that the manuscript served, which was certainly difficult to use due to its format,[25] various theories have been advanced. Lowden, e.g., suggested that it was intended to reproduce the roll in larger scale in mosaic or fresco in one of the rooms of the palace.[26] Wander recently proposed that the scroll was the copy of full-size preparatory drawings for a small-scale triumphal column.[27] Wander bases his hypothesis on his observation that the height of Joshua and other important figures increases as the roll unfurls, just as on the Roman column of Trajan, in order to improve visibility.[28] However, this supposed increase is not constant and could be explained by other factors.[29] The same inconsistency is seen in the raising of the ground line upwards from left to right as the narrative progresses, which according to Wander is an even stronger indication for the use of the Roll as a cartoon for a column.[30] Finally, the author argues that the bronze Easter column depicting scenes from the ministry of Jesus commissioned by Bishop Bernward of Hildesheim (993-1022) was inspired by the

23 Schapiro, "The Place of the Joshua-Roll"; see also Mango, "The date of Codex Vat. Regin. Gr. 1", p. 126. Lowden, *The Octateuchs*, p. 118, however, considers the creation of the Roll under Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (d. 959) as a part of his massive project to preserve the literary works of former days far more plausible.

24 Mango, "The date of Codex Vat. Regin. Gr. 1", p. 126; Lowden, *The Octateuchs*, p. 107 considers this date as plausible; see also the discussion in Wander, *The Joshua Roll,* pp. 133-8.

25 See on this Lowden, *The Octateuchs*, p. 119.

26 Ibid.

27 Wander, *The Joshua Roll*, pp. 83-92.

28 Ibid., pp. 84-5.

29 Wander (see Ibid., diagrams 3-5) compares for instance the spies in scenes 1 and 12. The spies in scene 1, however, are depicted smaller in scale than the ones in scene 12 because they are placed in an upper zone and are shown from distance. In the same manner, Joshua appears larger in scale in scene 30 compared to previous scenes, because scene 30 has a particularly triumphant character. The importance of the figure affects – as it is well known – its size (principle of *Bedeutungsgröße*).

30 Ibid., pp. 86-7 with diagrams 6 and 7. However, there is also a declining of the ground line in some scenes, such as scene 17 on sheet IX, depicting the Stoning of Achan and his daughters. The persons being stoned are placed in a triangle formed by the rising ground line on the left and a declining one on the right, a visual means to declare space. Note also that the ground line of the last sheet of the Roll has a right slant.

alleged "Joshua Column" in Constantinople.[31] The imagery of the Joshua Roll is indeed very close to the repertory of the triumphal columns, but to my mind it still remains difficult to connect the supposed original Rotulus with such a function.[32]

Regarding the patron of the Joshua Roll, Wander convincingly proposed Basil the Parakoimomenos (chamberlain) (*c.*925-*c.*985), who served under Constantine VII, Nikephoros Phokas, John Tzimiskes and Basil II, and is known for his lavish patronage of the arts. Basil was a powerful courtier and participated as a field officer in the Byzantine expeditions to the Holy Land.[33] Wander suggests that his victory over the Arabs at Samosata on the Euphrates River, after which he celebrated with a triumph in the hippodrome in 958, might have been the stimulus to copy the older scroll and add the text, as he felt personally connected with the biblical story.[34] This copy aimed, according to Wander, either to its preservation as a valued antique, or in anticipation of its reuse, perhaps as metalwork or for murals.[35] Considering the luxurious nature and the high quality of the Joshua Roll, one should not exclude the possibility that it was intended to function as an illustrated manuscript for private use or display from the beginning.

In any case, it becomes clear that, despite significant progress in the study of this unique manuscript, many aspects still require further investigation in order to understand the socio-historical context and the purpose of its creation.

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31 Wander, *The Joshua Roll*, pp. 90-2.

32 Note the presence of Joshua imagery in Hosios Loukas in Phocis: Connor, "Hosios Loukas as a Victory Church".

33 On the purpose and patron of the Joshua Roll, see Wander, *The Joshua Roll,* chapter 3. Basil the Parakoimomenos was also the patron of the Vat. Ross. 169 as stated by the colophon.

34 Ibid., pp. 128-9.

35 Ibid., p. 129.

CHAPTER 13

The Octateuch[1]

Mika Takiguchi

The Octateuch is a unit that consists of the Pentateuch (the first five books of Moses: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy) and the books of Joshua, Judges and Ruth of the Old Testament. The word Octateuch (ὀκτάτευχος) was first recorded by Prokopios of Gaza (d. 538), but no manuscript of a complete single-volume Greek Octateuch survives earlier than the 10th century. There is scarcely any evidence for the circulation of Octateuch manuscripts in the West.

In the Byzantine world, there exist six illustrated manuscripts from the period *c.*1050-1300, containing the Octateuch text with catena (biblical commentaries): *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 747 (second half of the 11th century); Smyrna/Izmir, Greek Evangelical School, A-01 (first half of the 12th century); Istanbul, Topkapi Sarayi Müzesi Kütüphanesi, cod. 8 (first half of the 12th century); *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 746 (first half of the 12th century); Athos, Vatopedi Monastery, cod. 602 (second half of the 13th century), and *Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Laur. Plut. 5.38 (late 12th or the early 13th century). Five of them, each containing hundreds of images, are all closely related to each other, whereas the sixth manuscript, *Laur. Plut. 5.38, is very different.

*Vat. gr. 747[2]

The manuscript has been in the Vatican Library since before 1481, but how it came to Italy cannot be established. The book measures 36 × 28.5 cm, but its original dimensions must have been larger, since the text has been trimmed off by the binder. It consists of 260 folios and 334 miniatures, missing a total of 18 folios from various parts of the book. Since the *Perlschrift* hand of the scribe is

1 The overview of this genre of manuscripts, as well as the description of each manuscript are based on Lowden, *The Octateuchs*: see also Weitzmann/Bernabò, *The Byzantine Octateuchs*; Kresten, "Oktateuch-Probleme"; Huber, *Bild und Botschaft*; Lowden, "The Transmission of 'Visual Knowledge'"; Lowden, "Illustrated Octateuch Manuscripts".

2 Lowden, *The Octateuchs*, pp. 11-5; Weitzmann/Bernabò, *The Byzantine Octateuchs*, pp. 331-4.

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characteristic for the 11th century, *Vat. gr. 747 can be safely attributed to this period. The miniatures are distributed irregularly through the book (Fig. 73). Spaces for the miniatures were carefully left in the text, placing a particular phrase above or below the illustration. Up to fol. 36v the miniatures were carefully modeled and painted in a full range of pigments, whereas the technique is simplified from fol. 37 on. The artist began to work faster after that folio, speeding up the painting process. As Hutter pointed out, the overpainting of a later restorer is recognized in the early quires of *Vat. gr. 747.[3]

The Smyrna Octateuch[4]

This manuscript was in the collection of the Greek Evangelical School in Smyrna/Izmir until 1922. However, it has not been seen since then and we assume that the fire of the Greco-Turkish war that burnt down the school in the old quarter of the city destroyed the manuscript. Therefore, the study of the Smyrna Octateuch is today only possible by means of the photographic record catalogued and published by previous scholars.

The Smyrna Octateuch must have resembled *Vat. gr. 747, with 262 folios (compare *Vat. gr. 747's 260 folios) and its dimensions 37 × 30 cm (compare *Vat. gr. 747's 36 × 28.5 cm). The layout of the pages with text-integrated miniatures must also have resembled *Vat. gr. 747 closely. There are notable differences in style between some of the miniatures in this manuscript, and one of the artists was dubbed the "Kokkinobaphos Master" and was the leading artist in Constantinople in the 1130s-1150s.[5] In all likelihood, the manuscript was produced in Constantinople in this period.

The Topkapı Octateuch[6]

Until Uspenskij[7] produced a monograph on the Topkapı (or Seraglio) Octateuch in 1907 with 314 illustrations, the Topkapı Octateuch remained unknown. Its

3 Hutter, "Paläologische Übermalungen"; Lowden, *The Octateuchs*, p. 14.

4 Lowden, *The Octateuchs*, pp. 15-21. Weitzmann/Bernabò, *The Byzantine Octateuchs*, pp. 337-9.

5 On the "Kokkinobaphos Master", see Anderson, "The Seraglio Octateuch"; Linardou, "The Kokkinobaphos manuscripts revisited". Compare chapter 26 in this volume.

6 Lowden, *The Octateuchs*, pp. 21-6; Weitzmann/Bernabò, *The Byzantine Octateuchs*, pp. 334-7.

7 Uspenskij, *L'Octateuque de la bibliothèque du Sérail*.

present dimensions, 42.2 × 31.8 cm, are probably original and the manuscript is the largest one among the surviving Octateuchs. It contains 569 folios and it is more than twice as long as *Vat. gr. 747 (260 folios): the script is much larger and the page layout is much simpler. The script of the Septuagint and that of the catena are almost the same in size in the Topkapı Octateuch, whereas different sizes of script were used to suggest the hierarchy of the text in *Vat. gr. 747 and the Smyrna Octateuch. Since the scribe began the Septuagint at the left side and wrote the catena in a column at the right, both on recto and verso pages, there is no symmetry across the opening. The miniatures, usually painted in the left side of the Septuagint text, are also asymmetrical across the two pages, for they are placed in the inner margin of a recto page and in the outer margin on the verso page.[8]

Of all the Octateuchs, the Topkapı manuscript is the only one that appears to have lost no folios. However, 86 spaces are left blank for miniatures and 278 are left unfinished at various stages. The "Kokkinobaphos master", whose work has been found in the Smyrna Octateuch, also worked on the Topkapı Octateuch.[9]

It is inferred that the life of Isaak Komnenos, son of the Emperor Alexios I (r. 1081-1118) and patron of this manuscript, explains why the Topkapı Octateuch was never completed: the unfinished state of the manuscript might reflect either Isaak's flight from Constantinople in 1139(?), or his death in or after 1152.[10]

*Vat. gr. 746[11]

The manuscript has been in the Vatican Library since before 1481, but there is no evidence that indicates its original or later ownership before its arrival in the Vatican.[12]

*Vat. gr. 746 bears little overall resemblance to *Vat. gr. 747, but is more like the Topkapı Octateuch, containing more than 500 folios, measuring 39.5 × 31.3 cm. Moreover, 355 miniatures survive, but various losses can be observed: all the prefatory miniatures and five further miniatures are missing. A number of miniatures are placed incorrectly in the text, some being omitted entirely. The manuscript was the work of a number of scribes, and the division of labour

8 Lowden, *The Octateuchs*, p. 22.

9 Anderson, "The Seraglio Octateuch".

10 Lowden, *The Octateuchs*, p. 26.

11 Ibid., pp. 26-8; Weitzmann/Bernabò, *The Byzantine Octateuchs*, pp. 339-41.

12 Lowden, *The Octateuchs*, p. 28.

between these scribes is identified by different styles of scripts as well as the different layouts of the pages undertaken by each scribe.[13]

Like the Smyrna and Topkapı Octateuchs, *Vat. gr. 746 was illustrated by more than one artist. The "Kokkinobaphos Master", who worked on both the Smyrna and Topkapı manuscripts, did not participate here, but the hand of his assistants, using the "sub-Kokkinobaphos style", can be recognized (Fig. 70). However, it is clear that like the other two manuscripts (the Smyrna and Topkapı Octateuchs), *Vat. gr. 746 was also made in Constantinople around the second quarter of the 12th century.

Vatopedi 602[14]

The Vatopedi Octateuch has been known since its discovery by the Sevastianov expedition to Athos in 1859-60, but how or when it came to the Vatopedi monastery is unknown.

The manuscript is much smaller than any of the other Octateuchs, measuring 34 × 24 cm. It consists of more than 470 folios with the biblical text of Leviticus to Ruth. It is assumed that the codex is the second volume of a once-complete Octateuch edition.[15] The Vatopedi 602 would have been according to this assumption a bulky edition of some 950 folios divided into two volumes. In addition to losing its first volume, the Vatopedi Octateuch has also lost five leaves. The surviving miniatures total 160. Two scribes were at work in the Vatopedi Octateuch, whereas the miniatures of the Vatopedi appear to be the work of a single artist.[16] Like *Vat. gr. 747, *Vat. gr. 746 and the Topkapı Octateuch, the miniatures of the Vatopedi Octateuch are text-integrated, but they look very different (Fig. 71). While in the other Octateuchs miniatures are inserted here and there within the text, illustrations are often accompanied by only a few lines of text in Vatopedi 602. The reason is that the manuscript, while being much smaller than any of the other Octateuchs, is illustrated with miniatures of similar dimensions to the other Octateuchs.[17] The work of the artist is consistent and there is no sign of haste (as is the case in *Vat. gr. 747) or

13 Ibid., pp. 27-8.

14 Lowden, *The Octateuchs*, pp. 29-33; Weitzmann/Bernabò, *The Byzantine Octateuchs*, pp. 341-3. The facsimile of this manuscript was published in 2005: Kadas, *Vatopedi 602,* with the former bibliography.

15 Lowden, *The Octateuchs*, p. 30.

16 Ibid., p. 31.

17 Ibid., p. 29.

confusion (as is seen in *Vat. gr. 746). Based on stylistic analysis of the miniatures, the manuscript can be dated to the last decades of the 13th century.

Florence Octateuch[18]

The manuscript (*Laur. Plut. 5.38) is now in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana in Florence. The binding was made for the public opening of the library on 11 June 1571.[19] It measures 21.5 × 29.0 cm and consists of 342 folios with 13 paper folios, having no marginal catena, prefaces, or epilogues like the other Octateuchs. This is also an illustrated Octateuch but is of a completely different type. It was previously dated to the 11th century, but has recently been re-dated to *c.*1275-1300 based on paleographical studies.[20] It has only six miniatures at the beginning of the book: the first one is a full-page miniature (Fig. 72), while the following four are integrated into the text columns. The final, large miniature occupies the whole folio except for a few lines of text at the top. All the illustrations appear to have been executed by a single artist.[21]

The surviving Octateuchs are closely related to each other, being derived from a common model.[22] When each manuscript was produced, depending on which manuscript, is proposed as follows.[23] By *c.*1075, *Vat. gr. 747 was produced as a page for page copy of a model. From the period between *c.*1125-1155, three further Octateuchs have survived. The lost Smyrna Octateuch was probably the first reproduction of the common model, followed by the Topkapı Octateuch and *Vat. gr. 746. In these manuscripts the original layout was changed and the number of folios was doubled as a result. The Smyrna and Topkapı Octateuchs were illustrated in part by the same artist, the "Kokkinobaphos master". Many of the illustrations were misplaced (in *Vat. gr. 746) or left unfinished (in the Topkapı Octateuch). The last Octateuch, the Vatopedi 602, was made *c.*1275-1300, taking *Vat. gr. 746 as its model. It is smaller and only the second volume has survived.

18 Weitzmann/Bernabò, *The Byzantine Octateuchs*, pp. 330-1; Bernabò, "Bisanzio e Firenze", pp. 11-33; id., "L'illustrazione del Vecchio Testamento"; Perria/Iacobini, "Gli Ottateuchi in età paleologa".

19 Weitzmann/Bernabò, *The Byzantine Octateuchs*, p. 330.

20 Perria/Iacobini, "Gli Ottateuchi in età paleologa".

21 Weitzmann/Bernabò, *The Byzantine Octateuchs*, p. 331.

22 Lowden, *The Octateuchs*, p. 121.

23 Ibid., pp. 121-2.

How one book (Vatopedi 602) was copied from another (*Vat. gr. 746) was also carefully studied by Lowden.[24] From a comparison of their texts, it is obvious that the production of the 13th-century Vatopedi 602 was directly based on the 12th-century *Vat. gr. 746: the contents of a missing leaf in *Vat. gr. 746 were left blank by the scribe of Vatopedi 602. The difference in size of these two books is conspicuous. *Vat. gr. 746 (39.5 × 31 cm) is huge, whereas Vatopedi 602 (34 × 24 cm) is only about half of that. Despite the difference in format, the miniatures in Vatopedi 602 are very similar to those in *Vat. gr. 746. A remarkable feature of Vatopedi 602 is how the copying scribes and artists improved on the somewhat hasty workmanship of their model (*Vat. gr. 746).[25] The artist did not simply imitate and reproduce the style of *Vat. gr. 746, but he added details to clarify the meaning of the images.

On the basis of the Topkapı Octateuch, which has 51 spaces for miniatures left blank in fols. 500-569, the working process of both artists and scribes could be reconstructed.[26] First they had to decide whether to make a page-for-page (and quire-for-quire) copy of their model, or whether to alter the layout drastically. The scribes worked first, leaving spaces for the miniatures.

Turning to *Vat. gr. 747, the location of the miniatures was often associated with the nearby chapters, and the content of the images might have been inspired by the nearby chapter titles.[27] The scribes used the quire divisions of the model to coordinate their copying activities so that they could avoid mistakes such as omitting or duplicating the text. The artist(s) then received from the scribe(s) a pile of quires with spaces to be filled with images.

K. Weitzmann located the origins of Octateuch illustration in a pre-Constantine context.[28] Lowden argues instead that the illustrated Octateuch manuscripts were a middle and late Byzantine product.[29] The two scholars took utterly different approaches to studying the illustrations in manuscripts. Weitzmann applied the method of textual criticism.[30] His argument, the so-called recension theory, was to focus on the iconography of the narrative cycle of the Septuagint, and to reconstruct the genealogy of the existing manu-

24 Lowden, "Illustrated Octateuch Manuscripts", p. 115.

25 Ibid.

26 Ibid., p. 119.

27 Ibid., p. 120.

28 Weitzmann, "The Study of Byzantine Book Illumination", pp. 12-6; Lowden, *The Octateuchs*, p. 7.

29 Lowden, "Illustrated Octateuch Manuscripts", p. 109.

30 Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*; id., *Book Illumination*; id., *Studies*; id., *The Joshua Roll*; id., *Sacra Parallela*; Weitzmann/Kessler, *The Cotton Genesis*; Weitzmann/Bernabò, *The Byzantine Octateuchs*.

scripts. The similarity between the illustrations in different manuscripts was important, for it provided the ground for the genealogical reconstruction. It was assumed that the archetype, the original form of the narrative cycle, existed at the very beginning of the genealogy. From this archetype, all illustrations branched off. However, the archetype itself has been lost, and only the copies have survived.

Furthermore, Weitzmann assumed that the miniature cycle of the assumed lost archetype was more full and detailed, so that one could understand the content of the narrative, even without referring to the text. In other words, the archetype was supposed to be the direct and most detailed translation of the text into images: they were extensive visual representations of the text. As a manuscript was copied from a model, being further away from the archetype, certain details were omitted and the narrative was condensed, several scenes being constricted into one. Therefore, the illustrations that were the closest to the text were assumed to represent the greatest similarity to the lost archetype. Based on this *recension theory*, Weitzmann tried to restore the family tree of the existing manuscripts, and reconstruct the lost archetype of the narrative cycle of the Septuagint illustrations. He proposed that the existent manuscripts from the Middle Ages were copied from models going back to Late Antiquity.

He also assumed that all the images were originally invented to illustrate particular texts. Scenes on the walls of a church, or on ivory panels, for example, were painted or curved by artists who referred to a manuscript as a model. The illustrations in manuscripts provided them the models, and not in the reverse.

However, Lowden's empirical approach to the Octateuchs, based on the observation of the evidence, challenges the validity of Weitzmann's hypotheses. His *recension theory* consisted in applying the methodological approach of the text criticism to the study of the illuminated manuscripts. Since this theory was developed on the basis of an assumed lost archetype, the validity of Weitzmann's reconstruction remains uncertain.

Lowden proposed a different methodological approach to the study of book illumination. This approach took the existing manuscripts as the object of study, rather than the lost (therefore unverifiable) archetype. In addition to the traditional approaches such as the iconographical comparison and classification or the tracing of the iconographical transition over a certain period of time, several standpoints were introduced and considered, such as the scriptorium, the working process of the artists and scribes, patrons who commissioned the manuscript, the purpose of the production as well as the use of the

manuscript. This new approach was further reinforced by the outcomes of codicological observation to reveal the totality of the manuscript.

According to Weitzmann, the Joshua Roll (*Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Pal. gr. 431, attributed to the 10th century), containing parts of the Book of Joshua, was an original creation of the 10th century. Its model was an illustrated Octateuch manuscript which was now lost. Thereby he proposed that *Vat. gr. 747 belonged to a different genealogy from the other Octateuchs. Lowden, on the other hand, concluded that all the manuscripts, including *Vat. gr. 747, depended on their common model: the agreement in the selection and location of scenes implies that the group was bound closely together.[31] Lowden defined the relationship between the Joshua Roll and the Octateuchs reversely: the Joshua Roll could have served as a model, copied by the artist of the common model of the Octateuchs. His conclusion was derived from the painstaking analysis of the relation between the illustrations and the adjacent texts in both the Roll and the Octateuchs. The evidence cited by Lowden makes Weitzmann's hypothesis highly unlikely.

As for the question of a source for the Octateuchs other than the Joshua Roll, some scholars argued for the dependence of some of the Octateuch illustrations on the *Christian Topography* of Kosmas Indikopleustes.[32] Their argument was based on some Kosmos-related images appearing in the Octateuchs. On the other hand, other scholars reached the opposite conclusion, stating that the Kosmas manuscripts had derived the illustrations from an Octateuch.[33] Lowden infers that the Kosmas manuscripts would have been able to supply illustrations when they were required for the Octateuch prototype by the mid-11th century.[34] As some of the surviving biblical and theological books of the 1050s-70s seem to have been created *ad hoc* around this time, rather than being copied from earlier sources, it could be inferred that the Octateuch model would also have been made around this time, applying the type of narrative illustration characteristic of these books.[35]

Lowden explores further regarding what the illustrated Octateuch can reveal as a Byzantine phenomenon.[36] By tracing the usual and unusual features of the production and use of these manuscripts, he suggests that a large

31 Lowden, *The Octateuchs*, p. 107. For the Joshua Roll, see chapter 12 in the present volume.

32 See the discussion in Lowden, *The Octateuchs*, p. 86. On the illustration of the Kosmas manuscripts, see chapter 27 in this volume.

33 Lowden, *The Octateuchs*, p. 86.

34 Ibid., p. 91.

35 Ibid., p. 83.

36 Lowden, "Illustrated Octateuch Manuscripts", p. 110.

and costly Octateuch manuscript with hundreds of images must have been made by special commission.[37] The Topkapı (or Seraglio) Octateuch contains certain evidence of the ownership of the manuscript: the title of the prefatory text suggests that a son of the Emperor Alexios I, Isaak Komnenos, might have commissioned the manuscript.[38]

While the profusely illustrated Octateuch manuscripts with catena were most probably made for private study by Constantinopolitan aristocrats such as Isaak Komnenos, the sixth manuscript without catena, *Laur. Plut. 5.38, containing liturgical rubrics indicating the start and end of lections, suggests that it was made for public recitation in a church.[39]

There are no comparable illustrated Octateuch manuscripts in the Latin West.[40] Although the Byzantine Octateuchs were considered to have much in common with the Bibles moralisées[41] in the Latin West, Lowden points out the remarkable extent of their dissimilarities rather than similarities. For example, the Octateuchs contain the full biblical text, while the Bibles moralisées contain only short biblical excerpts. In other words, the images were in all senses secondary in the Octateuchs, whereas they played a vital role in the Bibles moralisées, where the text could often be read as image captions.

Lowden emphasizes that the production of the illustrated Octateuch manuscripts reveals that the Octateuch had played an unusual role in Byzantium, for facsimile-like reproduction of a model that is observed in the five Octateuchs was very much the exception in most illuminated Byzantine manuscripts.[42] The comparable images in the five Octateuchs (excluding *Laur. Plut. 5.38) resemble each other very closely. He sets out four basic questions as a direction for further study of the Byzantine Octateuchs:[43] (1) When the artist(s) of the Octateuchs followed their predecessors very closely, were they adopting an archaizing style thoughtlessly, or were they consciously imitating them, knowing that their predecessors had played a crucial role in the history of Octateuch illustration? (2) When the images did not follow a scrupulous copying pattern, showing alternative miniatures or iconography, why did such a difference occur, and what might it have meant for the books' users and makers? (3) The iconographic program of Genesis in the Octateuchs is rich but without close

37 Ibid., p. 111.

38 Ibid., p. 113.

39 Ibid., p. 114.

40 Ibid., p. 149.

41 On the Bibles moralisées, see Lodwen, *The making of the Bibles moralisées*; see also id., "Under the influence", with further bibliography.

42 Lowden, "Illustrated Octateuch Manuscripts", p. 124.

43 Ibid., pp. 117, 124, 142, 151.

parallels. How can the significance of this phenomenon be interpreted? (4) What role did the images play in the Octateuch manuscripts, if they were more than simply a visual reward to the reader? What was the motive for including images? Lowden's vast and precise studies on this subject will, without doubt, always be the starting point for finding answers to these challenging questions regarding Byzantine book production.

At the end of this article, I would like to ask one last question very briefly: why did the first eight books of the Old Testaments occupy such an important position, forming a specific genre called the Octateuch? In order to explore this question, the last illustration of the *Vat. gr. 747 on fol. 258r is specifically focused on. It is the last illustration of the Book of Ruth: Ruth and Boaz are lying on the ground, with their feet turned towards each other, and three rocky hills are depicted behind them (Fig. 73).[44]

To conclude the illustrated cycle of Ruth, one could have chosen some other scenes, such as the marriage of Ruth and Boaz, or the birth of Obed, their first son. Therefore, the scene with the two people lying on the ground may be regarded as an intentional choice for the last illustration of the Book of Ruth, which in turn becomes the very last illustration of the Octateuch.

Let us make a brief comparison with other illustrations that depict the same subject. In order to depict Ruth lying with Boaz, several approaches are possible, and we will see particular features of the depiction of Ruth and Boaz in the Vatican Octateuch through visual comparison.

44 The illustration is based on the Book of Ruth 3:6-14: "And she (Ruth) went down to the threshing-floor, and did according to all that her mother-in-law enjoined her. And Booz ate and drank, and his heart was glad, and he came to lie down by the side of the heap of corn; and she came secretly, and lifted up the covering of his feet. And it came to pass at midnight that the man was amazed, and troubled, and behold, a woman lay at his feet. And he said, Who art thou? and she said, I am thine handmaid Ruth; spread therefore thy skirt over thine handmaid, for thou art a near relation. And Booz said, Blessed [be] thou of the Lord God, [my] daughter, for thou hast made thy latter kindness greater than the former, in that thou followest not after young men, whether [any be] poor or rich. And now fear not, my daughter, whatever thou shalt say I will do to thee; for all the tribe of my people knows that thou art a virtuous woman. And now I am truly akin to thee; nevertheless there is a kinsman nearer than I. Lodge [here] for the night, and it shall be in the morning, if he will do the part of a kinsman to thee, well – let him do it: but if he will not do the part of a kinsman to thee, I will do the kinsman's part to thee, [as] the Lord lives; lie down till the morning. And she lay at his feet until the morning; and she rose up before a man could know his neighbour; and Booz said, Let it not be known that a woman came into the floor". The position of the illustration is carefully planned, so that it is placed right below the text that describes Ruth lying with Boaz, spending the night with him until dawn.

There are some comparable images in the manuscripts of the Bibles moralisèes. For example, Boaz is lying in front of a pile of wheat harvested from a field, which is faithfully based on the biblical text (*Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS. 5211, 13th century, fol. 364v)[45] In contrast, the pile of wheat is replaced by three rocky hills in the Vatican Octateuch (*Vat. gr. 747, fol. 258r) (Fig. 73). Boaz in the Paris manuscript is drawing up the blanket to cover himself. Again, the illustration deliberately follows the biblical text. It is striking to find that there is no depiction of the blanket in the Vatican manuscript, since it plays an important role in the biblical story. In the Vatican manuscript, the two figures are both stretching out one foot straight and bending the other, and the toe of Ruth is touching the heel of Boaz. Ruth in the Paris manuscript, in contrast, is kneeling at the feet of Boaz, tucking the blanket up to cover her head. It is obvious that she is trying to get under the blanket. Boaz, on the other hand, is asleep, not noticing what is going on at his feet, which is again a faithful visualization of the biblical text. The Paris illustration, visualizing the very moment when Ruth obeys the advice of her mother-in-law, is most appropriate to represent the essence of the event to the viewer.[46] If the painter wanted to emphasize the faithfulness of Ruth towards her mother-in-law, the Paris illustration is much more effective than the Vatican illustration. Their action seems more natural compared to the composition of the Vatican illustration, which is rather schematic with the two lying figures in a symmetric composition.

Turning to the same scene from another Bible moralisée, the Baltimore manuscript (*The Walters Art Museum, W. 106, *c.*1250, fol. 18r) depicts Boaz lying on the bed, raising his upper body and talking to Ruth.[47] Ruth is also raising her upper body, twisting to turn to Boaz. The foot rest of the bed is covered by a blanket and there is no space for Ruth to get under the blanket. Boaz, stretching out his feet on the bed, is somewhat larger than Ruth who is curling up on the floor in the lower corner. The Baltimore manuscript's composition

45 On this manuscript, see Weiss, *The pictorial language*; id., *Art and crusade*.

46 The mother-in-law said to Ruth: "And now *is* not Boaz of our kindred, with whose maidens thou wast? Behold, he winnoweth barley to night in the threshingfloor. Wash thyself therefore, and anoint thee, and put thy raiment upon thee, and get thee down to the floor: *but* make not thyself known unto the man, until he shall have done eating and drinking. And it shall be, when he lieth down, that thou shalt mark the place where he shall lie, and thou shalt go in, and uncover his feet, and lay thee down; and he will tell thee what thou shalt do" (Ruth 3:2-4).

47 On this codex, see Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, no. 71; id., "Old Testament Illustration". Online description and reproduction: <http://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/html/W106/description.html>.

slightly disagrees with the biblical text,[48] but even so, it is much more natural in comparison with the two figures in the Vatican illustration that are equally proportioned and artificially well-balanced. The comparable examples mentioned above and in the footnotes[49] all suggest that the same scene in the Vatican Octateuch is strikingly unnatural.

Why did the painter adopt such a schematic composition in the Vatican Octateuch? What requirement did the illustration try to answer with this odd arrangement? What message can we read from this particular scene that concludes the book of Ruth as well as the books of the Octateuch?

The family line was almost ended when Ruth's husband died without any children. Since Ruth accepted the custom of the Israelites and married Boaz who belonged to the same clan as her deceased husband, the blood line managed to avoid extinction. Thereafter, it continued flourishing for generations, and from this very family, Jesse, the father of Kind David, was born. King David was, of course, the ancestor of Christ. The relationship between Ruth, Boaz, and Jesse may provide us with an important clue to decipher the peculiar composition of the illustration. We could assume that the lying figures of Boaz and Ruth, chins resting on hands, remind us of Jesse who lies at the foot of the tree that depicts Christ's genealogy.[50]

Boaz and Ruth are lying in front of rocky hills, which seem to suggest ragged, uncultivated ground. It seems almost impossible that any plants could come into bud from this rough ground. However, the two (Ruth and Boaz) become, so to speak, fertile soil on which the bud (their son, Obed) grows. Obed, in turn, will become the father of Jesse. In other words, we could infer that Ruth and Boaz lying on the ground in the symmetric scheme represent the germinating

48 The scene depicts the interior of a bedroom, the pile of wheat being omitted.

49 We can find further variations in the illustrations of the Bibles moralisèes: two figures facing each other, their feet covered with a single blanket (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vind. 1179, fol 84r), or the two figures being laid in parallel (Toledo, Tesoro de la Catedral, Bible of St. Louis, fol. 96r); see Lowden, *The making of the Bibles moralisées,* pp. 143-4. In both cases, the depiction of Ruth, lying below the body of Boaz, seem to convey that she is under his protection, as is suggested in the biblical story. Among such variations, the composition in the Vienna manuscript looks a little similar to that in the Vatican Octateuch, but the different behavior of the two figures in the Vienna manuscript (one is asleep while the other is spreading the coverlet) elaborately and at the same time naturally conveys the content.

50 On the iconography of the Tree of Jesse, see Thomas, "Wurzel Jesse"; Carr, "Tree of Jesse"; for a 13th-century example in the church of Panagia Mavriotissa in Kastoria, see Pelekanidis/Chatzidakis, *Kastoria*, p. 83, fig. 20.

leaves, sprouting from the soil of Israel, from which the tree (the genealogy) of Jesse will grow.[51]

Jesse, from whom the genealogical tree starts to grow, first appears as one of the characters in the Book of Samuel in the Old Testament. The Book of Samuel begins immediately after the book of Ruth, and therefore, is not included in the Octateuch. Today the two books that follow the Octateuch are called the books of Samuel I and II, but they were called the books of Kings I and II in the Septuagint. Therefore, the two books of Kings (Kings I and II) in the Hebrew Old Testament were called the books of Kings III and IV in the Septuagint, instead of I and II. As a result, the two books of Samuel and the two books of Kings formed the four volumes of the books of Kings. The Octateuch could thus be regarded as a prelude of the stories of kings.

It is said that the iconography of the Tree of Jesse was created in the Latin West, and the surviving examples in Byzantium are limited to those from the Palaiologan period.[52] Therefore it is difficult to prove that the iconography of the Tree of Jesse which is familiar to us today was also well known to the viewer/reader of the Vatican Octateuch. However, the two rather unnatural figures of Ruth and Boaz seem to be well explained if we assume that they are the very beginning of the tree, the cotyledon of the Kings' genealogy.

Boaz and Ruth at the very end of the Octateuch may allude to the tree that will continue growing from here to have Christ at the very top. Although the eight books included in the Octateuch end here with this illustration, the reader/viewer may see the undepicted image of a huge tree that has its roots in the lying figures of Boaz and Ruth. It might be the most appropriate visual representation to conclude the Octateuch.

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51 The question remains as to why the Tree of Jesse begins from Jesse, and does not go further back to show the genealogy of Christ. According to the biblical text, the family tree of Christ can be traced back to the time of Adam and Eve (Lk 3:38). If so, one may want to have a tree that grows from Adam and Eve, instead of Jesse. Was a tree starting from Adam and Eve considered too long to represent the family tree of Christ? In order to emphasize the genealogy of kings and their kingdom, it was appropriate to start the tree from King David, the son of Jesse. Jesse was not a king, but an elder, and David was the one who was anointed as the king of Israel. Since Christ is the King of the Kingdom of God, the genealogy should be that of kings. The beginning of the tree with Jesse, rather than Adam and Eve, is thus rightly justified.

52 The only exception is the Crusader image at the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem. The Holy Apostles in Thessaloniki (first half of the 14th century) is probably the earliest Byzantine example; see Carr, "Tree of Jesse", col. 2113.

CHAPTER 14

The Vatican Book of Kings (*Vat. gr. 333)

Ioli Kalavrezou

The illustrated Vatican Book of Kings (*Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 333) is a unique manuscript, which contains the Old Testament text of the four books that in the Eastern Church are referred to as the Books of the Kings or Kingdoms and in the Latin West as the two Books of Samuel and the two Books of Kings. They follow directly after the Book of Ruth, which is the last book of the Octateuchs. The four books of Kings are strictly narrative. They tell the story of Israel from the time of the birth of the prophet Samuel until the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar and the departure of the Israelites to their exile in Babylon.

The manuscript does not have a colophon or other inscriptions to help determine the date of its production, however it has been given a date to approximately the middle of 11th century according to its stylistic, palaeographic and compositional evidence.[1]

From the first book of Samuel, which sets the stage with a theological assessment of kingship, it becomes evident that kingship is the focus of these texts. The stories cover the birth and feats of the prophet Samuel in connection with the events associated with the kings Saul and David and in the third book after David's death with briefly the story of king Solomon. In other words the major sections of the narrative have as their focus the life of David, the prophet and king, and numerous events relating to his kingship until his death.

Much is exceptional about this manuscript. Its uniqueness as an illustrated copy of the Books of Kings is astonishing. David had become by the 11th century a major figure in Byzantine imperial ideology, thus the Old Testament text containing his life should have been an obvious text to illustrate. It is surprising however, not to find more illustrated manuscripts of these books narrating the Davidic episodes as would have been expected. Yet, throughout the middle Byzantine period David and famous events of his life continue to be represented in numerous examples on a variety of objects, most frequently in illustrated psalters. Also surprising is the fact that except for the thorough

1 Lassus, *Livre des Rois*, with previous literature. Here also one can find a short codicological description identifying the lost folios. The codex comprises 143 folios, measuring 28.5 × 21.6 cm.

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publication by Jean Lassus, published in 1973, there has not been any further detailed study of this manuscript. In this publication there are only four illustrations printed in colour, all others are dark black and white photographs where most of the detail is not visible.[2] The black and white photographs do not do justice to this rich and most colourful manuscript. Each double folio when open has at least two and more often additional images, which stand out with their strong colours against the light beige parchment, a delight to the eye and to the curious mind (Fig. 74).

The oldest and only other surviving evidence for the interest in illustrating these biblical books, those of Samuel and Kings, is found on four fragmentary folios out of six leaves of an earlier codex, which were discovered in the second half of the 19th century re-used in the bindings of a number of books, all bound in 1618 in the monastic library of Quedlingburg.[3] Two of them contain segments of identifiable texts. The others have full-page images, which depict the textual narrative of the Book of Kings in successive frames, four on each folio. They are however not in good condition. They offer, on the other hand, information usually not visible. They contain in the form of "under drawings" instructions to the painter of how to compose the scenes.[4]

These leaves form the so-called *Quedlingburg Itala* (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. theol. lat. fol. 485) and have been dated to the 5th century most likely produced in Rome. This very fragmentary condition has made it difficult to say how much of the text was actually illustrated. It is not clear if only the first or more of the books of Kings were illustrated since the fragments with the surviving illustrations are only from the first book of Kings (I Samuel).[5] The same question as to the intent of the illustrations in relation to the text can also be raised for the *Vat. gr. 333 of the 11th century. Was it an attempt to illustrate all Old Testament books that follow the books of the Octateuchs as Lassus has suggested or is it an independent manuscript, with a specific need and purpose? To my mind the Vatican manuscript

2 An additional color image of a whole folio in the volume by John Lowden, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, p. 305, fig. 177.

3 Degering/Boeckler, *Die Quedlinburger Italafragmente;* Levin, *The Quedlingburg Itala.*

4 These guidelines to the painter first make clear that at least two different people worked in the production of this manuscript, and secondly that the painter was being asked to create images from scratch, meaning that there was no earlier illustrated version available or not yet produced from which he could draw his images. It also suggests that there was someone, if not the scribe, who had very definite ideas as to the specific composition and characters he wanted to have depicted.

5 The illustrations correspond to 1 Kings 10:2-3 (I Samuel 10:2-3) and 1 Kings 15:13-33 (I Samuel 15:13-33).

was produced outside a programmatic scheme of illustration with a different aim: to emphasize and make evident the significance of the episodes around David and events associated with him. This can be argued by the following information.

It has been suggested that the manuscript is not illustrated completely. There is the assumption, as has also been stated for the Octateuchs, that an illustrated one-volume of the Books of Kings existed in the early Christian centuries. However, no such codex has survived.[6] This hypothesis expects that an evenly distributed selection of images should accompany the texts of all books of the Old Testament. In the Vatican manuscript, however, this is not the case and it does not appear to have been the original intention. Lassus also argues that the scarcity of images towards the end might be also due to the lack of a model for the last part.[7]

As the more important segments of the narrative, the stories of Saul and David are the most densely illustrated sections of the manuscript. Thus the text of the first book has been given 75 images with the number of images declining rapidly in the second and even more so in the last two. What has been Illustrated of the second book is the first chapter and a section only of the second totalling in 22 images. The third book has only six, and the last book only one image, that of the Prophet Elijah rising with his fiery chariot to the skies.[8] The total number of illustrations comes to 104, which however contain 169 individual scenes. This distribution of images should not be seen as the result of a job not completed, as often said, but most likely an intentional choice to focus on the events leading up to David and to David's deeds and accomplishments up to his death. It can be argued that a possible reason for creating such a volume in the mid-11th century was to illuminate David since this is a period when the Davidic paradigm for the emperor was quite popular and much in use.[9]

The text is written in two columns of 35 lines on each folio, meticulously precise in line and script, but the illustrations look haphazardly placed within the width of these text columns. This folio layout is brought about by the choice of text deemed important to be given an image. Thus the folios do not have a standardized appearance but rather each opening has its individual organization, dependent on the significance of the narrative.[10]

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6 Lowden, *The Octateuchs*, pp. 80-6.

7 Lassus, *Livre des Rois,* p. 9.

8 Ibid., pp. 83-4, pl. XXXI, fig. 104.

9 Tsamakda, "König David".

10 A possible thought in relation to what is important and what is not in regard to the lack of

Almost all illustrations, except of the last ten, are framed by a thin red border and almost all have a blue background, unless they depict buildings or partial landscapes.[11] The colour scheme overall has tones and hues that derive from variations on red, all the way from very bright to pink, to purple and then bleu. Already the lavish use of blue, one of the most expensive colours in the Middle Ages, hints towards a luxurious production. All these colours visually create a courtly environment, as does also the gold applied on garments, shields, helmets, and architectural details like capitals and on a variety of other objects. The ground where the actions take place is usually depicted in green. The main characters, the kings, are made visually distinct by their dress and by the crown they wear. When in battle, a commonly occurring theme, they wear the typical Roman military cuirass worn by generals, but often they still wear the diadem distinguishing them from other participants in these battle scenes. The prophets Samuel and Nathan as also some high priests wear a toga-like garment often in two color tones. Saul and David, Jonathan, Samuel, and a few other figures, as for example the High Priest Ahimelech, are given a halo. This is clearly a distinguishing mark of a higher authority. These are all individuals selected by god who are the main characters of these histories. The colour of the haloes varies. Saul's is green with a golden outline and David's is gold with a thin red outline.

The events from David's life chosen for representation are known from the early centuries of Byzantium, as for example the series found in the so-called David Plates from the early 7th century found on Cyprus in 1902.[12] These plates show a series of scenes that culminate in the most impressive one, David's battle with Goliath. The scenes most known to the Byzantines and repeated most often are: David playing his lyre, killing a bear, killing a lion, the victory over Goliath, David's anointment and a scene that is depicted more frequently in the middle Byzantine period, David's penance. This manuscript has however so many more that it is difficult to find all the reasons why so

illustrations from the second book and onwards might be the fact that after the second chapter of Book II there was not much that was of any significance to the person who had the manuscript made. The images on these folios are the standard depictions of birth, anointment, elevation on the shield, death and burial to accompany the narrative for Solomon.

11 It is interesting to observe that some of these blue backgrounds seem to have been intentionally scratched out. The blue has been removed. This has occurred it seems in scenes of battles or fights. The reason of the removal is not clear, unless at some later period bleu, an expensive color was needed for another manuscript for which not enough was available.

12 Leader, "The David Plates Revisited". Here all previous literature.

many more were selected to be illustrated. Lassus, who has studied the manuscript extensively, organized his discussion of the illustrations in terms of their composition and iconographic details, looking at a number of categories such as landscape, architectural decoration, figures, costumes and events from life. It is a detailed descriptive study of the Books' content. He is mainly concerned with introducing the manuscript, describing what it consists of and what it looks like by making minute observations on the individual scenes. His descriptions give details such as the facial expression of a character or the fine decoration of a garment and always their colour. His close inspections reveal much of the details that the painters invested in giving drama and natural expression in the compositions. Overall his concern was to give the reader the visual impression and aesthetic experience the manuscript would have produced to the actual viewer. The questions however of the intent and purpose of the production of this luxurious manuscript still remain to be worked out. In addition, an answer has to be sought for the large number of images in the first book versus the diminishing and hardly illustrated latter books. The question for whom it was made and why such detailed illustration was needed remains unclear. This is exactly what makes this manuscript a paradox. Was it possibly for the education of a young man destined to receive the throne some day? David, as mentioned above, had become the archetypical ruler from a variety of points of view.

A probable hint to such an interpretation appears on fol. 14. The images until fol. 14r were placed before the text which they were illustrating. However, at the bottom of that folio an inscription tells, obviously to the reader, that from this point on the illustration is going to follow the event narrated just above, and not as before where the image came first and the "explanation" so-to-speak afterwards.[13] This change lets us understand first, that possibly it was easier to appreciate an image if you knew who and what was being represented. Secondly this codex was not simply a nice book with colourful pictures to enjoy while leafing through them, but a volume where the user was expected also to read the text. This was likely done to demonstrate the important role of these royal figures, especially David's wise actions while also making more sense out of the images. The illustrations have short inscriptions accompanying the figures and their actions. They are written within the framed image in white ink so that they stand out against the blue background that most scenes have been given. Unfortunately some have faded and are not easily discernable today, but when new, they must have facilitated the reading of the scene and its characters could be immediately recognized.

13 Lassus, *Livre des Rois*, pp. 10, 44.

Commonly in Book I and in chapter one of Book II each folio has two images. These are the sections most densely illustrated. Some exceptions exist where we see three images on one folio, as for example on fol. 38r (Fig. 75) the last section of Book I where one scene depicts the battle Saul is fighting with his soldiers against the Philistines, the second is the scene of his suicide after losing the battle, and the third depicts his cremation and those of his three sons that had fallen during the battle and their burial.[14] These events are also the final images of the book hinting possibly at the closure of Saul's reign.

Usually the scribe and the illustrator – it is assumed that they are two or possibly three different individuals – work together to decide where in the text illustrations should be introduced. According to evidence, Lassus argues that the manuscript had been produced by having the scribe first prepare the folios with the text leaving specific spaces for the painters to paint the relevant illustrations, and in this way creating the overall layout of each folio.[15] This process requires from the start a very precise organization. The sections of text had to be chosen first for which an image was to be accompanying it. Then the type of illustration had to be decided in conjunction with the painter so as to leave the appropriate space blank, which then determined the whole layout. The images all have a width of 7 cm but the height or the number of scenes within each varied. Most contain one scene, some have two within the rectangle, but occasionally the frame is subdivided into four units containing four independent scenes (e.g. fols. 25v or 30v, but more common and more numerous are the two scenes one above the other).

In addition, if we were to argue that the images in this manuscript were selected with the intention of concentrating on the events leading up to David's appearance, then we also need to consider a third individual involved in the preparation of this codex. This would be the patron or the person who commissioned the work.

If the manuscript was intended to have a balanced distribution of scenes throughout the books, blank spaces for planned images would have been found in the last two books for an even distribution. Clearly this is not the case, unless after completing the first book something brought about a change of mind, but this seems most unlikely. However, the diminishing interest in illustrating events and characters in the later books seems to have been there from the original planning of production of this volume. These texts do not contain any of the famous episodes known to the Byzantines in connection with the

14 Ibid., pp. 64-5, pl. xxi.

15 Ibid., p.9.

life of David. Thus they probably were not of great interest to be illustrated. The manuscript had already over 100 illustrations at this point.[16]

To try to understand why this manuscript was produced we need to investigate more closely what kind of themes have been chosen to be illustrated. Not so much their iconographic details as their content. By broadly organizing the images we can say that they can be grouped into three main subjects: scenes of war either in single combat or whole armies in battle, where Saul and David most often are leading the armies (e.g. fols. 15v, 17v, 48r). Then there are scenes of official ceremonial, where for example David is depicted enthroned receiving or commanding individuals who stand before him (e.g. fols. 30r, 47r). The third important group has to do with the relationship of these kings to God. Throughout these narratives God commands and the people have to obey. He communicates through his prophets and in this case it is mostly Samuel, who figures throughout Book 1 of Kings until his death, where he is succeeded by the prophet Nathan. The people themselves however, also communicate directly with God. Usually the king is shown in a gesture of prayer, above whom a segment of sky is depicted with golden rays or the hand of God emanating from it (e.g. fol. 30v, 47v). These representations of prayer symbolize the prayers heard and accepted by God. They indicate that God is assisting the praying figure, for example in the success of a battle.

In other words moments have been selected to be illustrated from this historical narrative that relate to the idea or concept of kingship. The illustrations single out events that identify and display the various qualities a leader like David should have. They present in visual terms the king's relation to his people: for example he fights the enemy to protect and save his people, in the ceremonial images his authority is recognized and respected by the way he commands and delegates, and lastly his relation and behaviour towards God is shown in the correct light. God requests and his servant the king obeys and carries through the task demanded of him. David in this way becomes the ideal king, the example to imitate. Saul on the other hand, the first king anointed by Samuel according to God's command (I Kings 10:1), becomes the anti-hero or negative example, the one who did not follow God's instructions and thus was replaced by David. God withdrew his favour from Saul, he even "repented that he had made Saul king over Israel" (I Kings 15:35). His withdrawal from Saul is also made visually clear in the illustration on fol. 37v where Saul is asking for

16 As mentioned earlier at least the birth, anointment, death and burial of Solomon are recorded through images. Surprising is the fact that his famous judgment is not illustrated. But this is not at all frequently illustrated. One of the few images is in the 9th-century Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus in *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Par. gr. 510.

God's assistance but God does not respond; there are no rays of light nor is God's hand appearing in the segment of sky above.

Thus most of the images in the manuscript are there to instruct through their impressive visual effect the proper role and place of a great leader, who having been chosen by God leads his people in the right path. It might be possible one day, with further study of the illustrations and their compositions, to come up with possible suggestions as to the intended recipient of the manuscript, in other words to unravel its historical context. It is after all a luxury manuscript and it might even be possible to suggest that it was intended for someone in the court circles.

Byzantines often made use of a number of characters from the Old Testament. For example, Moses and his successor Joshua are great heroes in the world history of the Byzantines and the Octateuchs are the texts where the heroic deeds of these men have been given special emphasis through a number of illustrated copies. The earliest is from the middle of the 11th century almost contemporary with the Vatican Book of Kings.[17] But in the 10th century Joshua, the great Old Testament general and successor to Moses, had been already singled out as a special individual in the illustrated *rotulus*, the famous Joshua Roll (*Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Pal. gr. 431). The roll contains a series of connected illustrated scenes of the historical text of Joshua's victories in his conquest of Palestine (Josh 2:15-10:27).[18] This document is also unique. David on the other hand has been more often singled out as a model figure, especially in psalters through a selection of his celebrated deeds. The Paris psalter (*Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 139) sets the stage for a series of full-page illustrations to emphasize his natural talents and wise judgment.[19] Therefore it is not at all surprising to find a detailed illustrated text that celebrates David. During the second half of the 11th century it seems to have become of interest to illustrate manuscripts with series of narrative images selecting Old Testament figures depicted in extended heroic sequences. As mentioned above, the luxury production of the Octateuchs begins in this period with *Vat. gr. 747 (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 747)[20], additionally there is the psalter *Vatican City, Biblioteca

17 Lowden, *The Octateuchs*, p. 82.

18 Weitzmann: *The Joshua Roll*; Schapiro, "The Place of the Joshua-Roll"; Mazal, *Josua-Rolle;* Wander, The Joshua Roll. On this manuscript see also chapter 12 in this volume.

19 Kalavrezou, *Images of Legitimacy: the Paris Psalter* (*Ms. gr. 139*) (in preparation). Kalavrezou presented a paper on this subject at the Dumbarton Oaks Symposium on The Old Testament in Byzantium in 2006.

20 Lowden, *The Octateuchs*, p. 82.

Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 752 with its extensive series of illustrations of David, which function like a commentary.[21] Even gospel books receive narrative imagery such as the gospel book *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 74[22] (Fig. 94) to mention just a few.

Much still remains to be answered through further study of this manuscript with an investigative approach as to the content of the illustrations. Possibly it might lead to answers that could suggest a better context for its production.

21 Kalavrezou/Trahoulia/Sabar, "Critique of the Emperor".

22 Omont, *Evangiles*; Dufrenne, "Un cycle de Lot".

CHAPTER 15

The Book of Job

Justine M. Andrews

Although the Book of Job was extremely popular in Byzantium, and after the Psalter it was the most frequently illustrated text, only two scholarly texts have addressed the entire group of 15 extant Byzantine illustrated manuscripts of the Commentaries on Job.[1] Paul Huber's *Hiob. Dulder oder Rebell*? (Düsseldorf 1986) and Stella Papadaki-Oekland's extensive dissertation, published posthumously in 2009, *Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts of the Book of Job* (Athens 2009). More discussion has been given to the earliest manuscripts from the 9th and 10th centuries in both monographs and articles.[2] Together the 15 extant manuscripts have hundreds of miniatures, and were produced in centers throughout the Mediterranean region. The rich and vast amount of material within these manuscripts can give us insight into iconographic and stylistic patterns in Byzantine illustrated manuscripts, as well as information on the transmission and reception of these works of art throughout the Mediterranean region.

The story of Job was available in the ancient world in oral and written form. The ancient model for illustrations of Job was likely a roll format that only included images of the Prologue, not based on the Septuagint text but on another related apocryphal text with details of Job's legend in a narrative form, such as the Testament of Job.[3] Early Christian images of Job are generally depicted as individual scenes and this image is continued in some Byzantine manuscripts which include a single framed image of Job on the dung heap, a representation of the height of Job's tribulations.[4]

Job imagery in Byzantium exists primarily in the 15 surviving illustrated Job manuscripts, which are part of a group of catenae or collections of commentaries by the Early Greek Church Fathers. From an early date the biblical text

1 Lowden/Tkacz, "Job", pp. 1041-2.

2 Bernabò, *Libro di Giobbe*; Weitzmann, *Buchmalerei des IX. und X. Jahrhunderts*; Oretskaia, "A Stylistic Tendency".

3 Papadaki-Oekland, *Book of Job*, p. 321.

4 For example: 6th or 7th-century Syriac Bible (*Paris, Bibilothèque nationale de France, Par. syr. 341, fol. 46); late 9th-century Gregory of Nazianzus (*Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr 510, fol 71v); 10th-century; Regina Bible (*Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Reg. gr. 1, fol 461v), Papadaki-Oekland, *Book of Job*, pp. 317-9.

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was associated with its commentaries. The Book of Job has sections written in prose and a large central portion written in verse. The prose sections are the Prologue and the Epilogue, which describe Job's life, suffering, and eventual restoration. The section in verse is a series of speeches by Job and his friends, which includes much allegorical description.

There are two types of catena, which generally divide the surviving manuscripts into two categories: Type I includes the four earliest manuscripts and Type II the examples from the 12th century onwards. The Type I catena is centered on commentary by St. John Chrysostom and compiled by Olympiodoros, Deacon of Alexandria in the 6th century.[5] The Type II catena was compiled by Niketas of Heraclea *c.*1100 based on the earlier form. With the new compilation, the latter group of illustrated Byzantine Books of Job also sees a renewal in style and theological content of imagery.[6]

The first group of illustrated Job manuscripts dates from the 9th to the 11th centuries. These earlier examples have fewer miniatures and almost all are illustrations of the Prologue and Epilogue. Examples from the second group date from the 12th through the 16th centuries and have a large number of miniatures many of which illustrate the poem, the speeches of Job and friends. These later cycles of illustration, however, are the products of a gradual elaboration of older examples and show that they derive from similar archetypes.[7]

The illustrations of the Book of Job in Byzantine manuscripts have been seen as repetitive or formulaic, particularly when examining the imagery of the poem.[8] However, small changes and a clear but gradual embellishment of individual miniatures do reveal changes in historical context, and the events surrounding many manuscripts' productions. An example among the earlier group is a reflection of the outcome of the iconoclast controversy. In the Patmos, Monastery of John the Theologian, cod. 171 manuscript of the late 9th century a bust of Christ replaces the single hand of God in scenes from the Meeting in Heaven (Job 1:6-12).[9] Later manuscripts from the 12th and 13th centuries emphasize demonic elements and eschatological beliefs, possibly revealing the influence of monastic thought. In Byzantine examples of Job illustrations, the images change and conform to controversy, and new compilations.

5 Other major commmentators are Didymos of Alexandria and Julian of Halikarnassos.

6 Papadaki-Oekland, *Book of Job*, pp. 31-2.

7 Papadaki-Oekland, *Book of Job*, p. 181.

8 Lowden/Tkacz, "Job", p. 1042.

9 Papadaki-Oekland, *Book of Job*, p. 332.

Group 1: 9th-11th Century, Type 1 Catenae

The earliest illustrated Byzantine Job manuscripts show the development of a Job cycle based on more than one ancient model. The earliest manuscript is at the Vatican Library (*Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 749) dating to the second half of the 9th century. The miniatures have been attributed to three or four separate artists and possibly to two separate models.[10] The miniatures are dominated by the color gold, including gold and red frames. There is little depth to the images and figures are crowded into the front plane. The figures in the Vatican miniatures wear Roman costume and the women have jeweled diadems. The three friends of Job are shown with Byzantine crowns and the costume of Byzantine court officials (Fig. 76).

The manuscript Patmos cod. 171 also dates from the late 9th to early 10th century. Its 54 images are all found on the lower part of the page. The large images and elaborate coloring show the demand for an expensive and lavish example of the Job text. The commission, perhaps, could not be completed at the same level of expense since the remaining images are painted directly on the parchment. The style of the miniatures seems to retain aspects from ancient models. Yet, the creativity of artists or the patron must also be acknowledged as a possible impetus for change, as the iconography already begins to show development. It is in the Patmos images that we begin to see reactions to the recent events of iconoclasm. In the Meeting in Heaven, a bust of Christ replaces the hand of God, showing a clear iconophile context for this manuscript (Fig. 77).[11] The Patmos manuscript is an important example for its evidence of selectivity between ancient precedents and contemporary interests. This association of Job imagery and the selectivity of different types of images within one manuscript will continue throughout the development of Byzantine Job manuscripts.

Another early 10th-century Commentary on Job also shows further development of the cycle. The 31 miniatures of the illustrated Commentary on Job in Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Marc. gr. Z. 538, were produced *c.*904. The manuscript deviates from the antique styles of the earlier two and was likely based on a separate ancient model.[12] It is in this cycle that multiple images begin to appear where previously one was sufficient. There are often several scenes to a page, all framed by gold bands and each with a bright blue background.

10 Huber, *Hiob*, pp. 89-93; Papadaki-Oekland, *Book of Job*, pp. 323-30; Bernabò, *Libro di Giobbe*, pp. 146-54; Oretskaia, "A Stylistic Tendency", p. 15.

11 Papadaki-Oekland, *Book of Job*, pp. 331-6.

12 Papadaki-Oekland, *Book of Job*, pp. 337-43; Huber, *Hiob,* pp. 142-3.

For example, scenes such as the banquet of Job's children are repeated. The images also took on a monumental quality, which eliminated details and made the human figure more prominent.[13] The iconography includes Job and his family in Roman dress with linear highlights in the drapery. The architecture is Byzantine with classical capitals and a great gold dome over Job's sacrificial altar (fol. 7v) (Fig. 78). These early manuscripts show an established iconography and tradition of illustrating a variety of scenes. These episodes will continue to be painted, while continually being adapted and elaborated on through the 16th century.

The 11th-century manuscript at Sinai, Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sin. gr. 3 only has 27 miniatures from the first two chapters of Job. This cycle of images is considered the closest example to an unknown ancient prototype, because its late antique presentation offers none of the innovations found in other manuscripts. Job is not shown as a saint, nor does a bust of Christ replace God's hand.[14] Both Huber and Papadaki-Oekland believe this manuscript was produced in Constantinople. Huber further states that the images were prepared in a monastic scriptorium by a monk familiar with the imperial art of Byzantium.[15] The scenes are set in thin gold frames with a background made up of rose, blue and green bands or registers. In fol. 7r of the Sinai manuscript, Job is seated on a cushioned gold throne, under an arched structure supported by columns painted to look like marble topped with golden classical Corinthian capitals (Fig. 79). Next to him, separated by a column and seated on her own elaborate throne is his wife. Job's wife wears a crown, and although Job does not, they both wear mantels with golden highlights and are presented on thrones as a royal couple.[16]

Group 11: 12th-16th Century, Type 11 Catenae

There are 11 examples of illustrated Commentaries on Job in the second and later group of manuscripts, dated from the 12th through the 16th century.

13 Papadaki-Oekland, *Book of Job*, p. 337.

14 Ibid., pp. 344-9.

15 Huber, *Hiob,* p. 177. He notes that the imagery is part of the Macedonian Renaissance, a revival of the ancient types found in Roman and Hellenistic sculpture.

16 Weitzmann cites the image of Job as king is evidence for the manuscript's production in Constantinople. Weitzmann, *Sinai*, pp. 16-7. However, Papadaki-Oekland agrees with the location of production but refutes the idea that the image of king reveals this saying that it is not necessarily true of other manuscripts with images of kings. Papadaki-Oekland, *Book of Job*, p. 43 n. 112.

General characteristics of this later group of manuscripts include a much larger number of miniatures, most with over 100 images. Many of the manuscripts have multiplied the images of the speeches. All are of the Type II catena, the commentaries compiled by Niketas *c.*1100. Most are written in one column, the *Textkatene* format. The two exceptions are the 13th-century manuscript in Jerusalem, called Taphou 5 (Greek Patriarchal Library, Taphou 5) and the 14th-century manuscript in Paris (Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 135), both written in *Randkatene*, or marginal commentaries. Some manuscripts in this group are left unfinished and others are damaged and badly flaked. However, the number of surviving examples and the increasing number of miniatures illustrating the text attest to the popularity of the Book of Job, and particularly to the patrons' interest in a diverse series of images which included a variety of people, animals, and fantastic creatures.

The earliest example from this group of manuscripts dates to the late 11th/early 12th century and is in the Vatican Library (*Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Pal. gr. 230). It has 152 miniatures inserted irregularly into the text. Painted on a gold background with narrow frames, the manuscript is badly preserved and the miniatures are flaking. Another example from the same period is now in Athens, Byzantine Museum, BM 2781, and also has a large number (154) of miniatures, but the images were left unfinished.[17]

Another manuscript from the Vatican Library (*Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1231) also dates to the early 12th century based on its colophon. The inscription remarks that the illuminated manuscript was made by John Tarsites for Leo Nikerites, Duke of Cyprus.[18] Leo Nikerites is known as a general from Anna Comnena's *Alexiad*, and was probably Duke of Cyprus between the dates of 1107-1111 or after 1118.[19] These are likely dates for the

17 These manuscripts are discussed by Papadaki-Oekland, *Book of Job*, pp. 368-75 and pp. 378-87.

18 Ibid., pp. 359-66, dates the manuscript to the first quarter of the 12th century. Spatharakis, *Corpus,* p. 37, lists the manuscript as *c.*1100; see also Carr, "Provincial Manuscripts", pp. 64-5. Cutler, "Leo Nikerites", p. 1479, refers to this manuscript, *Vat. gr. 1231, as a commission by Leo in the early 12th century. This is a change from Cutler's earlier dating of the manuscript to the 13th century in his article "The Spencer Psalter", p. 148. Huber also dates the manuscript to the 13th century but he has taken none of the above references into consideration and appears to base his conclusion on 19th-century sources; see Huber, *Hiob*, p. 82. A reproduction of the colophon can be found in Papadaki-Oekland, *Book of Job*, p. 360.

19 Carr, "Provincial Manuscripts", p. 65. She notes that while Leo Nikerites' dates as Duke are not known, many of the Dukes of Cyprus are documented for that period, leaving us with these dates as good possibilities.

production of the manuscript. The 145 miniatures of the *Vat. gr. 1231 are very sumptuous and expensive given the great use of gold backgrounds. Yet, at times the brushwork is hasty and color washes do not coincide with the outlines of the figures. These latter traits may be indicative of the production of a very large cycle of imagery under time constraints. The miniatures of *Vat. gr. 1231 appear to retain the traditions of the elaborate Job cycles from the 9th through 11th centuries including the gold frames and backgrounds of the images, and the Byzantine imperial garb of Job's three friends.

Other manuscripts, however, retain the older models' smaller number of images. The fourth manuscript from the 12th century now at the Lavra monastery at Mount Athos (Athos, Great Lavra, cod. B 100) has 33 miniatures; most of these illustrate the Prologue. The fifth manuscript, a late 12th or early 13th century example at the Vatopedi monastery on Mount Athos (Athos, Vatopedi Monastery, cod. 590), has 48 miniatures, four of which are full-page illuminations.[20] These miniatures are painted directly on the parchment without any background or frames. As the three friends stand before Job they are dressed as Byzantine emperors and all three have geometric shaped and decorated crowns (fol. 39v).

These first five manuscripts of the second group, all dating from the 12th century show the introduction of a larger cycle of miniatures, as well as a continuation of some earlier traditions. The interest in illustrated Job manuscripts of this period appears varied. Different cycles could be selected for a variety of reasons including the expense of the manuscript's production. The acceptance of a divergent group of illustrated Job manuscripts during the 12th century points the way to the later acceptance of unique adaptations of the imagery.

The first manuscript that begins to show a new creativity in the illumination of the text is in the Vatican Library (*Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 751). This manuscript's imagery is not exceptional in quality but shows an expansion of the cycle. There are 227 miniatures, many of which are not completed; those after folio 108 have only been sketched.[21] In this manuscript, the illustrations show the enrichment of the pictorial scenes and include a new symbolic realism. Papadaki-Oekland dated this manuscript to just before 1200 and places its production in Constantinople.[22]

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20 Papadaki-Oekland, *Book of Job*, p. 374, dates it to the 13th century, Huber, *Hiob*, p. 242, to the 12th.

21 Papadaki-Oekland is the only scholar who has treated this manuscript, *Book of Job*, pp. 388-94 and later in the article published, Papadaki-Oekland, "Justinian's Column", pp. 70-1.

22 Papadaki-Oekland, "Justinian's Column", p. 71.

The most extensive cycle of illustration is found in a manuscript in Oxford at the Bodleian Library, *Barocci 201. It dates to the last quarter of the 12th century or the beginning of the 13th century. The 231 illustrations represent each verse of the text and begin to incorporate elements of the catena. The imagery now reflects the Christological interpretation of the text. There is a preference for eschatological subjects and the repeated representation of devils.[23] The production of this manuscript is associated with a provincial school similar to the 13th century workshop at Nicaea.[24] Papadaki-Oekland suggests that the manuscript may have been made within a monastic center, and perhaps many Books of Job were illustrated in such an environment. She argues, and Huber repeats, that the Book of Job was especially popular in monasteries for the virtues it preaches.[25] The sacrifices Job makes of his family, wealth and home mirror the monk's call to relinquish earthly goods. Job's faith and strength throughout his trials are models for all monks.

An example from the 13th-century, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 134 follows the cycle of the Oxford Barocci manuscript as well as the iconography of *Vat. gr. 751. This manuscript includes 176 miniatures framed with a single red line. These are simple images done in thick colors. Bordier described them as grossly barbaric, yet the smaller codex (29 × 23.5 cm) is rich with gold, almost every leaf is illuminated.[26] Interestingly, painted at the top of fol. 2r (Fig. 80) is a series of 12 medallions that show fleurs-de-lis. While the 13th century saw the development of significantly embellished Job imagery, it also opened a door for the inclusion of new decorative vocabulary and iconographic motifs, particularly during a period of varied encounters with cultures beyond Byzantium.

Another 13th-century manuscript is the manuscript Jerusalem, Greek Patriarchal Library, Taphou 5 (Figs. 81-82). As previously mentioned, the Taphou 5 is one of only two manuscripts from the second, later group that use the *Randkatene* format, inscribing the commentary in the margins around the text. This appears to be something derived from older manuscripts like the Sin. gr. 3 of the 11th century.

Taphou 5 is clearly the result of a long development of Job imagery in earlier manuscripts; however, the artist of Taphou 5 prefigures the innovation and

23 Papadaki-Oekland, *Book of Job*, pp. 381-7.

24 Carr and Cutler link the Barocci 201 to the style of the Nicaea group, Carr/Cutler, "The Psalter Benaki 34.3", pp. 306-7, while Papadaki-Oekland, "Justinian's Column", p. 71, n. 37, begins to refute this notion.

25 Papadaki-Oekland, *Book of Job*, pp. 381-2; Huber, *Hiob*, p. 58.

26 Bordier, *Description des peintures,* pp. 223-4.

adaptation of later miniatures with his own entirely new attitude towards the iconography of the images.[27] In the Taphou 5 manuscript, the warriors who attack Job's herds are identified by Huber as Crusaders because of their white triangular shields with a red cross (fol. 257v).[28] While, in my view, these soldiers in Taphou 5 cannot be confirmed as Crusaders, they certainly depict distinctive shields of western type. Taphou 5's miniatures also emphasize naturalism and attention to the details of the natural world.

This naturalism has often been explained by the influence of western artistic styles, and has informed the dating of the manuscript to the late 13th century.[29] It has been associated with Constantinopolitan artistic production around that period.[30] In addition, Huber also considers the possibility of production of the manuscript within a monastery, and Papadaki-Oekland notes the inclusion of the image of a monk on fol. 249v to also suggest a monastic influence.[31] As noted above, Job was an important exemplum for monks and the illustration of the Book of Job was likely very popular within the monastery.

The artist of the Jerusalem manuscript uses the old model of a manuscript similar to Sin. gr. 3 as a foundation then adds both western elements and his own initiative to create a new aesthetic. It is this attitude developed in the 13th century during the period of close contact between large numbers of Byzantines and westerners that allows later artists in the 14th century to look both to the Byzantine past as well as to contemporary styles of the West for artistic inspiration. Thus the imagery of the 14th-century Commentary on Job, Par. gr. 135 continues the development of Byzantine Job imagery by incorporating individual western motifs into the traditional format and sequence of manuscripts like the Taphou 5 and the earlier Sin. gr. 3.

Par. gr. 135 is a large paper manuscript with 198 illustrations that appear either at the center or bottom of almost all of the 247 folios. The paper shows a watermark identified with early 14th-century Siena.[32] The illustrations are painted with brown outlines and washes of light color, and are immediately striking for their contrast to more usual Byzantine manuscript illumination.[33]

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27 Papadaki-Oekland, *Book of Job*, pp. 350-8; Huber, *Hiob*, p. 193.

28 Huber, *Hiob*, p. 193.

29 Papadaki-Oekland, *Book of Job*, p. 228; Huber, *Hiob*, p. 193.

30 Huber, *Hiob*, p. 198; Weitzmann, "Constantinopolitan book illumination", pp. 193-214; Belting, *Das illuminierte Buch*, p. 38.

31 Huber, *Hiob*, p. 198, Papadaki-Oekland, *Book of Job*, p. 267.

32 Andrews, *Imagery*, p. 40.

33 The most significant studies on Par. gr. 135 include: Evans, *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261-1557)*, cat. no. 33, p. 63; Huber, *Hiob*, p. 218; Velmans, "Le Parisinus Grecus 135", pp. 209-

What makes this manuscript so distinct from other examples of illustrated Job manuscripts is the integration of Western stylistic elements, such as the tripartite crown, royal costume and seated posture of Job (Fig. 83).[34] Yet, when compared to Byzantine imagery of Job, this 14th-century manuscript emerges an inheritor of a long tradition in Job illumination from Byzantine manuscripts, heavily reliant on Western iconographic motifs, and adapted to accommodate new iconography and styles. Par. gr. 135 has a colophon (fol. 247v) that includes a date of production, 1362, as well as the name of the scribe, Manuel Tzykandyles. Manuel Tzykandyles's confirmed presence in Mistras at the time, strongly suggests that the manuscript was copied in the Peloponnese.[35] The inclusion of individual motifs drawn from a variety of Western sources, suggests production in an area with many Orthodox monasteries, as well as an influx of Western manuscripts from Italy and France, or possibly the Latin Kingdoms in the East. The most likely site of production conforms to the information given in the colophon of the Paris Job manuscript and points to Mistras and the Peloponnese, other possibilities include regions of similar diversity such as Cyprus or Crete.

The Oxford Commentary on Job (*Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. gr. 86), written in Greek in the 16th century, modeled many of its miniatures on Par. gr. 135 (or another similar but lost copy). The manuscript contains 204 illustrations composed of pen, ink and watercolor on 222 pages, and many illustrations were left unfinished. The Oxford Job is written in one column of 13 lines on thick paper that bears a watermark of a circle with six radiating spokes; later pages show a watermark shield with a band and two stars.[36]

Irmgard Hutter proposed that the manuscript was produced in Venice sometime in the middle of the 16th century.[37] The Oxford Job manuscript is distinct from many of the Greek manuscripts of Job produced through the 13th century in its light wash-drawing technique on paper. There is also more attention given to landscape, and details in musculature and costume. Many of

35; Alcalay, "Le Parisinus Graecus 135", pp. 404-80.

34 Par. gr. 135, fol. 7v.

35 Documents and colophons from other manuscripts establish Tzykandyles's presence in Mistras at this time; see *PLP,* nos. 28129 and 11315.

36 Hutter, *Corpus*, vol. 3, p. 54 (cat. no. 4). She notes the watermark of the original paper is unidentified, but the later watermark corresponds to Briquet, *Les filigranes*, cat. no. 1012, and attributed to Augsburg 1544.

37 Hutter, *Corpus*, vol. 3, p. 54 (cat. no. 4) gives detailed summary of the codicology as well as short descriptions of each illustration. Papadaki-Oekland, *Book of Job*, p. 405, gives a one page discussion of the manuscript in relation to the other examples presented in the book.

these stylistic elements seem to mirror the interests and expressions of Italian Renaissance artists. These details of the figures, however, as well as paleographic evidence, suggest a possible relationship with imagery and texts being produced outside of Venice. The historical context, including the Oxford Job manuscript's relationship with its 14th-century model from the Peloponnese (Par. gr. 135), as well as the manuscript's relationship with fresco painting and manuscripts produced in late 15th-century Cyprus, suggests the possibility of an Eastern Mediterranean production particularly on the island of Cyprus.[38]

Final Thoughts

Studies on the Byzantine illustrated Commentaries on the Book of Job have varied and include iconographic studies, stylistic studies particularly in regard to the origin of a manuscript, and studies focusing on the historical context including issues of reception.[39] Yet, most research is limited to an exploration of a single manuscript or a handful of comparisons.

Each manuscript could indeed be the subject of an in-depth study. Given the numerous images within many of the manuscripts the material is rich for further iconographic study, perhaps particularly on distinct dress, architectural forms, insignia on shields, animals and musical instruments, to name a few. Issues of the place of women in the texts and images and the manuscripts' relationship to monastic life and the transmission of artistic ideas are other areas yet to be researched.[40] Only two of the 15 manuscripts have colophons with specific information about date or scribe or patron, many of the manuscripts can be looked at more carefully in order to set them into a clearer historical context.[41] Finally, with the growing interest in studies on the Medieval Mediterranean, the Job manuscripts make an interesting case study for a body of work produced in and around the Mediterranean. The Byzantine illustrated Commentaries on Job relied on and were an integral part of the exchange of artistic motifs and theological ideas in the Medieval Mediterranean.

38 Andrews, "Flexibility and Fusion".

39 For iconographic studies, see Meyer, "St. Job", pp. 21-31; Evangelatou, "From Word into Image", pp. 19-36. For stylistic studies, see Oretskaia, "A Stylistic Tendency", pp. 5-19; Velmans, "Le Parisinus Grecus 135", pp. 209-35; Carr, "Provincial Manuscripts", pp. 39-83. For studies on context and reception, see Andrews, "Imagery"; Alcalay, "Le Parisinus Graecus 135", pp. 404-80.

40 Papadaki-Oekland begins this discussion, *Book of Job*, pp. 307-11.

41 Atalcay, "Le Parisinus Graecus 135", pp. 410-30.

CHAPTER 16

The Prophet Book[1]

Mika Takiguchi

The Prophet Book contains the full text of the 12 Minor Prophets (Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi) and the four Major Prophets (Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel) of the Septuagint in one volume. The pages are sometimes filled with a catena, an extensive commentary on the biblical text, and this makes the manuscripts more bulky than if they had contained the biblical text alone.

There are about 50 manuscripts of the Prophet Book datable to before the 15th century, and seven of them are illuminated. The oldest surviving Greek Prophet Book, *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 2125, is not illuminated. The uncial script of this manuscript has been dated by palaeographers to around 700 AD, or early in the 8th century.[2] Among the seven illuminated manuscripts, two contain the 12 Minor and four Major Prophets with catena. Two manuscripts also contain both the Minor and Major Prophets, but without catena. One contains only the Minor Prophets, while the other contains only the Major Prophets, with a catena in each case. Finally, one manuscript has only the book of Isaiah with catena.

The system of illustration is also varied: four of the manuscripts have full-page miniatures with portraits of a single standing prophet. One manuscript has the bust portraits in medallions. Two have the portraits located in the text either at full-length or at half-length. Three manuscripts have a few narrative illustrations in addition to the portraits. All of them belong to the genre called the Prophet Book, but their content and the system of illustration are rather heterogeneous.

*Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Chig. R. VIII. 54[3]

The manuscript was purchased by the Vatican in 1923. This is the oldest manuscript in the group of illuminated Prophet Books, dating from the 10th century.

1 This overview on the illustrated Prophet Books, as well as the description of each manuscript given in the first part of this article is based on Lowden, *Illuminated Prophet Books*.

2 Ibid., p. 6.

3 On this manuscript, see Belting, "Le problème du style", pp. 302, 304, fig. 49; Dufrenne,

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It is a huge volume (40.2 × 31.3 cm) with 493 folios, containing the 12 Minor and four Major Prophets with catena. Only 11 of the full-page author portraits facing the beginning of the relevant chapter remain. Although the other five portraits are lost, it can be assumed that the manuscript once had portraits of all 16 authors.

The illustration is on a single leaf of parchment which is independent of the text quires. Lowden observes that the portraits are contemporary with the production of the book, since the text on the scroll that the portrait of Haggai holds was written by the same scribe who wrote the text of the manuscript.[4] The prophets are depicted within a frame standing, holding an open or closed scroll in their left hand and most of the times raising the right hand in a speech gesture. Their poses vary.

The Turin and Florence Manuscripts[5]

The codex Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, B. I. 2, containing the Minor Prophets and the codex *Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Laur. Plut. 5.9, containing the Major Prophets were companion volumes produced in the late 10th century. The manuscripts provide no clue to the early history, provenance and ownership. Their present dimensions (Turin: 33.8 × 29.5 cm, and Florence: 35.5 × 27.5 cm) are similar. The Turin manuscript contains only 93 folios, whereas the Florence manuscript contains 339 folios. The scheme of their decoration is however different: the Turin manuscript is prefaced by an illuminated bifolio with busts of the 12 Minor Prophets,[6] whereas in the Florence manuscript, each of the four Major Prophets was originally prefaced by an author portrait. Only the standing portrait of Jeremiah has survived, considered to be a masterpiece of the so-called Macedonian Renaissance (Fig. 84).

"Problèmes des ateliers", pp. 453, 454, 461; Lowden, *Illuminated Prophet Books*, pp. 9-14, pls. I, III, figs. 1-14.

4 Lowden, *Illuminated Prophet Books*, p. 10, fig. 7.

5 On these manuscripts see Belting/Cavallo, *Die Bibel des Niketas*; Lowden, *Illuminated Prophet Books*, pp. 14-22, pls. V, VII, figs. 15-20, 22-31; Bernabò, "*L'illustrazione del Vecchio Testamento*", pp. 143-77; Brown, *Bibles Before the Year 1000*, pp. 234-5, 305-6; Lowden, "*An Alternative Interpretation*", pp. 559-74. On the problematic subscription on fol. 93v of the Turin manuscript, mentioning Justinian the Great, Belisarius and the year 5027, see Lowden, *Illuminated Prophet Books,* p. 18.

6 Belting/Cavallo, *Die Bibel des Niketas*, pls. 7-8; Lowden, *Illuminated Prophet Books*, pl. V.

As suggested by Belting and Cavallo, and approved by Lowden, the Turin manuscript was once intended to preface the volume now in Copenhagen (Royal Library, GKS 6 2°), containing the Wisdom Books (Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Wisdom of Solomon, Psalms of Solomon, and Sirach).[7] Their observation is based on the fact that the methods of numbering as well as the ruling patterns of both manuscripts are the same. The Copenhagen manuscript begins with a quire numbered 11, while the Turin manuscript has ten quires numbered from one to ten. The two manuscripts comprised thus the Minor Prophets of the Turin manuscript and the Wisdom Books of the Copenhagen manuscript in one volume. The claim of Belting and Cavallo, that also the Florence codex once formed part of the same edition, the "Niketas bible" (named after the commissioner Niketas mentioned in an epigram in the Florence manuscript on fol. 3v), was challenged by Lowden.[8]

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 755[9]

This 11th-century manuscript was already in the Vatican by 1455. It contains only the text of Isaiah, with its prefaces and catena. Its present dimensions are 36.5 × 28 cm, with 226 numbered leaves. It is complete in its present state, rather than originally being part of a certain volume. The illustration consists of three full-page miniatures, all on single leaves of parchment.

The first miniature (fol. 1r) shows a frontally standing portrait of Isaiah flanked by four medallions of busts of four church fathers, Basil of Caesarea, Theodoret of Cyrus, Cyril of Alexandria and Theodore of Heraclea. Lowden suggests that the choice of these church fathers was made simply on the basis of the first names on the first page of the catena.[10] The second miniature (fol. 107r) shows the prophet Isaiah between personifications of Night and Dawn (Fig. 85), a literal interpretation of Isaiah 26:9. Lowden argues that the Paris Psalter (*Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 139, 10th century), was the most suitable model and was perhaps consulted by the artist of Vat. gr. 755.[11] The third miniature in Vat. gr. 755, the Martyrdom of Isaiah, was bound in at

7 Lowden, *Illuminated Prophet Books*, p. 15.

8 Lowden, "An Alternative Interpretation". On this hypothesis, see also chapter 10 in this volume.

9 On this codex, see Bernabò, "Lo studio", p. 263; *The Dead Sea scrolls*, p. 63; Dufrenne, "Problèmes des ateliers", pp. 453, 454, 461; Lowden, *Illuminated Prophet Books*, pp. 22-5, pl. VI, figs. 32-7.

10 Ibid., p. 66, fig. 32.

11 Ibid., p. 67.

the very end of the book (fol. 225r, Fig. 87).[12] Isaiah is being sawn in half by two executioners who are holding a massive frame-saw over his head. Although the iconography of the Martyrdom of Isaiah in Vat.gr. 755 is similar to that in *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 510,[13] containing the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus, Lowden infers that it would be unlikely that *Par. gr. 510 was the direct source.[14] Making a comparison between two Isaiah miniatures in the *Vat. Chig. R. VIII. 54 and Vat. gr. 755, Lowden suggests that it is likely that the artist of Vat. gr. 755 consulted the Chisianus. Judging from the three miniatures of the Isaiah cycle of the Vatican manuscript (the author portrait, the personifications of Night and Dawn, and the martyrdom), we can assume that the maker of Vat. gr. 755 had the intention to produce a special Isaiah manuscript.[15]

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud.gr. 30[16]

This manuscript was donated to the Bodleian by Archbishop William Laud in 1640. It is composed of three parts, now bound in a single volume. Part I, the Wisdom Books (Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs and Job), has two miniatures of Job. Part II is the illuminated manuscript of the 16 prophets. Part III is a fragment of the life of Saint Mary of Egypt written in the 16th century. Whereas the Wisdom Books are written in a single column of 40 lines by a 12th-century hand, the Prophet Books are written in two columns of 31 lines. Since the quires of the Prophet Books (now Part II) are numbered from one upwards, it can be said that they were originally independent of the Wisdom Books.

In addition to the usual portraits of the prophets, this manuscript has three extra miniatures: one is inserted in the Lamentation of Jeremiah, depicting an old bearded man identified as Jeremiah (fol. 334r),[17] while the other two are found in the book of Daniel. The first miniature for Daniel shows an orant Daniel between two lions (fol. 395v),[18] whereas the second one (fol. 397r) shows the four beasts of Daniel's vision, a literal illustration of Daniel 7:4-7.

12 Ibid., fig. 37.

13 Brubaker, *Vision and meaning*, fig. 35, pp. 260-1. On this manuscript see also chapter 24 in this volume.

14 Lowden, *Illuminated Prophet Books,* p. 68.

15 Ibid., p. 69.

16 On this codex, see ibid., pp. 25-6, figs. 38-54; see also Ceulemans, "Nouveaux témoins", pp. 605, 610; Kominko, *The World of Kosmas,* p. 171.

17 Ibid., fig. 51.

18 Ibid., fig. 53.

The pages are without catena, and the system of illustration differs from that in the other Prophet Books described above (*Vat. Chig. R. VIII. 54, the Turin and Florence manuscripts, Vat. gr. 755) in which full-page miniatures are supplied. The scribe of the Laudian manuscript, on the contrary, left a space in the text columns at the start of the new book and the artist supplied the portraits of the prophets. The prophets are all standing in front of a landscape background. Some of them appear to be striding or running in lively poses.

The miniatures are in poor condition and have been extensively overpainted. Because of heavy restoration, the dating of the manuscript owes much to the evidence of the script. The features of the script indicate a date in the second half of the 12th or early 13th century.

Oxford, New College, cod. 44[19]

This manuscript contains I-IV Maccabees and an excerpt from the *Antiquities* of Flavius Josephus in addition to the text of the Minor and Major Prophets. The manuscript does not have any information of its provenance and ownership. Although it is undated, Lowden suggests that it fits well with the book production in the late 12th or early 13th centuries.[20] The illustrations to the manuscript are found only in the Prophets. Like the Laudianus, the New College manuscript was illustrated by framed portraits in spaces left by the scribe in the text at the start of each book. In addition to the 16 portraits of the Major and the Minor prophets, there are: a portrait of Hezekiah marking the start of his Canticle (Isa 38:9; fol. 54v); a portrait of Baruch next to the beginning of his book, and another one of the same author, incorrectly placed at the start of Lamentation (fols. 102v, 106r); a second portrait of Jeremiah at the start of his Prayer (fol. 108v; Fig. 86); and a portrait of Susannah at the start of her account (fol. 158r). In most of the miniatures the figures are depicted in bust form holding a scroll and making a speech gesture.

As Lowden shows, codicological features imply that New College 44 and three more manuscripts (Athens, National Library of Greece, cod. 44, containing the Old Testament; Istanbul, Topkapı Saray Müzesi Kütüphanesi, cod. 13, containing a Commentary on the Psalter; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. E. 2.16, containing the Wisdom Books) were produced in the same workshop

19 On this manuscript, see Lowden, *Illuminated Prophet Books,* pp. 26-32, figs. 55-74; see also Kavrus-Hoffmann, "Catalogue. Part v.3", p. 66; Canart, "Les écritures livresques", p. 40.

20 Lowden, *Illuminated Prophet Books,* p. 28.

probably at the end of the 12th or the beginning of the 13th century.[21] Possibly they made up the Old Testament in a companion set of volumes.[22]

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1153 and Vat. gr. 1154[23]

This is the most recent of the surviving Prophet Books, dating from the 13th century. There are no notes in Vat. gr. 1153 and 1154 to reveal its early history or the date or provenance. It is now bound as two enormous volumes. Its text comprises the Minor and Major Prophets with catena. Vat. gr. 1153 has 340 folios, measuring 50.8 × 37.7 cm, while Vat. gr. 1154 has 127 folios, trimmed to 49.5 × 35.5 cm. The portraits of prophets were painted to occupy full pages. The order of the Major Prophets, Isaiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, Jeremiah, is unusual because Jeremiah has been put in the fourth place, instead of following Isaiah. Lowden argues that the artist mistakenly painted a portrait of Ezekiel where that of Jeremiah should have been painted, and the scribe decided to change the order of books so that the right portrait (that of Ezekiel) could preface the text of Ezekiel.[24]

Turning to the portraits of the prophets, some peculiar features are noticeable. The foreground in all the miniatures consists of two or three strips of ground, decorated with naturalistic plants. The background to the miniatures, painted in blue, is also conspicuous since other Prophet Books used gold for the background. Ezekiel holds a codex instead of a scroll. Since a codex is an attribute of an evangelist or apostle, it is inappropriate for a prophet. Lowden assumes that the reason for these peculiarities is that the miniatures might be the work of a fresco painter, who travelled widely and was familiar with monumental works outside Constantinople (such as Serbia, Macedonia, Epirus and Venice).[25]

The style of the miniatures and scripts suggests the approximate dating of each manuscript: around the mid-10th century for the Chisianus, around the late 10th century for the Turin and Florence manuscripts, the first half of the

21 Ibid., p. 28.

22 Ibid., p. 31.

23 On these manuscripts, see Evangelatou, "Sacra Parallela", p. 114; Nelson, "A Thirteenth-Century Byzantine miniature", p. 218, fig. 7; Lowden, "The Transmission of 'Visual Knowledge'", p. 70; Nelson, "The Italian Appreciation", p. 229; Lowden, *Illuminated Prophet Books,* pp. 32-8, pls. II, IV, VIII, figs. 76-89.

24 Ibid., p. 32.

25 Ibid., p. 37.

11th century for Vat. gr. 755, the late 12th or very beginning of the 13th century for Laud. gr. 30 and New College 44, and the mid-13th century for Vat. gr. 1153. Although the miniatures in the four earlier manuscripts are separate from the main gatherings of the text, they are contemporary with the text.[26]

The content of the text varies from a single prophet book to all 16, with or without catena, but the illustrations chosen were of the simplest system, the author portraits. Only in special cases were a few supplementary illustrations supplied, being either further portraits or narrative scenes.[27] A specific pattern for describing the individual in the Bible was set as a norm and followed by artists, but in the case of the prophet portrait, the traditional form was rather loose. Certain figures are sufficiently popular to have a standard type (Daniel, Isaiah and Jonah), but for the less common figures, the artists exchanged portrait types among the prophets.[28]

To paint a standing figure, an artist did not need a specific model. Even when a model was provided, an artist did not necessarily feel obliged to copy it. For a complex narrative scene (the Martyrdom of Isaiah, Isaiah between the Night and Dawn) on the other hand, an artist carefully consulted a model to make a conscious imitation. As a result, illustrations that closely resemble each other are found in contemporary or earlier manuscripts.[29]

The illustrated Octateuchs are iconographically closely related to each other within their group, unlike the group of the Prophet Books.[30] Therefore an explanation must be given as to why such variety emerged, when we look at the overall pattern of the illustrations in the Prophet Books. In each case, we need to clarify the difference, and ask questions as to why such variety emerged, and what meaning the artists were trying to convey to the viewer.

At first glance, the illustrations of the Prophet Books are rather unambitious, since most of them are portraits of the prophets that appear more or less the same. This feature reminds us of the Evangelist portraits that preface each Gospel Book. Although each Evangelist (Matthew, Mark, Luke and John) has his own iconographical features, the overall appearance of the Evangelists in any illustrated Gospel Books is similar: each is seated in his study and engaged in writing. However, once one looks at the Evangelist portraits carefully, one might be able to recognize some individualities that appear only in a single manuscript.

26 Ibid., p. 83.
27 Ibid., p. 87.
28 Ibid., p. 90.
29 Ibid.
30 Ibid., p. 91.

Similarly, we can observe some different types among the illustrations of the Prophet Books, although they all depict prophet portraits. In the *Vat. Chig. R. VIII. 54, the prophets are standing in front of the gold background. Amos, for example, in this manuscript is standing in a frontal view, in a position of contraposto (fol. 25v). The background is all gilt, and there is no depiction of ground under his feet, or walls behind him. Although Vat. gr. 1153 depicts standing prophets resembling those in the *Vat. Chig. R. VIII. 54, here the background is not gilt, but painted blue. The prophets are standing on the grassy ground. Small flowers bloom over the ground, and it seems that the prophets are standing on a flowery field in spring. The soil appears undulating, like small waves. Together with the blue background that implies the blue sky, the illustrations of the prophets in Vat. gr. 1153 clearly convey that the prophets are standing outside. In the upper right corner appears the right hand of God, which is another difference from the illustrations in *Vat. Chig. R. VIII. 54.

The third type also shows an outdoor scene: it exaggerates the wavy ground of Vat. gr. 1153 further to make a hilly background (Laud. gr. 30, fols. 257v and 261r: Habakkuk and Zephaniah). While the portraits of Vat. gr. 1153 are full-page miniatures, independent from the text, the space of the prophet's portrait in Laud. gr. 30 is located within the text column. As a result, the shape of the miniatures is oblong: the height is shorter than the width. Inside this frame, the artist had to fill larger spaces on the left and the right sides of the prophet, and he introduced rocky hills on either side, so as not to leave blank spaces. A tree or two grow behind the rocks. Surrounded by cliff-like massive rocks, it seems that the prophet is standing deep in the mountains, and that might remind us of a hermit. Another point to notice is the position of the feet of the prophets. In the previous two manuscripts (the *Vat. Chig. R. VIII. 54 and Vat. gr. 1153), the prophets are standing, often in contraposto, with their feet only slightly apart (compare Fig. 84). On the other hand, the prophets here are striding, with their feet wide apart.[31] It seems that the prophet is in haste, heading towards the mountain. Movement is emphasized here, in contrast to the stillness that we observed in the portraits of the Chisianus and Vat. gr. 1153.

The last type is the bust of the prophets. The busts are located either in the medallions in the two facing full-page miniatures (Turin, B. I. 2) or in the square frames within the text columns (New College 44) (Fig. 86).

Although we have observed some differences among the illustrated Prophet Books, they might not be considered as conspicuous because all of the books depict portraits of the prophets and the variations are slight. However, it seems that each case carries a somewhat different connotation. Our task here

31 E.g., fol. 275r: Malachi; Lowden, *Iluminated Prophet Books,* fig. 49.

is, therefore, to try to understand the message each variation might give us, assuming that such differences are intentional and meaningful.

Let us start with the portrait of Micah in *Vat. Chig. R. VIII. 54 (fol. 41v).[32] Among the other portraits of this manuscript, most of which take a frontal view that conveys stillness rather than movement, the portrait of Micah seems rather peculiar. He is striding in from the right, pointing to the upper right corner, but at the same time, he is looking back over his shoulder. His head is turned almost 180 degrees, thus making the connection between his head and back rather awkward. Micah looks unusual compared to the other prophets in the Chisi manuscript, but we may think of the back of Gabriel in the Annunciation icon in Sinai.[33] Micah's unnatural body depicted from behind is similar to that of Gabriel.

Another similarity is found in the illustration of Isaiah with Night and Dawn in Vat. gr. 755 (Fig. 85). The personification of Dawn strides in, going towards the right, looking backwards rather unnaturally, leading Isaiah who is standing behind the personification. The Dawn looks back as if he is confirming that Isaiah is following him closely. The illustration is based on Isaiah 26:9: "With my soul I have desired You in the night, Yes, by my spirit within me I will seek You early".

The personification of Dawn leads Isaiah so that his soul does not lose the way towards God. Turning backwards, Micah seems as if he is looking back at his followers (who are not depicted, though) as the Dawn looks back at Isaiah. In other words, Micah in the Chisi manuscript seems to show his followers the direction towards God. The scroll held in his left hand (Mic 1: 2) is turned to face his followers. If they follow closely, Micah will lead them to God, their true destination.

The outdoor landscape of Vat. gr. 1153 seems to provide a different visual effect in comparison with the gold background of the Chisi manuscript. The portrait of the outdoor prophet creates a striking contrast to the portrait of the Evangelist who is almost always represented as a seated figure in his study. Whereas the Evangelist is the follower of Christ, the prophet precedes the incarnation of Christ: he is the one who goes ahead to prepare the way for the advent of Christ.

John the Baptist is a figure in the Gospel Books and not an author of a Prophet Book. However, his epithet, the Prodromos (in Greek) means the precursor, and it is clear that he bears the role as a prophet. As John the Baptist laid the way for Christ, the prophets in the Old Testament may be regarded as

32 Ibid., fig. 4.

33 Nelson/Collins, *Holy Image*, p. 153, no. 13.

precursors. They literally wander around the wilderness: "And he (the prophet Elijah) himself went a day's journey in the wilderness" (1 Kings 19:4).

Looking at the grassy ground under the feet of the prophet, the viewer might turn his/her thoughts towards the function of the prophet as a precursor. In Vat. gr. 1153, they stand *outside* to prepare the way through, rather than staying *inside* (like the Evangelist) or standing in front of a gold background (like the Chisi prophets). Thus the illustrations with the green ground might have some different connotations that the illustration with the gold background does not imply.

Now we shall turn to the illustrations of the Bodleian Prophet Book in which the mountainous landscape is much more exaggerated in comparison to the modest depiction of greenish lands under the feet of the prophet in Vat. gr. 1153. In order to fill the larger blank spaces on either side of the prophet, the artist inserted rocky mountains, often as high as the height of the prophet. The figures are standing outside, as is found in Vat. gr. 1153, but the connotation here of the peculiar landscape seems to be somewhat different. The rocky hills are depicted as if they are coming closer and closer to the prophet in the centre, overhanging from both sides. In other words, the prophet is wrapped in the heart of the mountains, which reminds us of the text of Jeremiah 4:24: "I beheld the mountains, and indeed they trembled. And all the hills moved back and forth". The ground under the feet of the prophet may be trembling and twisted: "the earth has quaked and been troubled" (Jer 44:29).[34]

Surrounded by the mountains, the prophet might hear the voice from the mountains: "A voice was heard on the desolate heights" (Jer 3:21). The rough rocks seem as if they are roaring, confronting the prophet to keep him from proceeding. The prophet is depicted right in the middle of the mountains which might bend the path in front of him. Such a visual effect cannot be conveyed by a flowery field in Vat. gr. 1153, although the prophet portrait set outdoors is similar.

The portraits with roaring mountains in the Oxford manuscript are followed by one last portrait: the orant Daniel. He is in the lion's den (Dan 5:23-29, 5:30-6:1), but the depiction of the den on either side of Daniel is more like the mountains that are found in the other portraits of the same manuscript. The illustration of the orant Daniel is followed by the last illustration of this manuscript, and these two can be regarded as a (very short) Daniel cycle. The second illustration represents four beasts that symbolize the four Empires (Babylon,

34 The order of chapters and verses in Jeremiah in the Septuagint is partly different from that of the Hebrew Bible.

Media, Persia and Alexandria) in two registers.[35] The images of the beasts in the upper and lower right have flaked off and are hardly visible, but they are depicted from the lateral view, facing towards the center. They seem to duplicate the two lions at the feet of Daniel in the previous miniature.

How are the two miniatures of the Daniel cycle related to the other portraits of the prophets inside the mountains in the Oxford manuscript? As Daniel tells us (Dan 2:29, 7:4-7), the four kingdoms of gold, bronze, iron and clay signify the four Empires. They will be destroyed by the stone cut from the mountain not by the human hands, and it is said that the stone symbolizes Christ (Dan 2:45)[36]. The prophets between the mountains are to cleave the path through to prepare the way, and from the mountains, the stone (Christ) is to roll down and defeat the corrupted kingdoms. It may thus be interpreted that the prophets deep in the mountains, together with Daniel in the den and the four beasts, all create a consistent, story-like message. The mountains here seem to allude to the nature of prophecy as well as the place from which the stone cut not by human hands (Christ) appears.

Finally, the narrative cycle of Isaiah in Vat. gr. 755 is noteworthy. The cycle consists of only three scenes: the standing figure of Isaiah with four medallions of church fathers, Isaiah and the personifications of Night and Dawn (Fig. 85), and the martyrdom of Isaiah (Fig. 87). Why were these three scenes chosen to construct the Isaiah cycle? How does each scene link to the others so as to create meaningful links between the three? What is the significance that the cycle as a whole conveys to the viewer?

The prophet is the one who straightens the path for the people who follow God (Isa 26:7), striding in the right direction. The word "straight" may be a clue to understanding the Isaiah cycle in this manuscript. Turning to the personifications of Night and Dawn, it is natural to read the illustration as a literal representation of Isaiah's soul based on the biblical text (Isa 26:9). One thing to notice is that the word "dawn" in Greek, *orthros*, sounds similar to the word "straight" in Greek, *orthos*. The soul of Isaiah is following the personification of Dawn (*orthros*)[37], and this may allude to the straight (*orthos*)[38] way as well; "The way of the godly is made straight: the way of the godly is also prepared"

35 Lowden, *Iluminated Prophet Books,* fig.54.

36 Corrigan, *Visual Polemics*, p. 38; St. John of Damascus, *Homilies on the Theotokos,* ed./trans. P. Voulet, pp. 61, 115.

37 Frisk, *Wörterbuch*, vol. 2, p. 416.

38 Ibid., vol. 2, p. 415. The straight (orthos) way leads to Orthodoxy, whereas the dawn (orthos) links to the sunrise (ortus in Latin). The straight way towards the east thus indicates the Advent of Christ identified with the sunrise.

(Isa 26:7). Even though their way may be hedged and bent, they made it right and straight as is stated in the Book of Isaiah: "Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight the paths to our God … and the crooked ways shall become straight, and the rough places plains. And the glory of God shall appear …." (Isa 40:3-4). We could assume that the personification of Dawn may not only convey the dawning, but may also imply the adjective that defines the way that the prophet proceeds. Although *euthus* is used rather than *orthos* (both words mean straight in Greek) in the Book of Isaiah, the latter is used several times elsewhere in the Old and the New Testaments (Jer 31:9/38:9 in the Septuagint; Gal 2:14; Heb 12:13). Thus the visual association between the dawn and straightness in the illustration may be plausible.

The choice of the third (and the last) scene of the Isaiah cycle seems reasonable, for it concludes the cycle with the death of the prophet (Fig. 87). Moreover, the final scene is carefully chosen to create connections between the three scenes of the Isaiah cycle. Since the word "martyr" means "witness" in Greek[39], the scene not only represents the execution of Isaiah, but also testifies that the prophet is the witness. In the previous illustration with the personifications of Night and Dawn, the soul of Isaiah is seeking God. In the present and the last illustration, he finds God whom he has sought for. Being martyred by the executioners, the prophet became the witness of God at this very moment. To sum up, the Isaiah cycle describes the prophet who strode straight, seeking God, and who became a witness of God. Thus the three scenes in the Isaiah cycle create an integral, coherent message to the viewer.

At first glance, the illustrations of the Prophet Books appear to be banal and uninteresting, repeating the portrait of the prophets rather automatically. However, the differences found in each manuscript seem to give us some clues to understanding the unique connotations in each case. The surviving illustrations reveal ideas behind their productions that seem quite different from one another.

39 Frisk, *Wörterbuch*, vol. 2, p. 178.

The New Testament

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CHAPTER 17

New Testament Imagery

Annemarie Weyl Carr

> At this point I realize that what I am propounding
> is that there is no such thing as a manuscript of the New Testament.
> The New Testament is not a work but a collection of works.[1]

∴

In Byzantine manuscripts, New Testament imagery figures largely in books of the Gospels. Even events narrated in Acts, like the Ascension and Pentecost, characteristically illuminate the pages of Gospel books. This portion of the chapter pauses before turning to the Gospels to ask about the New Testament itself as an illuminated book.[2] It swiftly yields a surprise: of the over 5,800 surviving Byzantine books with New Testament content, only 59 embrace the whole of what we recognize as the New Testament canon.[3] Very few of these ever received figural illumination. Far more common were volumes with the Gospels, Acts, and epistles – the seven Catholic epistles of James, Peter, John and Jude, and the 14 of Paul – without the Book of Revelation. These are what scholars identify as New Testaments in Byzantium. Though recognized as canonical, the Book of Revelation had been accepted too slowly to be integrated into the liturgy.[4] Readings from the Gospels on the one hand, the Acts and epistles on the other, were required in every liturgy; as a non-liturgical book, the Revelation remained outside the realm of living Scripture, and led its own textual life. With this, we meet a key feature of Byzantine sensibility: liturgy was more critical than canon in shaping the New Testament as a book.

1 Parker, *Textual Scholarship*, p. 63.

2 On Greek New Testament manuscripts, see ibid. On the Byzantine New Testament canon, see Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament*, esp. pp. 209-17; id./Ehrman, *The Text of the New Testament,* pp. 52-94, esp. pp. 82-94 on minuscule manuscripts. For the comprehensive listing of known Greek New Testament manuscripts see Aland, *Kurzgefasste Liste*, consistently updated at <http://www.egora.uni-muenster.de/intf/> (last consulted 9 ii 2014).

3 Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament,* p. 217.

4 Ibid., pp. 211-7; Schmid, *Studien,* esp. pp. 31-43.

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More customary than the trilogy of Gospels, Acts and epistles was the so-called Praxapostolos or the Book of the Apostles, containing Acts and the 21 Catholic and Pauline epistles, though Paul's epistles sometimes commanded a codex of their own. The Praxapostolos is of convenient size and echoes liturgical usage. In a few cases we can still pair a surviving volume of the Gospels with a surviving Praxapostolos, but we don't know how customary such a pairing was.[5] Like the Gospel Lectionary, the Praxapostolos was sometimes transcribed not as a running text but lection by lection in the order of the liturgical year in a volume known as the Apostolos, for use in services.[6] The apostolic readings were more sequential than those of the Gospels, however, making a separate liturgical volume less necessary,[7] and the Praxapostolos was often simply outfitted with a prefatory list of lections, their beginnings and endings marked in the text. Since individual readers referred to the liturgical sequence in their own devotions, many of the manuscripts include this equipment, and it is not always easy to know whether a book was made for service use or not. The best indicator is probably script, and it is notable how many of the most sumptuously adorned New Testament texts are little books, transcribed in tiny, fluent scripts better suited to individual than to public reading.

Along with lection lists, the New Testament manuscripts often included any of four further kinds of text. The first and most frequent are prefatory texts: the introductions or "hypotheses" placed before each book, often attributed to St Luke, and the narration of the life, travels, and martyrdom of St Paul by Euthalios, usually inserted before Paul's first epistle, to the Romans.[8] These texts were standard equipment and usually received ornamental headbands and initials like those of the scriptural texts. Second, the additional text might come from Scripture itself: as we will see, the Psalter came to be added to New Testament volumes, forming a one-volume devotional compendium. Third,

5 Saint Petersburg, National Library of Russia, gr. 101 retains its two volumes; Nelson, "The Manuscripts of Antonios Malakes", p. 239, showed that the same was true of Athens, Benaki Museum, Benaki 68 [Vitr. 34.3] and Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Library, MS 34; successive signatures from 1109-1011 attest the progress of scribe Andrew of Olene through Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vind. suppl. gr. 164 and *London, British Library, Add. 28816 (Marava-Chatzinicolaou/Toufexi-Paschou, *Catalogue,* pp. 127, 135); Saint Petersburg, National Library of Russia, gr. 220 was originally paired with Sinai, St. Catherine's Monastery, Sin. gr. 283 (Weitzmann/Galavaris, *Sinai,* cat. no. 8, pp. 24-8).

6 Though see Gregory, *Textkritik,* 1: pp. 333-4 on the history and variable nomenclature of such books.

7 Ibid., p. 334; for his reconstruction of the annual cycle of readings, see ibid., pp. 343-64.

8 For the more widely used of these texts' many variants, and their authorship, see Soden, *Die Schriften,* pp. 327-34 on the prefaces and pp. 637-56 on the elusive figure of Euthalios.

theological texts might join the scriptural ones, especially the commentaries on the apostolic texts by fathers like Gregory of Nazianzus and John Chrysostom. And finally, the Book of Revelation was sometimes appended to the Praxapostolos as a quasi-independent caboose, embedded in commentary. Thus what are called Byzantine New Testament manuscripts are far from containing the running text of the 27 books we think of as "the New Testament". They are variably selected compendia, with or without liturgical equipment, often enhanced with further texts, both scriptural and non-scriptural, and variably ordered: the Gospels may precede or succeed the apostolic books, the Catholic Epistles may precede or succeed those of Paul, and the Psalter, if included, may come at the beginning or at the end. The Book of Revelation is rarely present. These variables all affect the illumination.

Unlike the Gospel Lectionary, the Apostolos was not elevated during services and so was less conspicuously conceived, adorned – if at all – with headbands or enlarged initials to guide the reader's eye to the opening of each lection.[9] Figural illumination is almost entirely confined to the books with running text, and even here, it is used with moderation. Only one surviving Byzantine manuscript, the late 12th-century *Chicago, University of Chicago Library, Ms. 965 (Fig. 88), contains a cycle of narrative miniatures in Acts.[10] It follows a copious cycle of narrative scenes in the Gospels and was clearly designed as a sequel to it,[11] but its vignettes are so readily seen as excerpts from cycles of saints' lives, in monumental or manuscript art, that it is hard to judge whether it exemplifies a now-lost tradition of Acts illumination, or was specially compiled for this book. Its nearest comparandum, the grid of four vignettes of SS. Peter, Paul, Stephen, and James at the opening of *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 102 of the 12th century, is equally readily understood as a compendium of hagiographic scenes,[12] and the miniature with St. Paul's conversion and martyrdom in a volume of Pauline epistles copied in 1107 stands at the opening of Euthalios' description of Paul's life, and is more readily understood as accompanying the life than as illustrating Paul's not especially biographical epistles.[13] Thus Byzantium yields only scant and fragile evidence of a narrative imagery for the New Testament books. Far more

9 See for example Athens, National Library of Greece, cod. 2551 of the 12th century: Marava-Chatzinicolaou/Toufexi-Paschou, *Catalogue,* cat. no. 60, pp. 222-3, figs. 620-9.

10 Carr, *Byzantine Illumination, 1150-1250,* cat. no. 38, pp. 218-20, fiches 3G5-4A8; Carr, "Chicago 2400", pp. 1-29.

11 Carr, "The Cycle", p. 254. See Maxwell below on the manuscript's Gospel cycle.

12 Kessler, "Paris, gr. 102", pp. 211-6.

13 Buchthal, "Some Representations". The book, *olim* Phillipps 7681, is owned by the Robinson Trust in London.

truly, Byzantine New Testament illumination stands out for its inventive deployment of the author portrait.

The seated Evangelist at work with scribal equipment had been the staple form of figural illumination in the Gospels, and the earliest illuminated New Testament manuscripts – all minuscule volumes from the 10th century – echo this kind of image, placing an apostle amid scribal paraphernalia at the opening of Acts and each ensuing author's first epistle. Especially beautiful are *London, British Library, Add. 28815 and *Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. gr. 110[14]. Already here, however, one sees an effort to differentiate the apostolic author from the Evangelist. St. Luke in London does not sit, but stands irradiated by the hand of God before a table of scrolls,[15] and the authors in Oxford pause in their work, as if looking up from their texts to the audiences their epistles address. Even more striking is the miniature of St. James in *Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 524 (Fig. 89), for though he sits with a book open on his lap, he is not writing; he is preaching to a listening crowd, thus melding portrait and performance.[16] The interest in blending the author portrait with elements of narrative activity gave New Testament illumination its distinctive character within Byzantine manuscript art.

The early author portraits are framed, full-page images, aesthetically distinct from the scribal ornament adorning the text on the facing page. Over the ensuing decades, text and image, figure and ornament were drawn more intimately together, culminating in the late 11th and early 12th century in the gemlike "style mignon", which was as decorative as it was figural and was diffused throughout the written pages. Though texts of many kinds were adorned in this way, the New Testament assumes special visibility, for new kinds of New Testament book emerged. They are heralded by Moscow, Moskovskij Gosudarstvennyj Universitet, gr. 2 [Inv. 2280], a tiny Praxapostolos completed in 1072 for the emperor Michael VII (r. 1072-78) by the imperial notary Michael Panerges, who then added the Book of Revelation without surrounding commentary at the end.[17] Too small for any but personal use, the volume twinkles

14 For *Canon. gr. 110 in Oxford see Hutter, *Corpus,* vol. 5.1, pp. 3-8, colour pl. II, figs. 11-2, 15, 18-20; Weitzmann, *Buchmalerei des IX. und X. Jahrhunderts,* 1: pls. XIV-XV, figs. 71-7; 2: 26. For *Add. 28815 in London, see Ibid., 1: pl. XXV, figs. 136-9; 2: 29. *London, British Library, Egerton 3145, acquired in 1939, contains the final epistles of Paul from *Add. 28815.

15 In colour in Buckton, *Byzantium*, p. 138.

16 Weitzmann, "An Illustrated Greek New Testament", fig. 16. On the book, of which only the Four Gospels survive, see most recently Parpulov, "A Catalogue", pp. 93-6.

17 Dobrynina, *The Greek Illuminated Praxapostolos*, in Russian with English summaries and superb illustrations; Spatharakis, *Corpus,* 1: cat. no. 92, pp. 29-30, 2: figs. 166-8; Alpatov, "Un nuovo monumento", pp. 101-8. On the Revelation as an addition by the scribe see

with gold and colour throughout. The surviving 11 gold-ground miniatures of writing apostles and seven foliage headpieces spangle the written pages at the opening of the successive texts; just below them lively initial letters display the same apostles in busy interaction with disciples, co-authors, and audiences. Author portrait on the one hand, narrative ministry on the other, finds each its effective place. As if to underscore the theme of ministry, James assumes his bishop's robes. Freed of commentary, the Revelation joins the other texts, prefaced with its own author portrait of John on Patmos; an altogether exceptional double frontispiece of Paradise was added at the same time.[18] No earlier New Testament volume had been so richly illuminated. A similarly diminutive Praxapostolos and Apocalypse of 1092 in Florence received ornament throughout, but no figures.[19] The impetus to figural ornament found other receptive vehicles, though.

The most prolific of these was the pocket-sized New Testament and Psalter (without Revelation), of which the first dated example is *Washington, D.C, Dumbarton Oaks, MS 3 of *c.*1084.[20] Its Praxapostolos takes up the novel pattern of Moscow, gr. 2, with miniatures, ornament and initials complementing one another throughout the text. In its miniatures, the apostolic authors present inscribed scrolls or engage with colleagues – in Paul's case, with Thekla, while the initials show them in direct engagement with Christ.[21] The hypotheses open with initials of St Luke, his pen poised on the adjacent letter as if literally writing the words.[22]

Some five further small illuminated New Testament and Psalter manuscripts survive from the same late 11th-/early 12th-century period. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1210, like Dumbarton Oaks 3, places the Psalter first, suggesting its priority as a devotional tool, but the others place it

Dobrynina, *The Greek Illuminated Praxapostolos*, p. 70. The manuscript measures just 112 × 75 mm (4 ½ × 3 ¼ inches).

18 On the debated relation of the once double-page miniature of Paradise to the book, see Dobrynina, *The Greek Illuminated Praxapostolos*, pp. 70, 114, 150.

19 *Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Laur. Plut. 4.32; see Spatharakis, *Corpus*, 1: cat. no. 111, p. 36; 2: fig. 209. The book measures 125 × 90 mm, barely larger than the Moscow Praxapostolos; it contains 14 pi-shaped or rectangular headpieces.

20 Der Nersessian, "A Psalter and New Testament", pp. 153-83; the date is suggested by Easter tables in the book. It measures 162 × 109 mm (6 ½ × 4 $^{3}/_{4}$ inches).

21 Ibid., figs. 32 (Luke), 35 (Peter, now in the Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio), 41 (Jude), and 42 (Paul). On the identification of Thekla, see p. 178-9.

22 Ibid., fig. 34.

at the end, giving the New Testament pre-eminence.[23] In only two does the figural illumination extend into the Praxapostolos, reticently in Athos, Vatopedi Monastery, cod. 762, where Peter and Paul joined the Evangelists in two registers of three standing figures each on a single, now detached page,[24] but more exuberantly in Athos, Pantokrator Monastery, cod. 234. This small but imposing volume places not only the Praxapostolos but a thick corpus of theological texts between the Gospels and Psalter, illuminating them all with animated little framed author portraits.[25] James and Jude both don their episcopal vestments, leading J. Anderson to suppose a learned bishop as the patron.[26]

Larger-scale codices containing just the Praxapostolos also reflect the new elaboration of formats and imagery. Thus *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. suppl. gr. 1262 of 1101 opens Acts with an ornate headpiece containing the scene of Christ's mission to his apostles, both illustrating the opening of Acts and proclaiming the *raison d'etre* of the ensuing corpus of epistles;[27] foliate headbands with a bust of the author then open each epistle. By contrast, Saint Petersburg, gr. 101 and *Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 533, both of the 12th century, emphasize speech. Gr. 101 opens each author's first epistle with a frontal portrait standing, with right hand raised and inscribed scroll unfurled, beneath an ornate arched frame;[28] *W. 533 punctuates each text with a small, rectangular miniature containing the standing author or – when the epistle includes more than one name – the author and these associates.[29] Their sober stance, often turned to the text beside them, led J. Anderson to see in them models for the liturgical reader, and he proposed the manuscript's use as an Apostolos.[30]

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23 Along with the three mentioned, they include a diminutive codex in the Treasury of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate in Jerusalem, and the beautiful Athos, Great Lavra, cod. A 13.

24 On the manuscript, see Pelekanidis, *The Treasures of Mount Athos,* vol. 4, pp. 295-9, figs. 216-25; on the detached leaf, now *Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 530c, see Parpulov, "A Catalogue", pp. 112-3, colour pl. p. 70 and online.

25 Pelekanidis, *The Treasures of Mount Athos*, vol. 3, pp. 283-7, figs. 245-57. Voluminous as its content is, the book has the same, pocketbook dimensions as Dumbarton Oaks 3.

26 For the miniatures, see Ibid., figs. 245 (Luke), 246 (Paul with Thekla), 247 (Paul in the garden), 249-50 (Peter and John), 248 and 251 (James and Jude). On the book's patronage, see Anderson, "The Walters Praxapostolos", p. 24.

27 Spatharakis, *Corpus,* 1: cat. no. 117, p, 37; 2: fig. 220.

28 Lazarev, *Storia*, pp. 282-1. The original, 12th-century illumination is still seen in the portrait of John <http://www.ica.princeton.edu/millet/display.php?country=Russia&site=276&view=site&page=3&image=2752> (last consulted 9 ii 2014). The others were overpainted – quite beautifully – in the 13th century.

29 See Parpulov, "A Catalogue", pp. 122-6; Anderson, "The Walters Praxapostolos", pp. 9-38; Der Nersessian, "The Praxapostolos", pp. 39-50.

30 Anderson, "The Walters Praxapostolos", pp. 26-32.

Variety distinguishes New Testament illumination. In contrast to the Gospels with their strongly ingrained patterns of illumination, the New Testament codices, with their varied assembly of texts and less frequent production, invited a freer choice of formats. As H. Buchthal pointed out,[31] this is illustrated with emphatic clarity by the three major manuscripts of the mid-12th century. These return once again to the monumentality of full-page miniatures. But their formats could not be more different, from each other, or the earlier 10th-century codices. The New Testament penned in 1133 by Theoktistos, recently returned to its original home as Dionysiou Monastery, cod. 8 on Mount Athos,[32] illuminates the Praxapostolos with a single, full-page grid of three by four rectangles, each with the bust of an apostle.[33] Not specific authors, but the apostolic community is invoked. The somewhat later Praxapostolos, Escorial, Real Biblioteca, Chi. IV. 17, in turn, reclaims the standing portrait, opening the codex not with one but with three imposing full-page paintings, each presenting two standing authors, side by side in a pattern traced by Weitzmann to the 8th and 9th centuries (Fig. 90).[34] Yet more sumptuous, finally, is the Codex Ebnerianus, *Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. T. inf. 1. 10[35] (Fig. 91). Its Evangelist portraits occupy richly ornamented arched frames which display in their tympana a feast icon associated with each Gospel. A similar format prefaces each author's first text in the Praxapostolos. Luke's portrait parallels those of the Evangelists, for the opening of Acts was read on the feast of the Ascension, and the Ascension fills the lunette of his frame.[36] Peter, John, and Paul, by contrast, are accompanied not by a feast icon but by a narrative event from their own lives.[37] James and Jude, finally, go farther, for they are themselves in narrative action, James preaching, and Jude in rapt prayer before the Hand of God.[38] Author portrait on the one hand, narrative activity on the other, are once again conjoined, with each other and with

31 On this point, see Buchthal, "A Greek New Testament", pp. 90-1.

32 Nelson, "Theoktistos and Associates", pp. 73-8. It had been acquired as part of the Ludwig Collection by the J.P. Getty Museum in Malibu, California, which retained its catalogue number as Ludwig II 4, but returned it to Mount Athos in 2014 when it was proved to have been stolen.

33 Spatharakis, *Corpus,* fig. 259.

34 Buchthal, "A Greek New Testament", pp. 85-98; they are grouped Luke and James (fig. 11), Peter and John (fig. 12), Jude and Paul (fig. 13). On the early paired standing author portrait, see Weitzmann, "An Early Copto-Arabic Miniature", pp. 119-34.

35 Nelson, "Codex Ebnerianus"; Hutter, *Corpus,* vol. 5.1, pp. 59-67; Meredith, "The Illustration of Codex Ebnerianus", pp. 419-24.

36 Hutter, *Corpus,* vol. 5.1, fig. 240.

37 Ibid., figs. 243 (Peter), 244 (Paul), and 246 (John).

38 Ibid., fig. 242 and colour pl. III (James), and fig. 247 (Jude).

the ornament. Visually opulent and iconographically imaginative, the Codex Ebnerianus is a fitting culmination to the developments of the preceding century. The taste (or perhaps funding) for such lavish full-page figural miniatures dwindled in Constantinople as the 12th century advanced, but the superbly produced *Oxford, Magdalen College, gr. 9 still exemplifies the excellence of metropolitan production, with its flawlessly white parchment and jewel-like ornament.[39]

If figural imagery was ebbing in books like *Magdalen College, gr. 9, it most emphatically was not ebbing in a different group of manuscripts that may have been made at much the same time, and to some scholars even in much the same place. This is the enigmatic "decorative style" group, the largest homogeneous group of illuminated codices known from Byzantium.[40] Variously assigned to 1150-1250 in the Mediterranean Levant, 13th-century Nicaea, or the 13th-century at large, the group remains an attributional conundrum.[41] It is clear, though, that New Testaments, and especially New Testaments and Psalters were among its most frequent commissions. No fewer than nine New Testament and Psalter manuscripts, three New Testaments, one Praxapostolos, and one Praxapostolos and Psalter have been attributed to it, all of them lavishly if rather garishly illuminated with a repertoire of iconographic types particular to the group. The books are small, though not as tiny as those of the late 11th and early 12th century, and are written in a diminutive, fluent script that implies personal rather than public reading. The illuminations support this. Though the group includes Chicago, *Ms. 965 with its long cycles of scenes (see Fig. 88), the majority of its miniatures are not narrative. Rather, they are concentrated and simple, like photographic close-ups, and especially in the Praxapostolos consist of "talking heads": frontal, half-length portraits with right hands raised in earnest speech.[42] If the figures in *W. 533 in Baltimore had reminded Anderson of liturgical readers, the postures here suggest personal, one-to-one address.

The trauma of Latin occupation between 1204 and 1261 stimulated an effort to revive the volumetric forms of Byzantium's classical heritage, exemplified among Praxapostoloi by the poised, voluminous full-page portraits in Jerusalem, Greek Patriarchal Library, Taphou 37.[43] As the empire emerged from the

39 Hutter, *Corpus,* vol. 5.1: figs. 252-9, 261-76; 278-89; 291 and colour pl. 19; 2: cat. no. 30, pp. 85-90.

40 Carr, *Byzantine Illumination, 1150-1250*, passim.

41 Ibid.; Buchthal, "Studies in Byzantine Illumination", passim, and most recently Maxwell, "The Afterlife of Texts", p. 38.

42 See for instance James (fol. 138r), Peter (fol. 141r) and Jude (fol. 150r) in Chicago, *Ms. 965.

43 Vocotopoulos, *Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts,* fig. 15 (Luke); the portraits of Paul and

Latin Interregnum, however, illuminators turned to a broader overview of its long artistic legacy, picking out selective aspects for revival and development.[44] For New Testament illumination, the period saw one novelty: in *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 239, of 1422, we meet for the first time a Book of Revelation adorned – albeit reticently – with four marginal images of monsters; only in post-Byzantine art would the illuminated Apocalypse be developed.[45] Otherwise, the Palaiologan period is impressive above all for its refined retrospection. A striking case is offered by Sinai, Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sin. gr. 275, a Praxapostolos so reminiscent of *W. 533 in Baltimore that they are generally attributed together to the 12th century.[46] More superb is *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1208 of *c.*1300, a Praxapostolos copied entirely in gold and illuminated not only with ornamental motifs of 12th-century origin, but with full-page pairs of standing authors echoing those of the Escorial codex (Fig. 90).[47]

Byzantium's last great illuminated New Testament volumes looked to yet earlier models. This is sensed already in the retreat of figural illumination from the inscribed pages onto tipped-in leaves with writing authors clothed in pale tones attuned not to the saturated colours of the ornament, but to classical togas. One sees this clearly in the author portraits provided for Moscow, State Historical Museum, Synod. gr. 407.[48] This exceptional volume comprises, at last, the full 27 books of what we call the New Testament, as well as the Psalter. Written in the 12th century, it was furnished in the 14th with full-page author portraits throughout. Especially remarkable among them is the dazed image of John which – for the first time since Moscow, gr. 2 – prefaces the Book of Revelation.[49] But the most revealing images are those of the Praxapostolos. Togate scribes on full-page fields of gold in postures recalling those of *Oxford, Canon. gr. 110, they evoke the 10th century. In some sense, the Byzantine illuminated New Testament returned at the end to its beginning.

Jude have been excised since they were published in 1931 in black-and-white by Hatch, *Greek and Syrian Miniatures,* pp. 93-5, figs. XXXVI-XXXVIII.

44 The most cogent analysis of this period is Buchthal, "Toward a History".

45 Spatharakis, *Corpus,* 1: cat. no. 285, pp. 69; 2: figs. 505, 506. On post-Byzantine Apocalypse illumination, see Colwell/Willoughby, *The Elizabeth Day McCormick Apocalypse,* passim.

46 Anderson, "The Walters Praxapostolos", pp. 32-4; Weitzmann/Galavaris, *Sinai,* cat. no. 41, pp. 110-6, figs. 341-5; Der Nersessian, "The Praxapostolos," pp. 39-50.

47 Buchthal/Belting, *Patronage,* cat. no. 12, pp. 117-9, figs. 38-48. This belongs to the elite "Atelier of the Palaiologina" discussed by Maxwell below.

48 Alpatov, "A Byzantine Illuminated Manuscript".

49 Ibid., fig. 3.

CHAPTER 18

Illustrated Byzantine Gospel Books

Kathleen Maxwell

Introduction

Over 5,800 textual witnesses to the New Testament have been catalogued, most of which are Gospel books and lectionaries.[1] The Gospels were the most frequently copied text in Byzantium.[2] I will provide an overview of some of the most important developments in illustrated Greek Gospel books between the 6th and the 15th centuries.

Illustrated Gospel Books before Iconoclasm

No illustrated Greek Gospel books can be dated earlier than the 6th century, but there is a great deal of evidence for Gospel images in other media before then.[3] Only two of the approximately 160 Greek New Testament manuscripts

1 According to D. Wallace, the total number of catalogued Greek New Testament manuscripts now stands at 128 papyri, 322 majuscules, 2,926 minuscules, and 2,462 lectionaries, bringing the grand total to 5,838 manuscripts. Some of these are in fragmentary condition; the list expands as new manuscripts are discovered. See <http://www.danielbwallace.com/2013/08/26/latest-greek-new-testament-minuscules-gregory-aland-2916-2925-and-2926/> (accessed 3 February 2014).

2 New Testament text critics cite Greek New Testament manuscripts by their Gregory-Aland (GA) numbers rather than their library shelf numbers. Just under 2,930 New Testament texts have been assigned GA numbers as of this writing. The list is updated by the Institut für Neutestamentliche Textforschung (INTF) of Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität in Münster. See <http://www.ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/liste>. For more information on GA numbers and New Testament text criticism, see Parker, *Introduction to the New Testament Manuscripts,* pp. 35-6 and Elliott, *Bibliography of Greek New Testament Manuscripts*.

3 The earliest datable New Testament scenes are from the mid-3rd-century house-church in Dura Europos. See Spier, *Picturing the Bible*, pp. 2-4, 29, 37-42, etc. Whereas one of the earliest depictions of the Gospels in book form must be those in the mosaic of St. Lawrence from the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia, Ravenna (datable 425-450 AD). See <http://www.kornbluthphoto.com/images/GalPlacSLunetteLawrence.jpg> (accessed 3 February 2014).

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that survive from the pre-iconoclastic period are illustrated.[4] These are the Rossano Gospels and the Sinope Gospels. Both are purple parchment fragmentary codices attributed to the 6th century and both are written in majuscule script.

The *Rossano Gospels (Rossano, Museo Diocesano di arte sacra, cod. 1) comprises 188 folios containing the Gospels of Matthew and Mark (up to Mark 16:14). Its uncial script is written in silver ink with gold titles. It was probably once part of a two-volume set of which the second volume does not survive. An incomplete and out of order set of illustrations now occupies the first eight folios of the volume. It includes 12 narrative scenes, ten of which are accompanied by Old Testament prophets. In addition, a decorated circle with bust portraits of the evangelists on fol. 5r likely once served as a frontispiece for a set of Canon Tables. A portrait of Mark (fol. 121r), widely believed to be the only surviving pre-iconoclastic example of an evangelist portrait from a Greek Gospel book, is increasingly recognized as a later insert.[5]

Only 43 folios of the Sinope Gospels (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. suppl. gr. 1286) survive containing chapters 7-21 of Matthew. They are written entirely in gold. Five illustrations occupy the bottom of the folios containing their respective Gospel texts. These include the Feast of Herod (fol. 10v), the Multiplication of the Loaves and Fish (fol. 11r), the Feeding of the Four Thousand (fol. 15r), the Healing of the Blind Men (fol. 29r), and the Parable of the Fig Tree (fol. 30v). Each scene is framed by two prophets carrying large scrolls with relevant texts from the Old Testament.[6] The illustrations of the Rossano and the Sinope Gospels are stylistically related.[7]

4 Aland/Aland, *The Text of the New Testament*, p. 81, table 4. This total does not include papyri.

5 See Lowden's entry on the Rossano Gospels in *Oxford Art Online* at <http://www.oxfordartonline.com.libproxy.scu.edu/subscriber/article/grove/art/T073968> and Cutler, "Rossano Gospels". However, two standing and two seated evangelist portraits are found on fols. 9v and 10r in the Rabbula Gospels (*Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Laur. Plut. 1.56), written in Syriac and dated to 586. The Rabbula Gospels also contains 19 pages of canon tables with scenes from the Old and New Testaments. In addition, it contains scenes (fol. 13) of the Crucifixion and Resurrection, and the Ascension which may have been taken from an illustrated Greek Gospel book. See Spier, *Picturing the Bible*, pp. 276-82.

6 See Spier, *Picturing the Bible*, pp. 271-5 for catalogue entry and colour illustrations of all scenes except for the Multiplication of the Loaves and Fish.

7 Ibid., p. 271.

Illustrated Gospel Books after Iconoclasm

The Ninth Century

Byzantine art historians take exceptional interest in developments in the illustrated Gospel book in the 150 years following the end of Iconoclasm – that is, in the period from 843-1000. The minuscule script was introduced in the 9th century. Only 13 Greek minuscule manuscripts containing one or more books of the New Testament survive from the 9th century.[8] The earliest dated minuscule text of any type is a Gospel book – the Uspenski Gospels of 835 (Saint Petersburg, National Library of Russia, gr. 219). It, however, contains no figural decoration and minimal ornament.[9]

In fact, there are no dated illustrated Greek Gospel books from the 9th century and there is very little evidence of Greek Gospel books with evangelist portraits before the 10th century.[10] *Tirana, Albanian National Archives, ANA 2 [*olim* Beratinus 2] and Saint Petersburg, National Library of Russia, gr. 53, two purple parchment manuscripts attributed to the late 9th/early 10th centuries, have recently been assigned to the same Constantinopolitan workshop.[11] Both manuscripts feature similar gold minuscule scripts and both contain evangelist portraits and headpieces before their respective Gospel texts. The locations of these portraits and headpieces underscore the most important subdivisions of the manuscript and facilitate access to the desired Gospel text.[12]

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8 See Aland/Aland, *The Text of the New Testament*, pp. 81, 128-9, and pl. 40.

9 For a reproduction of one of the scribal flourishes from the Uspenski Gospels, see Weitzmann, *Buchmalerei des IX. und X. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 1, fig. 236 (fol. 263r). See also Parker, *Introduction to the New Testament Manuscripts*, p. 27. See now Hutter, "The Decoration", for a discussion of ornament in 9th-century Byzantine manuscripts. The Greek term μεταχαρακτηρισμός (change of script) is used to describe the radical transformation from majuscule to minuscule script. See Aland/Wachtel, "The Greek Minuscule Manuscripts", p. 45.

10 However, *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 510, a deluxe copy of the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus contains numerous Gospel scenes. It is dated to 879-882. See Brubaker, *Vision and Meaning,* and chapter 24 in this volume. An illustrated Sacra Parallela manuscript attributed to the 9th century contains both Gospel scenes and evangelist portraits (*Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 923). See Weitzmann, *Sacra Parallela*, and chapter 29 in this volume.

11 Kavrus-Hoffmann, "Producing New Testament Manuscripts in Byzantium". See also Džurova, "Quelques remarques sur les codices pourpres", vol. 1, pp. 25-42 and vol. 2, pp. 25-55. Weitzmann, *Buchmalerei des IX. und X. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 1, p. 13 and no. 77 attributed Saint Petersburg, gr. 53 to the late 9th century because of similarities between ornamental motifs of its headpieces and those of *Par. gr. 510.

12 No data is available that I am aware of, but it is very unusual to encounter a Gospel book

The Beratinus and Saint Petersburg evangelist portraits differ markedly in medium. Beratinus 2's evangelists are unique in their almost exclusive reliance on gold to describe both the figure of the seated evangelist and their unusually large and beautifully decorated frames.[13] The impact of these golden portraits on their dark purple grounds is unlike anything else created in Byzantine illuminated Gospel books.[14] The Beratinus evangelists further distinguish themselves in that they are depicted without the usual desks and lecterns.[15]

The evangelist portraits of Saint Petersburg, gr. 53, in contrast, are polychromatic with deep pink and purple hues contrasting with the evangelist's white garment and gold background. Weitzmann thought that these portraits were later additions to the Saint Petersburg manuscript, but the presence of purple parchment codices on the lecterns of its three surviving evangelist portraits may suggest otherwise.[16]

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without at least rudimentary ornament at the beginning of each of its Gospel texts. For the beginning of Mark in the Uspenski Gospels of 835, see Aland/Aland, *The Text of the New Testament*, pl. 40. The majority of Gospel books also include evangelist portraits although their quality varies considerably. See Friend, "The Portraits of the Evangelists".

13 For a colour image of the Evangelist John from Beratinus 2, see <http://www.images.csntm.org/Manuscripts/GA_1143/GA_1143_0328b.jpg>. For the beginning of John's Gospel, see <http://www.images.csntm.org/Manuscripts/GA_1143/GA_1143_0329a.jpg>. Džurova states that the evangelists of Beratinus 2 were executed entirely in gold. None of the faces of the evangelists is well preserved, but it is unlikely that they were executed in gold. Other 9th-century manuscripts feature the "golden figure style" (albeit on white parchment) and they use flesh tones to describe hands and faces. See Džurova, "Quelques remarques sur les codices pourpres", vol. 1, p. 36: "En plus, elles [the evangelist portraits] sont entièrement chrysographiées …". For the "gold figure style," see Weitzmann, *Sacra Parallela*, pp. 14-20.

14 Indeed, the effect is more akin to Early Christian examples of dark glass with gold figural decoration from the 3rd and 4th centuries. See Spier, *Picturing the Bible,* pp. 185, 186, 189, 193, 219, 223, and 243.

15 This is also true of *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. suppl. gr. 905, a manuscript whose text is dated to 1055, but which contains evangelist portraits which some scholars have dated to the 8th century. See Weitzmann, *Buchmalerei des IX. und X. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 1, figs. 19-20. The evangelists depicted in mosaic in the bema of San Vitale, Ravenna also have no desks and most Byzantine standing portraits of evangelists do not include furniture (see below).

16 Weitzmann noted that the portraits had been substantially trimmed and concluded that they were made for a larger manuscript. He proposed that they had been cut down when they were inserted into this Gospel book in the late 10th or early 11th century. However, the extremely wide margins of Beratinus 2 suggest that Saint Petersburg, gr. 53's margins were also once much more generous as well. N. Kavrus-Hoffmann informed me in an email of 10 February 2014 that plate 30 of Džurova's, *Manuscrits grecs enluminés*, vol. 2 reveals that

The ornamental headpieces of both the Beratinus and the Saint Petersburg Gospels may well be some of the earliest extant headpieces from Greek Gospel books. Their gold designs against the purple parchment create a different impact than headpieces of other manuscripts from the late 9th and early 10th century, including those such as *Par. gr. 510 and *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 115 which include purple fields with pearl-studded borders.[17]

The Tenth Century

By the 10th century the vast majority of New Testament manuscripts will be written in minuscule text.[18] Gospel books from this period onwards may include decorated canon tables in addition to evangelist portraits and ornamental headpieces (Fig. 92).[19] Canon tables are located at the beginning of the manuscript and are often accompanied by the letter of Eusebios to Carpianus explaining their function.[20] This letter, too, may be placed in an ornamental framework. Canon tables serve as a concordance to key stories in the Gospels and a guide to the location of the same story in the different canonical Gospels. Each Gospel text contains canon numbers in the margins adjacent to these passages. It is these numbers that are listed in the Canon tables in their respective Gospel's columns.

Canon tables provide another important venue for ornament, but their quality varies from the careless and simplistic to the lavish and extraordinary. Individual Canon tables often include an architectonic framework featuring

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part of the silver marginal commentary text of fol. 211 is missing due to a later trimming of the manuscript. Regardless of their date, the portraits of Saint Petersburg, gr. 53 were clearly destined for a purple parchment codex.

17 Weitzmann, *Buchmalerei des IX. und X. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 1, fig. 14; vol. 2, fig. 608. See now Kavrus-Hoffmann, "Producing New Testament Manuscripts in Byzantium".

18 Minuscule lectionary texts, however, will not represent the majority until the 11th century. See Aland/Aland, *The Text of the New Testament*, p. 81, Table 4.

19 Weitzmann, *Buchmalerei des IX. und X. Jahrhunderts*, passim. Pre-iconoclastic evidence of lushly ornamented canon tables (beyond those of the Rabbula Gospels discussed in note 5 above) is provided by the so-called Golden Canon Tables, fragments from a Gospel book of the 6th or early 7th century now bound with *London, British Library, Add. 5111. See Brown, *Bibles Before the Year 1000*, no. 68, pp. 232-3 and 304-5. For the most comprehensive study of Canon tables, see Nordenfalk, *Die spätantiken Kanontafeln*. For a brief, but helpful introduction regarding the utility of Canon tables, see J. Anderson's catalogue entry for Princeton, Scheide Library, Scheide M 70 in Evans/Wixom, *The Glory of Byzantium*, p. 93.

20 Other preliminary texts are often included in Gospel books and are called prologues. For a detailed study of these texts and their impact on Gospel illustration, see Nelson, *The Iconography of Preface*.

columns and arches. Text columns within this framework are assigned to the evangelists and contain the relevant canon numbers in their respective texts.[21]

Some of the best known evangelist portraits and headpieces of the entire Byzantine era are attributed to the 10th century. Most show seated evangelists in the act of copying their texts, but a half a dozen or so depict the evangelists standing and holding their texts.[22] These evangelists are not engaged in the act of copying, so desks or lecterns are not included. Examples of standing evangelists include Athos, Great Lavra, cod. A 23; the standing portraits later bound with Princeton, University Library, Garrett MS. 6; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 70 (Fig. 93); Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vind. theol. gr. 240, Athos, Iviron Monastery, cod. 1387 (formerly 247); and Sofia, Centre for Slavo-Byzantine Studies "Prof. Ivan Dujčev", D. gr. 272.[23] Those found in Par. gr. 70 and Vind. theol. gr. 240 show similar stately figures with classicizing garments.[24] Standing portraits of the evangelists were occasionally revived in the 12th, 13th, and even 14th century.[25]

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21 Canon numbers in Greek Gospel books are still essential when trying to locate a particular Gospel passage since chapter and verse numbers are a modern invention that postdates the Byzantine Empire. For more on Canon tables (also known as the Eusebian apparatus), see Parker, *Introduction to the New Testament*, pp. 315-6 and Nelson, "Canon Tables".

22 Friend, "The Portraits of the Evangelists", pp. 124-5. Pre-iconoclastic examples of standing evangelists are found on the 6th-century ivory Throne of Maximian. See Lowden, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art,* figs. 67-8.

23 Lavra 23 and the evangelists bound with Garrett MS. 6 are dated by some to the 9th century. For reproductions of standing evangelist portraits, see Weitzmann, *Buchmalerei des IX. und X. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 1, figs. 7-10 (Lavra 23); figs. 83-4 (Par. gr. 70); figs. 85-6 (Vind. theol. gr. 240). See also Evans/Wixom, *The Glory of Byzantium*, cat. no. 43 (Garrett MS. 6) and cat. no. 44 (Iviron 1387). For the Sofia manuscript, see Džurova, *Byzantinische Miniaturen*, color plates 38 and 39.

24 For a colour reproduction of the Evangelist Matthew from Vind. theol. gr. 240, see the Gabriel Millet Collection on the website of the Index for Christian Art at <http://www.ica.princeton.edu/millet/display.php?country=Austria&site=304&view=site&page=1&image=8340>.

25 For example, Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Ludwig II 4 (a New Testament manuscript dated 1133 which will be returned to the Dionysiou Monastery on Mount Athos); *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1208 (attributed to the late 13th century); Sinai, Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sin. gr. 152 (dated 1346); and *New York, The Morgan Library and Museum, M. 340. For the Getty/Dionysiou manuscript, see Nelson, "Theoktistos and Associates" and Evans/Wixom, *The Glory of Byzantium*, cat. no. 47, pp. 93-4. For *Vat. gr. 1208, see Buchthal/Belting, *Patronage*, pls. 38-40. For Sin. gr. 152, see Buchthal, "Toward a History", pp. 162-6 and fig. 29. For Morgan, M.340, see Kavrus-Hoffmann, "Catalogue. Part IV.1", pp. 71-85.

Seated evangelist portraits are far more numerous. They frequently incorporate architectural backdrops and almost always include desks and/or lecterns. The most famous examples from the 10th century are surely those of Athos, Stavronikita Monastery, cod. 43 which are indelibly associated with the so-called Macedonian Renaissance.[26] These proved to be highly influential and their impact can be seen in numerous manuscripts including: Athos, Great Lavra, cod. A 11; Athens, National Library of Greece, cod. 56; *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 364; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vind. suppl. gr. 50*; Patmos, Monastery of Saint John the Theologian, cod. 272; *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Coislin 195; and Athos, Dionysiou Monastery, cod. 34.[27]

Ornamental headpieces from this period have been categorized by Weitzmann and one manuscript may have examples of several different types of ornament. Three of the more famous types from Constantinople are the arabesque, the fretsaw (*Laubsäge*) and (flower) petal (*Blütenblatt*) styles. A fine example of the arabesque style can be seen in Vind. theol. gr. 240, whereas the fretsaw style in a late form is characterized by *London, British Library, Add. 28815. The flower petal style develops into one of the most popular forms of ornament in Byzantine manuscripts. It is found in several forms in the headpieces and canon tables of Stavronikita 43.[28] Yet another distinctive type of headpiece from Constantinople in this period is the beautiful gold ciborium

26 Weitzmann, *Buchmalerei des IX. und X. Jahrhunderts,* vol. 1, figs. 169-72. For color photographs, see Mavropoulou-Tsioumi/Galavaris, *Holy Stauroniketa Monastery*, figs. 4-55. The scribe of Stavronikita 43 has been identified as Ephraim. See Perria, "Un Vangelo della Rinascenza macedone". I thank Dr. Kavrus-Hoffmann for this source. For the Macedonian Renaissance, see Weitzmann, "Macedonian Renaissance". A late 9th/early 10th century manuscript now in fragmentary condition (Messina, Biblioteca Regionale Universitaria, F. V. 18) once contained evangelists like those found later in Stavronikita 43. Only one portrait (Matthew) survives. For more on the Messina manuscript, see Iacobini/Perria, *Il Vangelo di Dionisio*, passim and pl. XX for St. Matthew.

27 For reproductions, see Weitzmann, *Buchmalerei des IX. und X. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 1, Lavra A 11 (figs. 59-60); Athens, cod. 56 (figs. 151-2); *Vat. gr. 364 (fig. 192); Patmos, cod. 272 (figs. 291-4); *Coislin 195 (fig. 60); and *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Pal. gr. 220 [not to mention two portraits of the Saint Petersburg lectionary, National Library of Russia, gr. 21+21a (figs. 392-3)].

28 Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 2-34 for these and other types of ornament in 10th-century manuscripts. Black and white illustrations can be found in his text. For a more recent discussion of Vind. theol. gr. 240 with colour illustrations, see Dobrynina, "Two Manuscripts", pp. 42-61.

style as exemplified in Par. gr. 70; Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Marc. gr. app. I. 8; Dionysiou 34; and Saint Petersburg, Russian National Library, gr. 286.[29]

The great majority of Greek Gospel books feature one column of text, but experimentation with the text format is seen in two Byzantine Gospel books as early as the 10th century. The entire majuscule text of Princeton, University Library, Garrett MS. 1, a manuscript from the first half of the 10th century, is formatted throughout in a cruciform-shape.[30] A small Gospel book from Tirana (Albania) with a minuscule script featuring a cruciform-shaped text has come to light more recently. Tirana, Albanian National Archives, ANA 93 (also known as Korçë 93) measures only 15.5 × 12 cm.[31]

The Eleventh Century

Gospel books with refined evangelist portraits, headpieces and canon tables continued to be produced in the 11th century. In fact, in illustrated Greek Gospel manuscripts from any period, it is usually the evangelists themselves who are the focus of the illustration and ornament through their author portraits and corresponding headpieces. But this is countered with the appearance of two densely illustrated narrative Gospel cycles late in the 11th century.[32] *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 74 (Fig. 94) and *Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Laur. Plut. 6.23 both contain hundreds of frieze-like "strips" of illustrations of Gospel scenes interspersed throughout their four Gospel texts.[33] These illustrations reflect the contemporary, non-

29 Weitzmann, *Buchmalerei des IX. und X. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 1, pp. 13-6 and related plates, for these and other examples of the gold ciborium style.

30 Kotzabassi/Patterson Ševčenko, *Greek Manuscripts at Princeton*, pp. 3-7 and figs. 1-9. Several lectionaries attributed to the 12th-century also have cruciform texts. See Buckton, *Byzantium,* p. 164.

31 Korçë 93 also contains evangelist portraits and headpieces, the former were repainted at least in part at a later date. Džurova dates the manuscript to the early decades of the 10th century; see Džurova, "Le Tétraévangile Korçë 93". A number of colour images of Korçë 93 may be found on csntm.org by searching under "GA 2902".

32 Marginal miniatures are rare before the 11th century in Gospel books. An important exception is *Par. gr. 115 which is usually attributed to the 10th century. Fifty of an original 70 marginal scenes can still be identified and most of these are found in Matthew's Gospel. See *Byzance et la France médiévale*, no. 15, pp. 10-1, and pl. IX; and Paschou, "Les peintures". Whereas Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vind. theol. gr. 154 features approximately 40 marginal scenes and is much closer in date to *Par. gr. 74 and *Laur. Plut. 6.23. See Lazarev, *Storia*, figs. 195-201.

33 Weitzmann says that *Laur. Plut. 6.23 contains about "290 strip-like compositions" with about "750 iconographical units". See Weitzmann, "Selection", p. 76. Both *Par. gr. 74 and

classical "style mignon", with tiny, weightless figures painted in gem-like colours with highlights of gold.[34] J. Anderson suggests that that these abstracted figures are more appropriate to their new interlinear context.[35]

Canon table design reaches it apogee in the late 11th and early 12th century.[36] Examples produced in this period are some of the finest ever created.[37] The canon tables found in Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, palat. 5, Princeton, Scheide M 70, and Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria, Felton 710.5[38] are among this group.[39] Both Melbourne, Felton 710.5 and *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 64 have canon tables with exotic beasts and human figures (Fig. 95).[40] The playful qualities displayed here are reminiscent of the spirit of the marginal designs found in some western manuscripts.

The Twelfth Century

In the 12th century there are important new developments in illustrated Gospel books in both iconography and style. Parma, palat. 5 innovates with an unusual sequence of narrative scenes on three pages situated between the Gospels of

*Laur. Plut. 6.23 also contain evangelist portraits and headpieces for their Gospel texts.

34 Kondakov, *Histoire de l'art Byzantine*, vol. 2, pp. 137-8. Kondakov describes the figures as not just diminutive but also deformed. He writes: "… les personages sont trop longs, leurs bras trop maigres, leurs gestes et leurs mouvements pleins d'affectation; une rigidité cadavérique est répandue sur l'ensemble". K. Weitzmann associated the appearance of the diminutive style with the rise of "ascetic and mystic writing" and the impact of Symeon the New Theologian. See id., "Byzantine Miniature", pp. 279-80.

35 Anderson writes "By reducing the depth of settings and the roundness of the figures, artists and scribes successfully combined illustration with text and ornament". See Anderson, "Manuscripts", p. 87.

36 Nelson, "Theoktistos and Associates", pp. 59-63. On p. 61 Nelson writes: "In the Late Byzantine period canon tables decline in importance and are not included in many deluxe manuscripts". See p. 61, n. 45 for a list of the finest dated Gospel books of the 14th and 15th century, none of which have canon tables.

37 See J. Anderson in Evans/Wixom, *The Glory of Byzantium*, cat. no. 46, p. 93, who notes "from early on they [canon tables] were decorated with a degree of care that far exceeded what was required for their use as a reference tool".

38 Some reproductions of Melbourne, Felton 710.5 are available to the public in "The Gabriel Millet Collection" of the Index of Christian Art. See <http://www.ica.princeton.edu/millet/main.php?country=Australia&site=231&view=site&page=1>.

39 J. Anderson in Evans/Wixom, *The Glory of Byzantium*, cat. no. 45, p. 92, says that Athos, Iviron Monastery, cod. 2, which he dates to 1075-1100, has canon tables which he considers almost as fine as those of Princeton, Scheide M 70. For Scheide M 70, see ibid, cat. no. 46.

40 Nelson, "Theoktistos and Associates", pp. 62-3, for this and other examples of Gospel books with spectacular canon tables.

Matthew and Mark.[41] Individual narrative scenes are also incorporated into its Gospel headpieces.

The insertion of a narrative scene at the beginning of each Gospel becomes very popular from the second quarter of the 12th century onwards and is found in a number of Gospel books associated with the workshop of the so-called Kokkinobaphos Master (Fig. 96).[42] The narrative scene may be located either directly above the evangelist portrait, or in the headpiece at the beginning of the text, or occupying the entire page opposite the evangelist portrait.[43] Meredith determined that the narrative scenes illustrate the feast when the beginning of the Gospel is read.[44]

Stylistic developments within the circle of the Kokkinobaphos Master and associates are even more innovative and ultimately lead to the *Dynamic style* witnessed in many later 12th-century frescoes and mosaics.[45] The *style mignon* of the 11th century is successfully eclipsed by a new interest in both the physical substance of the figures and especially in capturing their emotional state. Anderson emphasizes the artists' "keen attention to states of mind, especially anxiety, doubt, and fear but also joy and exultation."[46] *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Urb. gr. 2 exemplifies the Kokkinobaphos Master's style and utilizes the paired evangelist/narrative scene format (Fig. 96). Its portrait of John II Komnenos (1118-43) and his son Alexios Komnenos (*c.*1122-1142) indicates that the Kokkinobaphos Master counted members of the imperial

41 Eleuteri, *I manoscritti greci*. Nelson characterizes Oxford, Bodleian Library, E.D. Clarke 10 as an abridged and more modest version of Parma, palat. 5. See Nelson, *The Iconography of Preface*, pp. 56-60 and 119-21.

42 A.W. Carr in Evans/Wixom, *The Glory of Byzantium*, cat. no. 51, p. 97 indicates that this pairing is seen as early as the 10th century.

43 Meredith, "The Illustration of Codex Ebnerianus", p. 420. Meredith lists 17 manuscripts formatted with a narrative scene at the beginning of each Gospel. N. Ševčenko, in her catalogue entry in Evans/Wixom, *The Glory of Byzantium*, cat. no. 49, p. 95 notes that some of these combinations of portraits and scenes are more successful than others and seems less enthusiastic for the arrangement found in Patmos, Monastery of Saint John the Theologian, cod. 274.

44 Meredith, "The Illustration of Codex Ebnerianus", pp. 422-3 for the narrative scenes' correspondence with two different sets of texts, the second being the Gospel prologues. See also Nelson, *The Iconography of Preface*, passim.

45 Nelson, "Theoktistos and Associates", pp. 71-3 and related notes.

46 J.C. Anderson in Evans/Wixom, *The Glory of Byzantium*, cat. no. 62, p. 109. K. Weitzmann notes that this new style attempts to "fuse the Macedonian heritage with the expressive element emphasized in the style of the second half of the eleventh century". See further Weitzmann, "Byzantine Miniature", pp. 277-8.

family among his patrons.[47] One of the finest products of the Kokkinobaphos workshop is the Codex Ebnerianus (*Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. T. inf. 1. 10), a New Testament manuscript addressed above in Annemarie Weyl Carr's essay that also features the paired author portrait and narrative scene throughout. As significant as the coupling of evangelist and feast scene in the Kokkinobaphos group, is a cycle of full-page feast scenes that preface Istanbul, Patriarchal Library, cod. 3, linking the Gospel text to the devotional patterns of the liturgical year.[48]

Manuscripts associated with the Kokkinobaphos workshop have been described by Carr as the "last stylistically coherent group of manuscripts known from Constantinople before it was sacked during the Fourth Crusade in 1204". The same author describes the ensuing half a century as "among the most obscure in all of Byzantine art".[49]

The Thirteenth Century

Spanning the mid-12th to the mid-13th century are the many illustrated Gospel books of the so-called decorative style.[50] This distinctive group is characterized by large evangelist figures in bright pastel-coloured garments. Many decorative style manuscripts have paintings of mediocre quality further compromised by extensive flaking. Others, especially later members of the group, are quite extraordinary and constitute the only deluxe manuscripts known from the period of the Latin Interregnum.[51]

In Gospel books of decorative style manuscripts one encounters individually-framed miniatures of Gospel scenes embedded in the text for the first time. This is true of *Chicago, University of Chicago Library, Ms. 965 (Fig. 97); Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Gro. 137; and *London, British Library, Harley 1810.[52] Such scenes are found much earlier in illustrated lectionary

47 A.W. Carr, in Cormack/Vassilaki, *Byzantium: 330-1453*, cat. no. 59, p. 395.

48 Nelson, *Text and Image*.

49 A.W. Carr in Evans/Wixom, *The Glory of Byzantium*, p. 97, cat. no. 51.

50 At least 112 illuminated manuscripts have been assigned to the decorative style and two-thirds of these contain the text of the Gospels. Carr coined the term decorative style and describes the decorative style group as the "largest homogenous group of illuminated manuscripts known from Byzantium". See Carr, *Byzantine Illumination, 1150-1250*, passim.

51 See ibid., p. 81 for her assessment of Athos, Dionysiou Monastery, cod. 4 and Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, gr. 4°. 66 [368] as the "most splendid Greek books of their generation". See also Buchthal, "Studies in Byzantine Illumination" for the Dionysiou and Berlin Gospels and their immediate relatives.

52 Ibid., pp. 61-2 observes that the separately framed miniature format "permitted the

manuscripts including Saint Petersburg, gr. 21+21a.[53] Thus lectionaries provided the stimulus for this development in Gospel books.[54] In fact, liturgical scenes that are not derived from the canonical Gospels also find their way into Gospel illustrations by the same route.[55] These include depictions such as the Anastasis and the Pentecost.[56] These scenes develop the association of the Gospel book with the devotional patterns incubated in the liturgy.[57]

Outside of the decorative style examples, only two other illustrated Gospel books with extensive narrative cycles will be produced in Byzantium. These are Athos, Iviron Monastery, cod. 5 and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 54 of the last third of the 13th century.[58] While closely related in their evangelist portraits, they diverge in size, text format, and in the scope of their respective narrative cycles.[59] Par. gr. 54's multi-coloured, bilingual Greek and Latin texts and extended narrative cycle indicate that it was commissioned by a Byzantine emperor as a diplomatic gift in conjunction with the union of Churches (Fig. 98).[60]

Both Iviron 5 and Par. gr. 54 are associated with a resurgence in demand for high quality illuminated manuscripts that occurred in the later 13th century. This Palaeologan Renaissance is richly exemplified in seven Gospel books asso-

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development of an affective book art for devotional use … complete in itself for contemplation, drawing the viewer into the text and facilitating his use of it".

53 For Saint Petersburg, gr. 21+21a, see Lichatchova, *Byzantine Miniature*, where colour reproductions are found opposite the title page and around pp. 5-10 (page numbering is irregular).

54 The evolution of the Byzantine illustrated Gospel book is discussed in Carr, "Reading Styles of Use", pp. 238-9. See also Yota's article "L'emplacement et l'association semantique".

55 According to Lowden, only about 50 of the approximately 2,000 Greek lectionaries were illustrated. Lowden believes that the illustrated lectionary is a "post-Iconoclastic invention". See Lowden, "Luxury and Liturgy", pp. 273-5 and 279.

56 Carr states that the miniatures of *Harley 1810 very nearly constitute a lectionary cycle. See Carr, *Byzantine Illumination, 1150-1250,* p. 58.

57 It has been argued more recently that the liturgical function of the Greek Gospel book has been vastly underappreciated, see Spronk/Rouwhorst/Royé, *A Catalogue of Byzantine Manuscripts* and related website: <http://www.pthu.nl/cbm/>.

58 Weitzmann's dates in the first half of the 13th century for these and related manuscripts were convincingly redated to the second half of the century by Lazarev. See Weitzmann, "Constantinopolitan Book Illumination"; and Lazarev, "Review".

59 Iviron 5's narrative cycle is completely encompassed within that of Par. gr. 54. See Maxwell, *Between Constantinople and Rome,* pp. 109-16.

60 Ibid., chapter 8.

ciated with the so-called "Atelier of the Palaiologina"[61] where mid-10th century models were used for evangelist portraits and ornament, and their scripts follow 11th-century models.[62] The artists and scribes who produced these manuscripts were patronized by the aristocracy, including members of the imperial family. Manuscripts created by the "Atelier of the Palaiologina" are competitive with deluxe Byzantine manuscripts of any period. Gospel books with stately evangelists on golden grounds, extraordinary ornament, beautiful scripts, and generous margins are characteristic of this group (Fig. 99). Given the desperate state of the empire in the last two decades of the 13th century, it is remarkable that such high quality works could both be commissioned and produced.[63]

The Fourteenth Century

The political situation deteriorated further in the 14th century culminating in civil war in 1321-1325 when Andronikos III challenged his grandfather, Andronikos II. This war "ruined" both the aristocracy and the imperial court.[64] Yet, there are several examples of high quality Gospel manuscripts in this century, some of which were clearly inspired by members of the "Atelier of the Palaiologina". These include the standing evangelists of Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 361 which Buchthal assigns to the 1320s. He notes that in some cases they are copied directly from a Praxapostolos manuscript of the Atelier: *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1208.[65]

Two Gospel books dated to the 1330s are also dependent on those from the Atelier. These are Athos, Great Lavra, cod. A 46 (d. 1333) and Patmos, Monastery of Saint John the Theologian, cod. 81 (d. 1335).[66] The latter is an especially deluxe work which Buchthal compares to two standouts from the Atelier of the Palaiologina, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1158 and Los

61 Buchthal/Belting, *Patronage*, pp. 4-5. In addition, the Atelier produced one New Testament manuscript. Four manuscripts, none of them Gospel books, were written entirely in gold ink. A number of manuscripts have been added to the Atelier of the Palaiologina since Buchthal's and Belting's original publication, but none of them to my knowledge are Gospel books or New Testament manuscripts. See Nelson/Lowden, "The Palaeologina Group".

62 Buchthal/Belting, *Patronage*, p. 10.

63 For Gospel manuscripts produced in Thessaloniki in this period, see Nelson, *Theodore Hagiopetrites*.

64 Ševčenko, "The Palaeologan Renaissance", p. 161 where he notes that no commissions for Byzantine mosaic cycles post-date this period.

65 Buchthal, "Toward a History", p. 152 and fig. 12. See also the chapter of A.W. Carr in this volume.

66 Buchthal/Belting, *Patronage*, p. 30 and pls.86 and 87.

Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. 65[67] – as well as to Stavronikita 43 of the mid-10th century. In fact, Buchthal describes Patmos 81 as one of the finest extant manuscripts from the 14th century.[68]

This survey concludes with a superb Gospel book from Tirana, Albanian National Archives, ANA 10 (also known as Vlorë 10) that was recently published by Džurova. She links it with the famous Hodegon Monastery[69] of Constantinople and proposes a date in the late 14th century.[70] The superlative quality of its ornament and evangelist portraits would be remarkable under any circumstances, but especially for Byzantine production in this period. In fact, the Evangelist Mark reveals a direct link to Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. 70 of *c.*1300-10, itself closely related to Getty, Ms. 65 of the Atelier of the Palaiologina.[71] Both evangelists share identical poses, not to mention desks and accoutrements,[72] and the artist of Vlorë 10 has done a masterful job of depicting a naturalistic figure devoid of the mannerisms so persistent in late Palaeologan figure painting.

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67 Its location was unknown when Buchthal and Belting wrote their text and is therefore referred to as "X" in *Patronage*, p. 9. For more on Getty Ms. 65, see Nelson's entry on the manuscript in Evans, *Byzantium: Faith and Power* (*1261-1557*), cat. no. 163, pp. 278-9.

68 Buchthal, "Toward a History", pp. 152-5. Buchthal also notes that the first page of each Gospel in Patmos 81 is written in gold ink. For a color reproduction, see R. Nelson's entry in Evans, *Byzantium: Faith and Power* (*1261-1557*), cat. no. 165, pp. 280-1.

69 The Hodegon was clearly one of the leading sites for manuscript production in Constantinople during the Palaeologan period. See Buchthal, "Toward a History", pp. 152-77. For an early 14th-century manuscript from the Hodegon monastery with standing evangelist portraits (Morgan Ms. M. 340), see Kavrus-Hoffmann, "Catalogue. Part IV.1"", pp. 71-85.

70 I thank New Testament text critic, Daniel B. Wallace, Executive Director of the *Center for the Study of New Testament Manuscripts* (www.csntm.org), based in Frisco, Texas for providing access to his digital photographs of Vlorë 10. Wallace and his associates have photographed Greek New Testament manuscripts in collections throughout Europe and the U.S. See also Džurova, "Le Tétraévangile Vlorë 10". For a colour photograph of the Evangelist Mark of Vlorë 10, see <http://www.images.csntm.org/Manuscripts/noGA_Minuscule_Tirana_ANA_10/noGA_Minuscule_Tirana_ANA_10_0096b.jpg> (accessed 3 September 2014). I thank Daniel Wallace and Rob Marcello for their assistance with this image.

71 For Getty, Ms. 70, see Nelson's entry on the manuscript in Evans, *Byzantium: Faith and Power* (*1261-1557*), cat. no. 164, pp. 279-80.

72 See Džurova, "Le Tétraévangile Vlorë 10", vol. 2, p. 234 for a colour reproduction of Mark of Vlorë 10.

Liturgical Books, Service Books

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CHAPTER 19

The Lectionary

Elisabeth Yota

Introduction

The term *lectionary*[1] refers to a book used in the liturgy containing pericopes (scripture readings) which are read during the different liturgical services. Within the lectionary, readings are organized into two collections which cover the entire liturgical year: the *synaxarion* and the *menologion*.[2]

The *synaxarion* follows the cycle of movable feast days starting on Easter Sunday (the beginning of the liturgical calendar) and ending on Holy Saturday. In a *synaxarion*, the Gospel readings are grouped into four subdivisions for recitation during each season of the year: a) those drawn from the Gospel of John, read from Easter Sunday until Pentecost Sunday; b) the readings from Matthew, recited from the week after Pentecost Sunday until the beginning of September; c) the readings from the Luke, read from September until the beginning of Lent; and d) the readings from Mark, recited from Lent until Palm Sunday. Lastly, readings from all four Gospels are read from the Saturday of Lazaros till Holy Saturday.[3]

The *menologion* follows the cycle of fixed feasts of the Byzantine year, which begins on the 1st of September and ends on the 31st of August (this being the Byzantine civil year). Together, these two collections contain all the readings to be read for every day of the year. Furthermore, some Gospel readings are recited more than once over the course of the year, and towards the end of the *menologion* "cross-references occur with increasing frequency".[4] At the end of

1 *Evangelion* (*εὐαγγέλιον*) is precisely the word that best corresponds to the liturgical book containing extracts (pericopes) from the four Gospels in the order in which they are to be read throughout the year during the Liturgy and the Office. It should not be confused with the *Tetraevangelion* (*τετραευαγγέλιον*), which contains the complete text of the four Gospels arranged in the canonical order (Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John) and is divided into chapters and verses. See Clugnet, *Dictionnaire*, pp. 56, 150; Day, *The Liturgical Dictionary*, p. 95; Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, pp. 555-9; Dolezal, *Lectionary*, pp. 76-9; *ODB*, vol. 2, col. 761.

2 Jordan, *The Textual Tradition*, p. 5; Anderson, *Cruciform Lectionary*, p. 2; Lowden, *Jaharis Lectionary*, p. 16.

3 Jordan, *The Textual Tradition*, p. 8; Getcha, *Le typikon décrypté*, pp. 67-75.

4 Anderson, *Cruciform Lectionary*, p. 2.

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the *synaxarion* or the *menologion* are added the *eothina*, the 11 Resurrection passages read during the *orthros* (the office of matins) on Sundays throughout the year.[5]

There are two types of lectionaries: the "complete" (*καθημερινόν*) and the "abridged" (*σαββατοκυριακόν*). The distinction between them can be seen in when they are used – either during the week (*καθημερινόν*) or on Saturdays and Sundays (*σαββατοκυριακόν*) – and in the readings which they contain.[6]

Precisely how the system of readings in Byzantine lectionaries originated and developed is not a question that yields easily to investigation. Even though biblical passages[7] were already being read during the liturgy of the first centuries, it was around the 8th century that a complete system was formed – gradually and with inspiration, as it seems, from the various transformations of the liturgical calendar.[8] Readings from the New Testament, extracted from the

5 Jordan, *The Textual Tradition*, p. 87. The adjective *ἑωθινός* (*-ή*, *-όν*) comes from the word *ἕως* "at dawn". See Clugnet, *Dictionnaire*, p. 60. The name *eothina* is given to the 11 Gospel readings which relate Christ's post-Resurrection appearances. These pericopes are read during the *orthros* of the Sundays between Easter and Pentecost, as well as during the liturgy of the Sunday of St. Thomas, the Feast of the Ascension, and Pentecost. Getcha, *Le typikon décrypté*, pp. 65-7.

6 The *καθημερινόν* contains readings for every weekday from Easter Sunday until Holy Saturday, with the exception of the Lenten readings, which are drawn from the Saturday and Sunday readings. The *σαββατοκυριακόν* essentially contains the readings read on Saturdays and Sundays. The existence of two types of lectionaries is due to the fact that after Philotheos of Constantinople's reform in the 14th century, there were two different types of office in use throughout the empire: one type belonged to the secular churches, which followed the Typikon of the Great Church, while another type was observed by monasteries, which followed the Stoudite or Sabaite *ordo*. As a result, the complete lectionary was often attached to the offices of monasteries, while the abridged lectionary is found alongside the offices of secular churches. There are also lectionaries that are used both on weekdays and on Saturdays and Sundays, or those which are used exclusively on Sunday (*kyriakodromin*), or those used on feast days (*eortologion*). See Aland, *Kurzgefaßte Liste*, p. xv; Getcha, *Le typikon décrypté*, pp. 60-2. From monastic typika and inventories we are able to glean valuable information about the different types of lectionaries. See Bender et al., *Artefacts and Raw Materials*, "biblion" and "biblion evangelion."

7 Lectionaries containing readings from the Old Testament (*Prophetologion*) or from the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles (*Praxapostolos*) are also used in the liturgy. See *ODB*, vol. 2, col. 1201; Getcha, *Le typikon décrypté*, p. 60.

8 It seems that the readings for Saturday and Sunday were chosen first, while those belonging to the weekdays were added at a later date. On this subject, see Gregory, *Textkritik*, p. 336; Wikgren, "Chicago Studies", pp. 120-1; Metzger, "Greek Lectionaries", pp. 495-6; Aland/Aland, *The Text of the New Testament*, p. 165; Getcha, *Le typikon décrypté*, pp. 60-2; Gy, "La question du système des lectures"; Burns, "The Historical Events"; Velkovska, "Lo studio".

continuous text of the Gospels, make up the contents of the lectionary (*Evangelion*), which became the liturgical book *par excellence*.

The Lectionary's Place within the Liturgy

Because of its contents the lectionary plays an essential role in the Byzantine liturgy.[9] It was used in every church and monastery in the Byzantine Empire during the Divine Liturgy and the Sunday *orthros*.[10]

At the beginning of the Divine Liturgy, during the Liturgy of the Catechumens, the priest and the deacon solemnly carry the lectionary into the sanctuary in procession, accompanied by a processional cross, a censer, and candles. The priest, after reciting a prayer, advances towards the sanctuary in order to deposit the lectionary in the *bema* (this is called the "Little Entrance"[11]). He places it on the altar before beginning the liturgy. During the Liturgy of the Catechumens, the deacon or the priest takes the lectionary from the altar and moves towards the *ambo,* where the Gospel lesson is read.[12] After reciting the day's reading, the deacon or the bishop returns to the sanctuary and places the lectionary on the altar. Finally, after the communion of the faithful and during the prayers of thanksgiving, the bishop refolds the *antimension*[13] and uses the lectionary to make the sign of the cross over the altar.

Readings from the Gospels are also recited during the Sunday *orthros*. On Sunday, the priest or deacon reads one of the 11 pericopes of the Resurrection (*eothina*) at the altar. Lastly, extracts from the Gospel are also read on Holy Friday and, on some occasions, during the *esperinos* (the office of vespers).[14]

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9 Bornert, *Les commentaires*.

10 Jordan, *The Textual Tradition*, pp. 79-117.

11 The Little Entrance is a procession in which the deacon and the priest carry the lectionary from the altar, passing through the doors of the *prothesis* – located to the north of the sanctuary – and then cross the *naos* and advance towards the holy doors of the *bema*, before placing the lectionary upon the altar again. See Clugnet, *Dictionnaire*, pp. 43-4; Wybrew, *The Orthodox Liturgy*, p. 49.

12 In the development of the Byzantine liturgy we see that the Gospels are read from a lectern in front of the doors of the *bema*. Only during the Divine Liturgy on Easter Sunday are the Gospel readings performed from the altar. See Jordan, *The Textual Tradition*, p. 114. On Easter Sunday the Gospel is read by the *protopresbyter*, while on the other days of the year this is done by the deacon. See Wybrew, *The Orthodox Liturgy*, p. 39.

13 An *antimension* is a liturgical cloth, embroidered with the instruments of the Passion and the Entombment of Christ, on which the chalice and the paten are subsequently placed.

14 *Synaxarion of the monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis,* trans. R.H. Jordan.

Lectionaries often contain ecphonetic notation above the Gospel text; this confirms that these books were chiefly used in the liturgy and thus also had a public function.[15]

Their liturgical use is underscored by the addition of the words *ἀρχή* and *τέλος* (beginning and end) at the opening and at the close of each reading; by *incipit*s introducing the reading, such as "in those days", "thus saith the Lord", "brethren" or "beloved"; and finally by the addition of the liturgical date at the beginning of the reading or in the margins of the folio.[16]

The Format of the Text

The lectionary's textual format remains practically unchanged from the earliest preserved examples.[17] The text of the pericopes is usually written in two columns (see for example, *Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 520, fol. 6r, dated the second half of the 10th century, Fig. 2), though certain lectionaries, particularly those from the 9th and 10th centuries, are written in a single column (e.g. Sinai, Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sin. gr. 211, dated the first half of the 9th century).[18] Others, such as *New York, The Morgan Library and Museum, M. 692 (Fig. 100), a well-known lectionary dated to the 12th century, feature cruciform text throughout the entire manuscript.[19]

The number of lines and letters in each column depends of course on the size of each lectionary. In this regard Moscow, State Historical Museum, Synod. gr. 511, dated to the second half of the 11th century, is exceptional in its

15 Ecphonetic notation consists of 24 signs, or neumes, in a dozen pairs. They are written in red ink and surround the text, indicating the manner of recitation. Ecphonetic notes are never found in the Lives of Saints, in homilies or in the Psalter, but only in readings of the Gospels. See Engberg, "Greek Ekphonetic Neumes".

16 Getcha, *Le typikon décrypté*, p. 63.

17 On the structure of the text, the format, the script and the types of ink, see Jordan, *The Textual Tradition*, pp. 122-40.

18 Weitzmann, *Sinai*, pp. 19-20.

19 Anderson, *Cruciform Lectionary*, pp. 13-5. This author also mentions other manuscripts from the same period whose text is also in the form of a cross; see pp. 75-81. The lectionaries *London, British Library, Add. 39603 and Mount Athos, Iviron Monastery (without number) are entirely cruciform, while in both *Washington, Dumbarton Oaks Collection, MS. 1 and also in Mount Athos, Panteleimon Monastery, cod. 2 the text assumes the form of the cross only at the end of the pericope. For the Athonite manuscript, see also Kadas, *Τὸ εἰκονογραφημένο χειρόγραφο ἀρ. 2*, pp. 35, 37 and pl. 50.

particularly large script, where each line of the two columns contains only six to eight letters.[20]

Most lectionaries are large in size and generally contain text written in a large, easily legible script called "liturgical script", which has relatively few ligatures and few abbreviations for *nomina sacra*, articles, and word endings. This script, which was majuscule throughout the 9th century (e.g. Sinai, Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sin. gr. 210, dated to 861-62) and until the 11th century (e.g. * Baltimore, W. 520, Fig. 2), was thereafter transformed into minuscule according to the conventions of the time.[21]

The main text of the readings is written in red or black ink. Nevertheless, a small number of lectionaries have been preserved in which the text is entirely written in gold in (Sinai, Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sin. gr. 204, dated to *c.*1000; the aforementioned Synod. gr. 511; Athos, Vatopedi Monastery, Skevophylakion, cod. 4, dated to the second half of the 11th century; *Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 244, dated to the second half of the 11th century).[22]

Decoration

Despite the importance of the lectionary in the liturgy and its central role during the Little Entrance and the reading of the Gospel extracts, only a small number of lectionaries contain extensive illustrations. By and large these illustrated lectionaries have only ornamental decoration and evangelist portraits, while a mere two per cent contain narrative illustrations and sumptuous bindings.[23] The inventory lists and *typika* of monasteries often refer to lectionaries and their decoration, though these references tend to be brief and not particularly explicit.[24]

20 Zakharova, "The Relationship between Text and Image", p. 288, with bibliography at note 16; Lowden, *Jaharis Lectionary*, fig. 16.

21 Cavallo, *Ricerche*; Weitzmann, *Sinai*, pp. 17-9.

22 Weitzmann, *Sinai*, pp. 42-7 and pl. 8; Zakharova, "The Relationship between Text and Image", p. 288 and notes 16 and 18; Evans, *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261-1557)*, pp. 542-3.

23 Aland, *Kurzgefaßte Liste*, p. 205-318, whose results are taken up in Lowden, "Luxury and Liturgy", p. 275; Dolezal, "Illuminating the liturgical word", p. 24.

24 We mention specifically the will of Eustathios Boilas, dated to 1059, in which Boilas expresses his particular delight in the decoration of a Gospel book belonging to his library. Lemerle, "Le testament d'Eustathios Boilas"; Astruc, "L'inventaire", pp. 15-30 and especially p. 22; Bender et al., *Artefacts and Raw Materials*.

Bindings

Seen as the incarnation of Christ's wisdom,[25] lectionaries were sometimes given sumptuous bindings covered with precious metals, enamel work, precious stones, pearls or plaques of ivory.[26] Adorned with such treasures, the lectionary forms a strong visual link with the other sacred objects placed on the altar, the paten and the chalice.[27]

Among the oldest bindings preserved are those belonging to the Sion Treasure, dated to the 6th century. Formerly, these silver plaques covered the lectionaries' wooden panels. Two of these show a cross in repoussé between a pair of large leaves set within an arched portico. In two other plaques belonging to the same collection, the arched portico surrounds Christ, who is flanked by Peter and Paul.[28]

But while these metal plaques from the 6th century no longer adorn the binding of a lectionary, there are other, more recent ones which remain attached to their manuscripts. Among these is a magnificent binding which covers the lectionary of the Skevophylakion of the Great Lavra on Mount Athos, featuring on one side a standing Christ holding a Gospel within an arch, and on the other side the Anastasis or Resurrection, also set in an arch and surrounded by precious stones.[29] Three other bindings, preserved in the Treasury of St Mark, are also made of metal plaques adorned with enamels, precious stones and pearls.[30]

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25 Lowden, "Luxury and Liturgy", p. 263 and n. 1-2; Anderson, *Cruciform Lectionary*, p. 6 and n. 32; Safran, *Heaven on Earth*, p. 165.

26 Because of the heavy and sumptuous bindings that often adorned liturgical books, Liz James suggests that the most richly decorated lectionaries (on their bindings and in their miniatures) were never really used but, perhaps merely placed on the altar as representations of the Incarnation of Christ. See Cormack/Vassilaki, *Byzantium: 330-1453*, p. 200. Weitzmann had previously formed this conjecture; see Weitzmann, "The Narrative and Liturgical Gospel Illustrations", p. 153. On this point see also Lowden, "Luxury and Liturgy", pp. 276-9 and more recently Brubaker/Cunningham, "The Christian Book", p. 578.

27 Lowden, "Luxury and Liturgy", p. 271 and n. 17; Ševčenko, "Illuminating the Liturgy", p. 197.

28 Safran, *Heaven on Earth*, pp. 165-6 and n. 16, 17.

29 Pelekanidis, *The Treasures of Mount Athos*, vol. 3, p. 24. Also from Mount Athos, and more specifically from the Iviron monastery, comes a binding likewise from the 14th or 15th century and made with open-work rectangles of gilded silver. One side of this binding has a central metal plaque with a representation of the Anastasis, while the other side has a similar plaque with a scene of the Crucifixion. See Karakatsanis, *Athos*, no. 9.20, pp. 310-2.

30 Carrieri, *Le trésor de Saint-Marc de Venise*. In Carrieri these are no. 9 (late 9th to early 10th century, pp. 124-8), no. 14 (late 10th to early 11th century, pp. 152-5), and no. 19 (14th century, pp. 176-7).

Ornamental Decoration

The two main parts of a lectionary's makeup – the *synaxarion* and the *menologion* – , as well as their numerous subdivisions, are almost always highlighted by decorative bands and panels, as well as by ornamental and/or historiated initials.[31] In order to mark the beginning of a reading, the miniaturist creates a decoration which may take the form of a carpet page (*Venice, Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Postbizantini, cod. 2, fol. 3v, dated at *c.*1100),[32] panel of decoration enclosing a quatrefoil – at whose centre one may find either a title corresponding to the text which follows (lectionary Athos, Great Lavra, Skevophylakion, s.n. dated between 1120-30)[33] or a miniature (*Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1156, fol. 242r, dated to the 11th century).[34] This ornamental decoration can also take the form of a *pyle* (Jaharis Gospel Lectionary: *New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, MS acc. no. 2007.286, fol. 253r, dated around 1100),[35] which frequently surrounds two columns of text, or even a simple headpiece situated above each column of text.

The initials at the beginning of the text complete the illustration of the lectionary and highlight the beginning of the readings. They are, for the most part, simple ornamental initials and use the same motifs and decorative compositions as the panels. There are several lectionaries, however, in which the initials form either the divine hand completing the letter Epsilon or a figure – Christ, John the Baptist, an evangelist or an apostle – or, lastly, a scene from the Gospels (Athos, Vatopedi Monastery, Skevophylakion, cod. 3, dated to the 11th century; Athos, Dionysiou Monastery, cod. 587, dated to the end of the 11th century; *New York, The Morgan Library and Museum, M. 639, dated to the second half of the 11th century; Athens, National Library of Greece, cod. 190, end of the 11th to the beginning of the 12th century).[36] The function of these anthropomorphic initials is often to animate the dialogue between the persons cited in the readings for each feast day.[37]

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31 Zakharova, "The Relationship between Text and Image", p. 287.

32 Xyngopoulos, "Τὸ ἱστορημένο εὐαγγέλιον", pp. 63-88, the author dates it to the 13th century; Lowden, *Jaharis Lectionary*, fig. 91, pp. 80-1.

33 Pelekanidis, *The Treasures of Mount Athos*, vol. 3, figs. 1-2, 5.

34 Dolezal, *Lectionary*, pp. 183-97; D'Aiuto, "[Vat. gr. 1156]", pp. 244-8.

35 Lowden, *Jaharis Lectionary*, fig. 15, p. 14.

36 Papangelos, *Ἱερὰ Μεγίστη Μονὴ Βατοπαιδίου*, fig. 540, p. 592; Pelekanidis, *The Treasures of Mount Athos*, vol. 1, figs. 191-7, 200, 207-9, 211, 225-8, 231-2, 235, 237, 244, 246-7, 251; Weitzmann, "The Constantinopolitan Lectionary", figs. 293-308, 313-4, 321-2, 324-6; Marava-Chatzinicolaou/Toufexi-Paschou, *Catalogue,* vol. 1, pp. 154-161, figs. 349-81.

37 Dolezal, "Illuminating the liturgical word", p. 55.

Evangelist Portraits

In accordance with the established conventions for the illustration of Gospel books – the lectionary or *tetraevangelion* – , portraits of the evangelists may serve as a frontispiece to each Gospel.[38] Their presence at the beginning of each Gospel is intended to create a visual link between the author and his text – between the man responsible for transmitting the theological message and the fruit of his divine inspiration. In a lectionary, each evangelist's portrait illustrates one of the four sections of the *synaxarion*.[39] The portrait of John precedes the reading for Easter, the portraits of Matthew and Luke accompany the first readings from their respective sections, while that of Mark is placed before the reading for the first Saturday of Lent.

For those lectionaries which have an abridged system of readings – known as "selected lectionaries" – the placement of portraits is entirely different.[40] Such is the case in Dionysiou 587. In this lectionary's *synaxarion* only the John section is complete, while the other three contain a quite abbreviated number of readings. Because of this particular arrangement, only the portrait of John occupies an entire page, while those of the other three evangelists are incorporated into initials.[41] The evangelists' portraits could be represented either in a full-page miniature, as a frontispiece to the Gospel text (Sinai, Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sin. gr. 205; *Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 530 A, fol. Ar, dated to the early 11th century, Fig. 101; St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, gr. 21+21a; Panteleimon 2),[42] or as a panel surrounded by a border and situated above the corresponding pericope (the Jaharis Lectionary).[43]

38 For the iconography of the evangelists, see: Friend, "The Portraits of the Evangelists"; Hunger/Wessel, "Evangelisten".

39 As a result of this, the order of the portraits is not same as it is in a *tetraevangelion*, which maintains the canonical order (Matthew, Mark, Luke and John).

40 From the 10th century: *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 278 and *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1522; from the beginning of the 11th century: Sin. gr. 204; from the second half of the 11th century: Dionysiou. 587, *Med. Palat. 244 in Florence, Synod. gr. 511 in Moscow, Vatopedi, Skevophylakion 4; from the 13th century: Athos, Iviron Monastery, cod. 6. The "selected lectionaries" feature an abridged number of readings. Some of them may have only ten to 12 readings for the entire liturgical year, the fixed and movable feasts being mixed together. See Burns, "The Lectionary"; Dolezal, "Illuminating the liturgical word", p. 24; Zakharova, "The Relationship Between Text and Image", p. 287.

41 Dolezal, "Illuminating the liturgical word", pp. 26-7.

42 Weitzmann, *Sinai*, pl. 26c; Lichachova, *Byzantine Miniature,* fig. 7; Kadas, *Τὸ εἰκονογραφημένο χειρόγραφο ἀρ. 2*, figs. 4-6.

43 Lowden, *Jaharis Lectionary*, figs. 2, 30, 68, 76.

The evangelists gradually move away from the ancient philosopher's standing pose, making a speaking gesture or holding a codex (Sin. gr. 204), and adopt the pose of a copyist at different moments of his occupation. Portraits of John frequently feature a particular iconographical type: the evangelist stands upright, while at his side Prochoros is depicted writing down the Gospel text. John searches for inspiration as he turns his head towards a portion of the sky, whence emerges the hand of God [*Morgan M. 639 (Fig. 102), Dionysiou 587].

In a few lectionaries, the beginning of readings is also marked by the portrait of Christ flanked by Peter and Paul or by a representation of the *Deesis* and the four evangelists (Vatopedi, Skevophylakion 3 and 4; Athos, Great Lavra, cod. A 92; and *Istituto Ellenico cod. 2).[44] In these cases the influence of *tetraevangelion* illustration is clear.

Narrative Miniatures

According to the textual sources and witnesses that we possess, the oldest lectionaries containing a developed iconographic cycle date from the 10th century.[45] From this century are preserved the lectionaries Patmos, Monastery of Saint John the Theologian, cod. 70; Athos, Great Lavra, cod. A 86; and St. Petersburg, gr. 21+21a.[46] The first two feature illustrations consisting exclusively of marginal miniatures, placed between the two columns of the *synaxarion* text. The choice of scenes represented seems arbitrary, but their placement in close proximity to the verses for each particular scene suggests that there is a close correspondence between text and image.[47] Patmos cod. 70 is illustrated with seven marginal miniatures placed between the two columns of the text. The Healing of the Blind Man on fol. 40v illustrates the reading of the sixth Sunday after Easter, while the other six miniatures illustrate the readings of Holy Week (the Mount of Olives, fol. 170r; Peter cutting off Malchus' ear, fol. 171v; Peter's Denial, fol. 173v; the Washing of the Feet, fol. 174v; Christ before

44 Pelekanidis, *The Treasures of Mount Athos*, vol. 3, fig. 46; Papangelos, *Ἱερὰ Μεγίστη Μονὴ Βατοπαιδίου*, figs. 541-2; Xyngopoulos, "Τὸ ἱστορημένο εὐαγγέλιον" pl. B, fig. 1.

45 Zakharova, "The Relationship between Text and Image", p. 286 and n. 12. The author specifies that all the lectionaries preserved from the 9th century feature a purely ornamental decoration.

46 Kominis, *Patmos*, pp. 282-4 and figs. 9-14; Galavaris, "Ἡ ζωγραφικὴ τῶν χειρογράφων στὸν 10ον αἰῶνα", pp. 362-3, figs. 24-30; Zakharova, "The Original Cycle", pp. 169-92.

47 Dolezal, "Illuminating the liturgical word", pp. 24-5; Zakharova, "The Relationship between Text and Image", pp. 291-2.

Pilate, fol 213r; the Death of Judas, fol. 213v). In the Athonite lectionary, besides the Incredulity of Thomas on fol. 13v, the illustration is comprised of anthropomorphic figures or initials situated at the beginning of the pericopes of the *synaxarion* or the *menologion*. As for the St. Petersburg lectionary gr. 21+21a, which is illustrated with 16 miniatures either full-page or at the top or bottom of each folio, the connection between the images and the liturgical function of the text is made quite clear. The four sections of the *synaxarion* are preceded by full-page portraits of the evangelists. The other miniatures belonging to this first part of the lectionary illustrate the readings for the period from Easter to Pentecost to Lent (the Anastasis, fol 1v; the Wedding at Cana, fol. 2r; the Incredulity of Thomas, fol. 3v; the Washing of the Feet, fol. 6v.; the Women at the Empty Tomb, fol. 7v; the Entombment, fol. 8v; the Last Supper, fol. 9v.; Christ's Appearance to the Women, fol. 10v; the Mission of the Apostles, fol. 11r). From the *menologion,* only the scene of Christ reading the prophecy of Isaiah on fol. 11v has been preserved.[48]

Lectionaries containing a developed iconographic cycle, dated to the 11th and 12th centuries, feature a decidedly more complex system of illustration.[49] The choice of illustrated scenes and their position in the text of the reading varies from one lectionary to another – a fact which clearly shows that the illustration of lectionaries is not structured according to a single and unique model.[50] It equally proves the desire or intention to personalize each of these manuscripts with the purpose of underscoring its function and the context for which it had been created – whether for a monastery or for secular church.[51] To

48 Zakharova believes that 12 other miniatures currently belonging to manuscript Saint Petersburg, National Library of Russia, gr. 69 were at an earlier point part of the decoration of gr. 21+21a in the same library. See Zakharova, "The Original Cycle", pp. 171-3, 176-7, 184-6.

49 Dionysiou 587; *Vat. gr. 1156, *Istituto Ellenico cod. 2; *Morgan M. 639 and M 692; *Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Par. suppl. gr. 27; *Dumbarton Oaks MS. 1; Athens cod. 190; Istanbul, Patriarchal Library, cod. 8; Panteleimon 2; Vatopedi, Skevophylakion 3; Athos, Iviron Monastery, cod. 1 and cod. 1392. This information after the list given in Zakharova's article, "The Relationship between Text and Image", pp. 295-6, which gives a detailed bibliography for each manuscript.

50 Weitzmann, "A 10th-Century Lectionary", pp. 617-40. In this article Weitzmann attempted to demonstrate that one lectionary, currently lost, must have served as a model for the choice and the positioning of illustrated scenes in middle-Byzantine lectionaries. Since then, more recent research has shown that the illustration of Byzantine lectionaries is not based on any single iconographic archetype. See Dolezal, "Illuminating the liturgical word", pp. 23 n. 2, 24-5, 60.

51 We return to the idea of two types of lectionaries as discussed in the introduction (see n. 6) and particularly to the "selected lectionaries", which contain an abridged number of

illustrate this statement, we turn to the lectionary Athos, Great Lavra, Skevophylakion s.n., illustrated with just three full-page miniatures representing the Anastasis (fol. 1v), the Nativity (fol. 114v) and the Dormition (fol. 134v) (Fig. 103).[52] It was used at Karyes, Mount Athos' capital, during a communal liturgy for all the monasteries held on Easter, Christmas, and the Feast of the Dormition of the Virgin.

The miniatures are presented and organized so as to fit the lectionaries' two major divisions (the *synaxarion* and the *menologion*) and are used to emphasize the importance of certain Gospel readings in the liturgy of the great feasts. In the *synaxarion,* the readings for Saturday and Sunday are often adorned with illustrations, whereas in the *menologion* the major feast days (the Nativity, Baptism and Presentation of Christ in the Temple, the Annunciation, the Transfiguration, and the Dormition of the Virgin) along with other feasts (such as the Elevation of the Cross) are given special illustration.[53] There are no specific rules governing the number of illustrations; each part may contain a single illustrated scene or several tens of them. Likewise, their distribution throughout the readings is not subject to specific regulations.

The most important readings are often decorated with miniatures in panel form preceding the beginning of the text. Those marking the beginning of a section or the beginning of a part of the liturgical calendar are surrounded by an ornamental border and occupy the space of the two columns of the text (Vatopedi, Skevophylakion 3; Dionysiou 587).

Elsewhere, other feats are illustrated with miniatures in small panels situated above a single column of text. In the lectionary *Morgan M. 639, eight small panels surrounded by a simple border illustrate only the readings of Holy Week. There are four in the *synaxarion* (the Washing of the Feet, the Betrayal of Judas, the Denial of Peter, the Descent from the Cross, and the Lamentation of Christ) and four in the *menologion* (the Nativity, the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, the Annunciation, and the Dormition).[54] The decoration of this

readings and used only for specific occasions. Moreover, the selection of feast days may not be the same in every lectionary, but can vary in accordance with local requirements. This means that it is sometimes possible to place a manuscript within a specific geographical context. Such placement is facilitated by that part of the *menologion* devoted to local feasts and local saints (or saints who are especially venerated in a particular place).

52 Pelekanidis, *The Treasures of Mount Athos*, vol. 3, figs. 6-8, pp. 31-3 and 218-9; Weitzmann, "Das Evangelion".

53 In the *menologion* part of the lectionary the text is regularly decorated with marginal miniatures, historiated initials, or simply with vegetal motifs.

54 Weitzmann, "The Constantinopolitan Lectionary", p. 362 and figs. 315-8, 327-30.

manuscript is completed by numerous marginal miniatures and historiated initials placed throughout the text.

In the illustrating of a Gospel book, marginal miniatures – placed in the lateral margins or between the two columns of text – can correspond to the miniatures in panel form. This is the case in Dionysiou 587, which features a panel miniature at the beginnings of large sections, framed by large borders; miniatures in smaller panels below a single column of text; and marginal miniatures in the lateral margins and in the space between the two columns of text. The artist sometimes chose to recreate in the side margin the same subject as in the panel miniatures, the reason being to put them into close proximity to the Gospel text they represent and, with this double representation, to emphasize the reading's central place in the liturgy. In other places the miniatures in the margins complement the one in the panel by adding a narrative detail which precedes or follows the scene depicted. We might take as an example the illustration of the Baptism on fol. 141v (Fig. 104): the main scene is introduced, in the left margin of the same folio, by a representation of the Encounter of Christ with John the Baptist.[55]

Sometimes marginal miniatures will be the only type of illustration for the whole manuscript. The lectionary *Istituto Ellenico cod. 2 is an example of a type of illustration entirely in the margins. There are 94 very small, borderless miniatures in the median and lateral margins, so as better to illustrate the different parts of the *synaxarion* or *menologion*. The artist chose to place the figures on both sides of each column of text, with the intention of positioning the image as close as possible to the chosen reading and thus to give a more direct, visual interpretation of the Gospel message.[56]

Other times only one section of the lectionaries was illustrated with marginal miniatures throughout, and indeed it is often the *menologion* which is illustrated only with marginal miniatures and/or historiated initials. The lectionary *Vat. gr. 1156 clearly illustrates this scenario. This manuscript is decorated with numerous miniatures adorning the lateral margins, while hundreds of figures of saints commemorated in the *menologion* nearly insert themselves into the text. Besides these miniatures, *Vat. gr. 1156 contains five full-page miniatures: four featuring portraits of the evangelists and one page containing six scenes from the Passion cycle (the Prayer on the Mount of Olives, Christ's Arrest, Christ Before Pilate, the Crucifixion, the Lamentation of Christ, and the Anastasis) as a frontispiece to the reading for Holy Wednesday (fol. 194v) (Fig. 105).

55 Dolezal, "Illuminating the liturgical word", p. 47, fig. 16.

56 Xyngopoulos, "Τὸ ἱστορημένο εὐαγγέλιον", pl. 3, figs. 1-4.

Finally, there is the exceptional case of the lectionary Panteleimon 2, in which a *menologion* is illustrated with 17 full-page miniatures.[57] With the exception of the scene of the Exaltation of the Cross, for which we only have a single miniature, the miniaturist does not limit himself to a single image for each chosen reading. He crafts two, and, in doing so, strongly emphasizes some of the most important liturgical feasts. The featured scenes are expanded into two distinct compositions which follow on two folios, recto and verso. The exceptional nature of the Gospel illustration lies in the way the scenes are able to complement one another. In fact, the illustrations on the folios' recto sides serve largely to introduce the images on the reverse, which refer to the main scenes of the liturgical feasts themselves. For example, on fol. 202r the Virgin Mary, followed by her parents and seven virgins, advances towards the Temple and on fol. 202v comes her presentation there; on fol. 210r there is a group of shepherds and on fol. 210v the Nativity; on fol. 228r is Symeon with the Virgin and Child and on fol. 228v the Presentation of Christ in the Temple; on fol. 252r Christ, Peter, James, and John make their way to Mount Tabor and on fol. 252v we see the Transfiguration.[58] In certain cases, we find the representation of two complementary episodes celebrated the day before and the day of a major liturgical feast. Such is the case with the Meeting of Christ and John the Baptist on fol. 221r and the Baptism on 221v, or with the Annunciation to Zechariah on fol. 243r and the Birth of John the Baptist on fol. 243v.[59] Lastly, there is no satisfactory explanation for the unusual positioning of two miniatures: the image of the miracles of Saints Kosmas and Damian on fol. 197r, which precedes that of the two *Anargyroi* on fol. 197v, and the scene of the Visitation on fol. 236r, which precedes that of the Annunciation on fol. 236v.[60]

57 Kadas, *Τὸ εἰκονογραφημένο χειρόγραφο ἀρ. 2*, pp. 73-135.

58 Ibid., pls. 10-3, 16-7, 22-3.

59 Ibid., pls. 14-5, 20-1.

60 Ibid., pls. 8-9 and 18-9. According to the author, the folios have not been rearranged. See p. 75 and n. 104.

CHAPTER 20

Psalters and Books of Hours (*Horologia*)

Georgi R. Parpulov

Text and Illustrations

A Psalter (Ψαλτήριον) contains 151 biblical psalms, always in the same sequence, plus nine or more poetic excerpts (canticles, or odes/ᾠδαί) from other books of the Bible.[1] A Book of Hours (Ὡρολόγιον) contains those same odes and select psalms, re-ordered for prayer at set times of the day and night[2] and intermixed with short non-biblical prayers and hymns. Additional, private prayers are sometimes appended to an *Horologion* or Psalter. A Psalter may also contain explanatory prefaces (such as Athanasios of Alexandria's "Letter to Marcellinus") and/or theological commentary running parallel to the biblical text.

Images may illustrate individual psalm verses and be, by way of explanation, placed close to them. In most illustrated Psalters and *Horologia*, however, the figural miniatures subdivide the text – just like titles do – and thus facilitate paging through it. In principle, each ode and sometimes even each psalm can be marked with a picture, but typically pictures precede the often-used Psalm 50,[3] the beginning and middle of the Psalter (Ps 1 and 77), and/or the initial ode (Gen. 15:1-19) (Figs. 107-111).

The illustrations can be painted with tempera or simply drawn in ink – and in the latter case, sometimes tinted with wash. They alternatively form self-contained, often framed compositions (which may or may not fill a whole

1 The chapter and verse numbers cited here are those of the Greek Old Testament (Septuagint). All quotes are from *Septuagint,* trans. A. Pietersma/B. Wrigth, pp. 542-620. Exodus 15:1-19, Deuteronomy 32:1-43, 1 Reigns 2:1-10, Habakkuk 3:2-19, Isaiah 26:9-20, Jonah 2:3-10, Daniel 3:26-56, Daniel 3:57-88, Luke 1:46-55 plus Luke 1:68-79 (these two are normally grouped together into a single ode), Isaiah 38:10-20 (the Prayer of Hezekiah), the apocryphal Prayer of Manasses, Luke 2:29-32. The order varies somewhat, but Exodus 15:1-19 always comes first.

2 Nocturns (μεσονυκτικόν), Matins (ὄρθρος), Prime, Terce, Sext, *Typika* (τυπικά), None, Compline (ἀπόδειπνον).

3 In current usage, Psalm 50 is recited during Nocturns, Terce, and Compline, and before Communion.

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page),[4] vignettes in the page's margin (Fig. 106),[5] or "historiated" initial letters incorporating one or more figures.[6]

Types of Illustration

Author Portraits

Regardless of the miniatures' format, the persons whom they most frequently portray are those identified in the title of the adjacent text: the Sons of Kore (Ps 41, 43, etc.), Asaph (Ps 49, 72, etc.), Moses (Exodus 15:1-19, Deuteronomy 32:1-43), the Virgin Mary (Lk 1:46-55), etc. King David is very often depicted in this context, since most Psalms are associated with his name. He can be shown standing (in some cases facing the viewer, in others turned to the sky in prayer), kneeling, playing the psaltery (under whose accompaniment psalms were originally sung), or writing psalms. His image frequently forms a frontispiece to Psalm 1 and thus, to the Psalter as a whole (Fig. 107).[7] Portraits can mark prefaces and appendices, too: Athanasios is occasionally painted before his "Letter to Marcellinus";[8] John Chrysostom or Basil of Caesarea, before prayers attributed to them.[9] When the Psalms have commentary, the Church Fathers who wrote it may be collectively portrayed on the volume's opening page.[10]

4 E.g., *Washington DC, Dumbarton Oaks, MS 3, fols. 5r-6r (AD 1083); *Philadelphia, Free Library, Lewis E M 44:28, front (12th century).

5 E.g., *Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 733, fols. 9r-12r (13th century). Psalters illustrated in this manner are termed "marginal".

6 E.g., *Dumbarton Oaks 3, fols. 79r-81v.

7 E.g., *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Reg. gr. 1 (the "Leo Bible"), fol. 487v (10th century); Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1747, fol. IIr (10th century); *Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barocci 15, fol. 39v (AD 1104); *Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Vitr. 26-5, fol. IIIv (14th century); Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, gr. 4, fol. 1r (14th century); *Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Laur. Plut. 5.17, fol. IIv (AD 1403).

8 Jerusalem, Greek Patriarchal Library, Taphou 53, fol. 8r (AD 1053); *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 752, fol. 12r (AD 1058); Athos, Pantokrator Monastery, cod. 234, fol. 258r (12th century). See also Athens, National Library of Greece, cod. 7, fol. 2v (12th century).

9 Taphou 53, fol. 226r (AD 1053); Saint Petersburg, National Library of Russia, gr. 266, fol. 4r (AD 1053); New York Public Library, Spencer MS 1, fols. 398v, 403r (12th century).

10 Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, M 47 sup., fols. Iv-IIr (10th century).

Historical Scenes

In some cases David's frontispiece portrait includes the temple choirs described by Kosmas Indikopleustes (*Christian Topography* v. 121).[11] It can also be preceded by a sort of biography in pictures that represent important events from his life (1 Reigns 16:1-3 Reigns 2:11) and thus set out the Psalter's background.[12] When historical images preface an individual ode or psalm, they frequently show the occasion on which its text was first recited: the Presentation in the Temple (Lk 2:29-32),[13] Crossing of the Red Sea (Exodus 15:1-19) (Fig. 110) or dance of the Israelite women (Exodus 15:21),[14] Babylonian captivity (Ps 136),[15] building of the House (Ps 95);[16] David fighting Goliath (Ps 151),[17] fleeing Abessalom (Ps 3, 142),[18] rebuked by Nathan (Ps 50),[19] and so on. New Testament scenes can preface the sections in an *Horologion* (Pentecost before Terce, the Crucifixion before Sext, the Deposition before None, etc.), referring to the hour when the respective gospel event occurred.[20] Illustrations may also correspond to the liturgical use of a text: Psalm 118, for instance, is sometimes illustrated with images of death or dying because it is chanted at funerals and memorial services.[21]

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11 Athos, Vatopedi Monastery, cod. 761, fol. 14v (AD 1087, retouched); *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 342, fol. 24v (AD 1087); *London, British Library, Add. 36928, fol. 46v (AD 1089); cf. *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 699, fol. 63v (9th century).

12 E.g., *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 139 (the "Paris Psalter"), fols. 1v-6v (10th century); *Vat. gr. 752, fols. 1r-2v (AD 1058); Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, 78 A 9 (the "Hamilton Psalter"), fols. 40r-43v (14th century).

13 E.g., *London, British Library, Add. 40731 (the "Bristol Psalter"), fol. 263v (11th century); Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett 78 A 9, fol. 265r (13th century).

14 E.g., Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Marc. gr. Z. 535, fol. 318r (11th century); *Lesbos, Leimonos Monastery, MS 295, p. 14 (12th century); *London, British Library, Add. 11836, fol. 297v-298r (12th century); *Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 534 (the "Walters Horologion"), fol. 20v (15th century).

15 E.g., *London, British Library, Add. 19352 (the "Theodore Psalter"), fol. 176r (AD 1066).

16 E.g., *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 20, fol. 4r (9th century); *Vat. gr. 752, fol. 300r (AD 1058).

17 E.g., *Bodl. Barocci 15, fol. 343r (AD 1104).

18 E.g., *London, Add. 40731 (the "Bristol Psalter"), fol. 1or (11th century); *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1927, fols. 3r, 253r (12th century).

19 E.g., *London, British Library, Harley 5535, fol. 67v (13th century); *Baltimore, W. 534, fol. 85v (15th century).

20 *Leimonos 295, pp. 142, 172, 200 (12th century); *Baltimore, W. 534, fols. 76r, 92v, 106r (15th century).

21 Saint Petersburg, gr. 266, fol. 3r (AD 1053); Vat. gr. 752, fol. 366r (AD 1058); Moscow, State Historical Museum, Muz. 2752 (the "Tomić Psalter"), fol. 202r (*c.*1360).

Pictorial Gloss

If particular psalm verses point, literally or prophetically, to a biblical incident, the latter can be painted beside them: Joseph sold into slavery (Ps 104:17),[22] Moses receiving the law – or Jesus Christ expounding it (Ps 77:1) (Fig. 108),[23] David tending his flock (Ps 151:1-2),[24] etc.; Jesus transfigured on Mount Tabor (Ps 88:13),[25] entering Jerusalem (Ps 8:3),[26] hanging on the cross (Ps 21:17, 68:22),[27] rising from the dead (Ps 67:2),[28] ascending into heaven (Ps 17:11, 46:6, 56:6),[29] etc. Sometimes a portrait of Christ next to that of David demonstrates the fulfilment of words like "I kept seeing the Lord always before me" (Ps 15:8) or "The light of your face was made a sign upon us, O Lord!" (Ps 4:7).[30] (In the latter instance, the word "sign" is illustrated with a cross, *signum crucis*.) Saints or monks appear near verses mentioning "those who hope in His mercy" (Ps 32:18), the "righteous" (Ps 33:18, 36:39, 96:11), "Your slaves" (Ps 88:51), "the needy" (Ps 111:9), etc.[31] Conversely, Judas is portrayed as "the transgressor of the law" (Ps 35:2) and "a sinner" (Ps 108:6); the heretic John VII, patriarch of Constantinople from 837 to 843, as the "impious one" (Ps 36:35); the enemies of icon veneration, as "the assembly of evildoers" (Ps 25:5).[32] It is also possible for individual phrases – including comparisons and metaphors – to be directly translated into a picture: a ferocious lion (Ps 7:3), a man's tongue plucked out (Ps 11:4), a doe by a well (Ps 41:2), the rising and setting of the sun (Ps 49:1), a snake (Ps 57:5), a trumpeter (Ps 80:4), an old man (Ps 89:10), a unicorn (Ps 91:11), people caught in a net (Ps 140:10), etc.[33]

22 E.g., *Baltimore, W. 733, fol. 75v (13th century).

23 E.g., *Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 530 B, fol. 1v (AD 1087); *Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Laur. Plut. 6.36, fol. 312v (12th century); *London, Add. 11836, fol. 267v (12th century).

24 E.g., Taphou 53, fol. 203r (AD 1053).

25 E.g., *Baltimore, W. 733, fol. 55v (13th century).

26 E.g., *London, Add. 40731 (the "Bristol Psalter"), fol. 15v (11th century).

27 E.g., *London, Add. 40731, fols. 35v, 110r.

28 E.g., Athos, Vatopedi Monastery, cod. 760, fol. 119v (12th century).

29 E.g., Moscow, State Historical Museum, Sobr. A.I. Khludova 129d (the "Khludov Psalter"), fols. 14r, 46v, 55v (9th century); Sinai, Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sin. gr. 48, fol. 59r (AD 1074).

30 E.g., *London, Add. 19352 (the "Theodore Psalter"), fols. 14r, 3v (AD 1066).

31 *London, Add. 19352 (the "Theodore Psalter"), fols. 36v, 37v, 44v, 130v, 120v, 153v.

32 Moscow, Khludov 129d, fols. 32v, 113r, 35v, 23v (9th century).

33 *London, Add. 19352, fols. 5v, 11v, 51r, 61v-62r, 72r, 109r, 121v, 124v, 180v.

Devotional Images

Since Psalters and *Horologia* were books of prayer, certain miniatures in them could serve as icons. These normally occupy a full page and coincide with major text sections (Nocturns, Ps 1, Ps 77, Lk 1:46-55) where they could be contemplated at length, either before or after reading (Figs. 109, 112). Without referring directly to the psalms, such images merely depict the persons through or to whom prayers were addressed: select saints, the Virgin, Christ (on His own or in the Crucifixion, Resurrection, etc.).[34] Sometimes devotional images accompany prayers – phrased, as a rule, in the first person singular – and in a few cases show the book's owner as a supplicant.[35] Frontispieces to a Book of Hours (which has no single author) may portray monastic saints (Sabbas, Pachomios) as models of piety.[36] In a few cases, scenes of death or posthumous judgement remind readers of their mortality, urging them toward repentance.[37]

Traditions and Novelty

No illustrated Byzantine Psalters are known before *c.*850, but the image of King David which precedes 1 Reigns in a 7th-century Syriac codex may echo similar miniatures before Psalm 1 in other manuscripts, now lost.[38] Three Psalters with extensive pictorial gloss in their margins were evidently produced shortly after the end of Iconoclasm (843).[39] One carries on its first leaf a full-page David portrait.[40] A composite illustration in a homiliary (*c.*880) contains scenes that

34 E.g., *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 331, fol. 1r (11th century); Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vind. theol. gr. 336, fols. 1r, 16v, 17v (AD 1076); *Dumbarton Oaks 3, fol. 39r (AD 1083); *New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, MS acc. no. 2001.730, fol. 5r (12th century).

35 E.g., Cambridge Mass., Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS. gr. 3, fol. 8v (AD 1104); New York, Spencer MS. 1, fol. 403r (12th century); Athens, Benaki Museum, Benaki 68 [Vitr. 34.3], fols. 175v (12th century), 194r (14th century).

36 *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 12, fol. 217v (AD 1419); Escorial, Real Biblioteca, Chi. IV. 16, fol. 3v (15th century).

37 Athos, Dionysiou Monastery, cod. 65, fols. 11r-12r (12th century); Moscow, Muz. 2752 (the "Tomić Psalter"), fol. 3r (*c.*1360).

38 Sinai, Monastery of Saint Catherine, N.F. Syr. 24; cf. note 7 above.

39 *Par. gr. 20; Athos, Pantokrator Monastery, cod. 61 (the "Pantokrator Psalter"); Moscow, Khludov 129d (the "Khludov Psalter").

40 Moscow, Khludov 129d, fol. 1v.

were probably derived from ode (canticle) frontispieces.[41] A series of 22 versified captions copied – without the paintings they were meant to accompany – in 950 shows that long pictorial biographies of David already existed at that time.[42] A 10th-century Psalter contains icon-like images of St. John the Baptist, Christ, the Virgin, and two (now unidentifiable) bishop saints.[43] The oldest known frontispiece to Psalm 50 dates *c.*950,[44] and the earliest donor portrait in a Psalter depicts Emperor Basil II (r. 976-1025).[45] The custom of marking Psalm 77 with a full-page miniature can be traced back to the mid-11th century.[46] Historiated psalm initials emerged by *c.*1074.[47]

Whereas it remains uncertain to what extent the oldest known Psalter illustrations reflect (hypothetical) earlier prototypes, it is known that entire series of 9th- or 10th-century images were occasionally imitated by later artists.[48] Contemporaneous painters, too, might produce very similar pictures, probably on the basis of identical model drawings.[49] Thus, illustrators of the psalms and odes were guided by established usage.

At the same time, artistic tradition was flexible to the extent that no two manuscripts would precisely repeat each other. Four pairs of surviving Psalters were demonstrably penned, in each case, by a single scribe, yet no two have identical images.[50] Long series of Psalter illustrations could emerge *ad hoc*: in one case, a unique *catena* to the biblical text is matched with illustrations,

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41 *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 510 (the "Paris Gregory"), fol. 435v: cf. Daniel 3:26-88, the Prayer of Manasses, and Isaiah 38:10-20.

42 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. D. 4. 1, fols. 35v-36r.

43 Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Crux 24 sup., fols. 9r-10r, 195r-v.

44 *Par. gr. 139 (the "Paris Psalter"), fol. 136v.

45 Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Marc. gr. Z. 17, fol. 111r.

46 *London, Add. 40731 (the "Bristol Psalter"), fol. 125v.

47 Saint Petersburg, National Library of Russia, gr. 214, fols. 1r, 80r, 98r, 297r, 299v, 306v, 308v, 311v, 314v, 319r.

48 Compare, e.g., the marginal miniatures in "Khludov Psalter" (9th century) with those in *London, Add. 19352 (AD 1066), *London, Add. 40731 (11th century), and *Baltimore, W. 733 (13th century); *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. suppl. gr. 610, fols. 249v, 252v, 256v (10th century) with *Dumbarton Oaks 3, fols. 75r, 76r, 77r (AD 1084); *Par. gr. 139, fols. 1v, 6v, 419v (10th century) with Saint Petersburg, National Library of Russia, gr. 269, fols. 1r, 2r, 3r (13th century).

49 Compare, e.g., the 11th-century miniatures in Athos, Great Lavra, cod. A 13, fols. 178r, 245r and in *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Barb. gr. 320, fols. 2r, 112r, or the 14th-century ones in Athens, National Library of Greece, cod. 16, fol. 208r-v and in Athos, Dionysiou Monastery, cod. 60, fol. 210v.

50 Compare: Taphou 53 (AD 1053) with Vat. gr. 752 (AD 1058); *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Barb. gr. 372 (the "Barberini Psalter", 11th century) with *London, Add.

unparalleled elsewhere, for every single psalm and ode;[51] in another, the scribe (or commissioner) of a Psalter initially wanted to fill its margins with written gloss but soon ran short of space and switched, from Psalm 17 onward, to more condensed commentary in the form of small, and iconographically unusual, pictures.[52] Even when models were available – directly or from memory – individual figures or details seem to have amounted to "building blocks" that an artist could move around: for instance, a late-Byzantine painter working from a 10th-century prototype was able to put together a new composition by rearranging motifs which he found in his exemplar.[53]

One anonymous illuminator's working process is documented by notes partially extant in a Psalter's lower margins: "Here, make [i.e. paint] David standing and holding a book and looking toward the sky, and opposite [him], the sky and rays coming down", "Here: the birth of the Baptist, and the prophet Zechariah seated and writing on a small tablet", etc.[54] Clearly, in this case the Greek-speaking artist could neither follow the book's text (written in Slavonic) nor rely on a pre-existing model. Guided by simple instructions like those above, he created images of memorable beauty.

Historiography

The first modern scholar to have taken notice of an illustrated Byzantine Psalter is probably Peter Lambeck (1628-80).[55] A now-famous manuscript in Paris was briefly described – and correctly dated to the 10th century-by Bernard de Montfaucon (1655-1741).[56] Further – and increasingly detailed – pioneering descriptions were published in the 19th century by Jean Baptiste d'Agincourt

19352 (AD 1066); Vind. theol. gr. 336 (AD 1076) with Vatopedi 761 (AD 1087); *Vat. gr. 342 (AD 1087) with *London, Add. 36928 (AD 1090).

51 *Vat. gr. 752 (AD 1058).

52 Sin. gr. 48, fols. 15v-70r (AD 1074).

53 Compare *Par. gr. 139, fols. 1v, 6v, 422v with *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Palat. gr. 381 (the "Palatina Psalter"), fols. 1v, 2r, 171v, 172r.

54 Moscow, Muz. 2752 (the "Tomić Psalter"), fols. 22r, 271r (*c.*1360): ᾽Ενταῦθα ποίησον τ(ὸν) Δα(υὶ)δ ἱστάμ(ε)νον κ(αὶ) κρατῶντα βιβλίον καὶ βλέποντα πρὸς οὐ(ρα)νὸν (καὶ) ἀντικρὺ οὐ(ρα)νὸν καὶ ἀκτῖνας κατερχομέν(ας) (for Ps 15), ᾽Ενταῦθα τὴν γέννησιν τοῦ Προδρόμου κ(αὶ) τ(ὸν) προφήτην Ζαχαρίαν καθήμ(εν)ον (καὶ) γράφοντα εἰς πινακήδιον (for Lk 1:68-79).

55 Vind. theol. gr. 336: De Nessel, *Catalogus*, pp. 447-8. This catalogue is based on Lambeck's notes.

56 *Par. gr. 139 (the "Paris Psalter"): De Montfaucon, *Palaeographia Graeca,* pp. 7, 11-3.

(1730-1814),[57] Carl Rumohr (1785-1843),[58] Gustaw Waagen (1794-1868),[59] Vukol Undolskii (1816-64),[60] Fyodor Buslaev (1818-97),[61] Nikodim Kondakov (1844-1925),[62] Porphyrius Uspenskii (1804-85),[63] Henri Bordier (1817-88),[64] Woldemar Seidlitz (1850-1922),[65] Jakob Tikkanen (1859-1930),[66] and Egor Redin (1863-1908).[67] Buslaev was the first to propose a typology of illustrated Greek Psalters:

"Among the early types of Psalter illustration known to me two stand out. They are clearly distinguishable in terms both of the miniatures' subject matter and of the manner in which the very text of the Psalms is understood. Since these two versions correspond to two complementary ways of understanding and interpreting Scripture, their art historical study introduces us to the thinking and concepts of those who – as part of their pious vigils – once read and chanted psalms [from illustrated manuscripts] of one type or the other. The first, represented by the famous ninth or tenth-century Greek Psalter in the Parisian National Library, limits itself to Old Testament themes and concepts; the miniatures' depict events from the life of King David or, more broadly, from Jewish history. The second type of illustration, to which I assign the Barberini Psalter discussed here, is informed by patristic Psalms commentaries; it must have emerged and developed at a time when the so-called *catena* Psalter was being compiled. By adding New Testament or, more broadly, Christian, ecclesiastical subjects to the Old Testament ones, miniatures of this [second] type interpret the Psalms text as a prophecy about Christ and His church; they treat persons or events mentioned in the Psalms as a prefiguration of persons and events from the New Testament. Miniatures of the former type have a more

57 Marc. gr. Z. 17 (the "Psalter of Basil II"): Seroux d'Agincourt, *Histoire de l'art*, vol. 3, p. 53.

58 *Vat. Barb. gr. 320 (11th century [*sic*]): Von Rumohr, *Italienische Forschungen*, vol. 1, p. 299.

59 *London, Add. 19352 (the "Theodore Psalter"): Waagen, "Ueber byzantinische Miniaturen"; id., *Galleries and Cabinets*, pp. 7-21.

60 The "Khludov Psalter": Undol'skii, "Opisanie grecheskogo kodeksa".

61 *Vat. Barb. gr. 372 (the "Barberini Psalter"): Buslaev, "Iz Rima".

62 *Vat. gr. 752; *Vat. Palat. gr. 381 (the "Palatina Psalter"): Kondakov, *Istoriia*, pp. 128-30, 164-5.

63 Pantokrator 61 (the "Pantokrator Psalter"): Uspenskii, *Pervoe puteshestvie*, vol. II.2, pp. 134-56.

64 *Par. gr. 20, *Par. gr. 41, *Par. gr. 331, Par. gr. 12: Bordier, *Description des peintures*, pp. 98-101, 181, 184, 260-1.

65 Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, 78 A 9 (the "Hamilton Psalter"): Von Seidlitz, "Hamilton-Sammlung", pp. 259-61.

66 *Vat. gr. 1927: Tikkanen, *Psalterillustration*, pp. 91-9.

67 Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, M 54 sup.; *Laur. Plut. 6.36: Redin, "Rukopisi", pp. 306-8, 315-6.

general character, in that they simply illustrate Old Testament subjects with no reference to the particular wording of the Psalms. Those of the latter type refer, in correspondence with the text's theological interpretation, to specific phrases, and for that reason miniatures and text are accompanied by conventional signs that direct the reader from a given scriptural passage to its pictorial explanation (just like a number or asterisk in a printed book would point to a footnote). Consequently, miniatures of the first type may occupy a separate, unwritten page (as in the Paris Psalter); those of the second one are, similarly to the gloss in old editions of the classics, placed in the margins around the text (as in the Barberini Psalter). I shall call the first of these the Paris type, and the second, the Barberini one".[68]

Buslaev's classification remains in use to the present day. Anton Springer (1825-91) saw his two types as representing two opposite currents in Byzantine culture: one "courtly and classicising", the other "monastic and theological".[69] Tikkanen re-labelled them, more succinctly, "aristocratic" and "monastic".[70] Gabriel Millet (1867-1953) traced their history: both originated in Late Antiquity, comprised at first a great number of compositions, and were progressively reduced in scope; "the direct – whether concrete or abstract – illustration of the text retreats before iconic images[: a] development that reveals the growing influence of the liturgy".[71] Heinrich Brockhaus (1858-1941) defined devotional pictures as a separate category independent of either type of Psalter illustration.[72]

Twentieth-century scholarship sought to place individual codices – or small groups of interrelated ones – in more closely defined historical context: the 10th-century Paris Psalter and its late 13th-century replicas exemplify two successive Byzantine revivals of Greco-Roman culture (under the Macedonian and Palaeologan dynasties);[73] the 9th-century "monastic" Psalters bear witness to theological debates against Iconoclasm;[74] their later descendants, headed by the Theodore Psalter of AD 1066, reflect an assertion of the ascetic spirit of monasticism.[75]

68 Buslaev, "Iz Rima", pp. 214-5.

69 Springer, *Die Psalter-Illustrationen*, pp. 210-7.

70 Tikkanen, *Psalterillustration*, vol. 1, pp. 8-134.

71 Millet, "L'art byzantine", pp. 224-5, 227.

72 Brockhaus, *Die Kunst in den Athos-Klöstern*, pp. 169-72, cf. pp. 173-83.

73 Weitzmann, "Der Pariser Psalter", p. 193; id., "Eine Pariser-Psalter-Kopie", pp. 140-3.

74 Grabar, *L'iconoclasme byzantin*, pp. 196-202, 214-33.

75 Martin, *Heavenly Ladder*, pp. 207-24, esp. pp. 211-2.

A comprehensive history of Byzantine Psalter illustration remains to be written. Meanwhile, the vast majority of relevant manuscripts have become known to scholars – except for two that still await full publication and proper study.[76]

76 Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Barb. gr. 285 (11th century); Turin, Biblioteca Reale, Var. 484 (15th century).

CHAPTER 21

Liturgical Scrolls

Vasileios Marinis

Introduction

A scroll is a book made of sheets of papyrus, parchment, or paper pasted together and rolled.[1] The scroll was the dominant book format in the Mediterranean until the 3rd or 4th century AD, when the codex supplanted it.[2] However, in the Byzantine East scrolls continued to be used in certain contexts, particularly for chrysobulls, inventories, typika, and other secular and ecclesiastical documents.[3]

Liturgical scrolls (κοντάκια, εἰλητά, εἰλητάρια), written on paper or parchment, constitute one of the most distinguished and numerous groups of scrolls in Byzantium. More than 150 have been catalogued, most in Mount Athos in Greece, although the actual number of surviving scrolls is certainly larger.[4] They appear in medieval inventories of both monasteries and secular churches.[5] Most date from the 12th through the 15th centuries. There are, however, isolated examples from as early as the late 8th century.[6] The resurgence of the medium was likely due to both practical and symbolic reasons. The text of the Divine Liturgy was read by unfurling the manuscript one way, something that negated the limitations of the scroll. At the same time the patently ancient book form underscored the antiquity and authenticity of the text.[7]

1 Hunger, *Geschichte der Textüberlieferung*, vol. 2, pp. 43-7; Turner, *The Terms Recto and Verso*.

2 Gamble, *Books and Readers*, pp. 42-81; Cavallo, "Between *Volumen* and Codex".

3 Santifaller, "Über späte Papyrusrollen", pp. 121-6, 129-33; Atsalos, *La terminologie*, pp. 148-76.

4 See, for example, Politis, "Κατάλογος"; Lavriotis, "Κατάλογος".

5 For example, the inventory included in the 13th-century Testament of Maximos, the founder of the monastery of Boreini near Philadelphia (modern Alaşehir, Turkey), lists three scrolls (κονδάκια) containing the Liturgy of John Chrysostom, and three of Basil of Caesarea; see Thomas/Constantinides Hero, *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, p. 1185. An inventory (dated 1396) from Hagia Sophia in Constantinople lists five; see Miklosich/Müller, *Acta*, vol. 2, p. 268.

6 For example, Sinai, Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sin. gr. 591, which is a *menaion*, and *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 2282, which contains the Liturgy of Saint James; see Cavallo, "La genesi", pp. 221-2.

7 Kepetzi, Les rouleaux liturgiques, pp. 2-3.

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Byzantine liturgical scrolls are as long as 12 meters. The text forms single column that runs the length of the scroll, and frequently the verso is also used, in contrast to earlier, Greco-Roman examples, in which writing covered only one side with columns that ran perpendicular to the length of the scroll. The majority of these scrolls contain the prayers that the bishop or priest read inaudibly during the celebration of the Divine Liturgy, the Eucharist of the Byzantine rite, attributed to either John Chrysostom or Basil of Caesarea.[8] In addition, some contain the Presanctified Liturgy,[9] the Liturgy of James, and other related texts.[10]

Few liturgical scrolls are decorated and even fewer contain anything more than an author's image in the frontispiece.[11] The location of the miniatures varies and shows little standardization. Some manuscripts, such as Patmos, Monastery of Saint John the Theologian, cod. 707[12] and Athens, National Library of Greece, cod. 2759,[13] include an elaborate frontispiece; others, such as Mount Athos, Great Lavra, cod. 2[14] and Jerusalem, Greek Patriarchal Library,

8 See the observations in ibid., pp. 23-5. The scrolls also contain the *ekphoneseis* (lit. "exclamation"), short sentences, often the last in a prayer, that were intoned. The Liturgy of Saint Basil of Cesaraea was the chief rite until the beginning of the 9th century, when the Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom replaced it. Thereafter Basil's Liturgy was celebrated only ten times a year. On this change, see Parenti, "La 'vittoria'".

9 The Presanctified Liturgy was essentially a communion service following vespers on days when there was no Eucharist. Eventually, the Presanctified Liturgy was limited to Wednesdays and Fridays of Great Lent and on Holy Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday. On the development of this rite, see Alexopoulos, *The Presanctified Liturgy*.

10 Gerstel, "Liturgical Scrolls", pp. 197-98. There is a group of about 30 scrolls, all dating to after the 12th century, that contain the service of the Holy Communion, see Alexopoulos/Van den Hoek, "The Endicott Scroll".

11 For illustrated liturgical scrolls the most important study is Kepetzi, *Les rouleaux liturgiques*. I am grateful to Prof. Kepetzi for making this available to me. For a now outdated catalogue of such manuscripts, see Farmakovskij, "Vizantijskij Pergamennyi Rukopisnyi". References to specific manuscripts will be given throughout the text.

12 This manuscript dates to the 12th century and contains the Liturgy of Basil and the Presanctified; see *Byzantine Art*, p. 342; Mouriki/Ševčenko, "Illustrated Manuscripts", pp. 289-91; Evans/Wixom, *The Glory of Byzantium*, pp. 110-1. For the frontispieces of liturgical scrolls, see Kepetzi, *Les rouleaux liturgiques,* pp. 135-41. For this frontispiece, see Peers, *Sacred Shock*, pp. 71-2.

13 It dates to the 12th century and contains the Liturgy of Basil; see *Byzantine Art*, pp. 341-2; Kepetzi, "A propos".

14 This roll contains the Liturgy of Basil and dates to the 14th century; see Bréhier, "Les peintures".

Stavrou 109,[15] have illustrations at the beginning of prayers, sometimes placed inside a frame; in some manuscripts there are images on the margins; finally, many contain elaborate initials, both figurative and non-figurative.

The miniatures relate to the text in a variety of ways that can be roughly distinguished in three categories; conceptual, literal, and decorative. Conceptual images add a layer of interpretation to the text they accompany, or to the Liturgy as a whole. For example, the Liturgy can be understood as a re-enactment of Christ's life and passion on earth; a ritual act and prayer become a re-enactment of one such event and the image that accompanies the text makes this explicit. Another kind of conceptual image, frequently as a frontispiece, seeks to create a mimetic relationship between the celebrant and his saintly prototypes, usually the authors of the two Byzantine Divine Liturgies, John Chrysostom and Basil of Caesarea. Literal miniatures depict the ritual acts that the celebrants perform, or they illustrate a word and a sentence from a prayer. Thus, an image of the Theotokos accompanies a prayer that mentions her. Finally, some illustrations have a purely decorative character.

Conceptual Illustrations

Some liturgical scrolls open with an elaborate frontispiece, as, for example, Patmos 707 (Fig. 113). The composition has at its center Saint Basil, the author of the Liturgy, holding an open scroll behind an altar, upon which rest a chalice and a paten with an asterisk, the two vessels used in the Liturgy. The bishop is flanked by two deacons wearing white vestments and waving *rhipidia* (liturgical fans). Basil stands inside an architectural fantasy meant to depict both the interior and exterior of a church building. This has five blue domes, each surmounted by elaborate golden crosses and resting on red drums. In a conch under the central dome there is an image of the Theotokos orans. In two lunettes on either side of her are two barely visible angels rendered in grisaille. This depicts the conch in the bema (sanctuary) over the altar, where images of the Theotokos and angels were common. Under the Theotokos an arcade and a series of lunettes are meant to represent architectural elements of the building. Basil and the deacons stand behind an arcade supported by columns (the outer ones are knotted), a schematic representation of the templon, the barrier that separated the main part of a church from the sanctuary. A carpet filled

15 This manuscript dates to *c.*1070 and contains the Liturgies of Chrysostom and Basil, although the latter is a later addition; see Grabar, "Un rouleau liturgique"; *Byzantine Art*, pp. 340-1; Vocotopoulos, *Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts*, pp. 96-123.

with vegetal ornaments at the bottom, likely representing the floor of the nave, completes the composition.

Although this illustration appears on the scroll above the text of the prayer read over the Eucharistic bread in the *skeuophylakion* (sacristy),[16] it has no connection with it. Rather, it represents a crucial point in the celebration of the Liturgy that happens much later, after the paten and chalice have been transferred from their place of preparation to the altar and the *anaphora* (the main Eucharistic prayer) has begun. The deacons shake their fans over the gifts – as depicted in the frontispiece – right before the celebrant utters that Words of Institution.[17]

How are we to understand this image? This is certainly not a depiction of the Heavenly Liturgy, which the earthly one mirrored. The materiality of the building with its domes, marble revetments, columns, and arcades – elements common in many churches – anchors it conclusively in a terrestrial reality. This is shown both by the positioning of the Theotokos image in the bema apse, where one would find it in a Middle Byzantine church, as well as by the fact that the deacons do not bear wings, as in representations of the Heavenly Liturgy. On a most basic level, this is an authorial portrait (a common feature of Gospel books), which guarantees the authenticity of the text that follows. Basil, however, is not shown writing; rather, he is depicted in the midst of liturgical action. Everything about this image emphasizes the momentousness of the ritual, including the architecture. Five-dome churches are relatively rare in Byzantium and are connected with such significant imperial foundations as the Holy Apostles and the Nea Ekklesia in Constantinople. The church in the Patmos manuscript looks as if made of the finest marble and stone, the luxuriousness of the architecture emphasizing the dignity of the action. Basil stands completely motionless and the deacons carry out their part with solemnity and, perhaps, reverent hesitancy. Finally, the image depicts the climax of the Eucharist. The frontispiece, therefore, conveys the seriousness, solemnity, and prayerfulness with which the celebrant should approach the Divine Liturgy. The close mimetic relationship between Basil and the celebrant is further enhanced by the former's gestures: he holds the scroll the same way the bishop or priest would have when reading this image.

That the authors of the Liturgy and other saintly bishops act as the prototypes of the celebrants is also evident in other instances. In the frontispiece of Stavrou 109 a bishop joins Basil of Caesarea, John Chrysostom, and the martyr

16 For this prayer, see Brightman, *Liturgies*, p. 309 (left column).

17 See, for example, Trempelas, *Αἱ τρεῖς λειτουργίαι*, p. 11 (both columns).

George in supplication to the Mother of God (Fig. 114).[18] This bishop occupies the least privileged position, to the far left of the Theotokos, and he is the only one in this composition who is unnamed and does not bear a halo.[19] He functions as a surrogate for all those who celebrate the Liturgy and as a reminder that every celebrant continues a distinguished line going back to the authors of the Liturgies. In the same manuscript the first prayer of the faithful[20] begins with a historiated initial – an E for Εὐχαριστοῦμεν, "we give thanks" – which depicts Chrysostom under a domed ciborium inscribed "the Holy Temple". He holds a book in front of an altar. On the other side of the text Christ blesses Chrysostom. The prayer implores God to make the celebrant worthy of his office and qualified to invoke God blamelessly and with a clean conscience. The miniature offers an eminent model for the prayer and for the celebrant every time he reads it.

Some miniatures add a layer of interpretation to the ritual. In Stavrou 109 the scenes of the Nativity and the Annunciation accompany the prayer of the Little Entrance, during which the clergy carried the Gospel book from the altar through the naos, and back to the altar (Fig. 114). The text of the prayer mentions neither the Annunciation, nor the Nativity, and refers to the Heavenly Liturgy.[21] The explanation for the presence of the two scenes next to this prayer lies in the symbolism that this procession had acquired. The *Ekklesiastike Historia,* an 8th-century liturgical commentary attributed to Germanos I, patriarch of Constantinople, says that "the entrance of the Gospel signifies the coming and the entrance of the Son of God in this world … [T]he bishop by his stole manifests the red and bloody stole of the flesh of Christ. The immaterial One and God wore this stole, as porphyry decorated by the undefiled blood of the Virgin and Theotokos".[22] This interpretation comports with the notion, present in other commentaries such as the 11th-century *Protheoria*, that the Divine Liturgy recounts Christ's redemptive work on earth (this notion is usually called ἱστορία), a memorial and re-enactment of Christ's life, death, and resurrection.[23] A manuscript like Stavrou 109, with a multitude of New Testament scenes, exhibits the same exegetical trend, although often it does not follow the symbolism outlined in the commentaries, or the chronology of

18 The scroll likely belonged to a church or monastery dedicated to Saint George.

19 Grabar, "Un rouleau liturgique", p. 172.

20 For this prayer, see Brightman, *Liturgies*, pp. 316-7 (right column).

21 For this prayer, see ibid., p. 312 (left column).

22 Meyendorff, *St Germanus*, pp. 72-4.

23 Bornert, *Les commentaires*, pp. 169-77, 202-5. For an excellent overview of the interpretive traditions in Byzantine Liturgy, see Taft, "The Liturgy of the Great Church", pp. 58-75.

events in Christ's life (for example the Resurrection of Lazaros is placed before the Baptism).[24] In some cases it is difficult to connect the image with either the prayer it illustrates or the symbolism of the ritual. For example, the *epiklesis*, the prayer that invokes the Holy Spirit to come and sanctify the Eucharistic elements,[25] is accompanied by a depiction of Christ's Entrance into Jerusalem. There is nothing in the prayer that would justify this iconography, which seems to illustrate the hymn that the congregation sings while the priest reads the *epiklesis*: "We praise You, we bless You, we give thanks to You, and we pray to You, Lord our God". The various ages of men in the miniature can be interpreted as representing the congregation.

The other dominant interpretation in liturgical commentaries is a spiritual one, whereby the anagogical contemplation of the liturgical rituals uncovers heavenly realities, a notion called θεωρία. One manifestation of this interpretation considers the earthly Liturgy as an image of the heavenly one, and a reflection and foretaste of heavenly worship. Both Stavrou 109 and Athens 2759 contain depictions of Christ distributing the wine and bread to his disciples.[26] Such a scene appears also in monumental decoration, as in the apse of Saint Sophia in Ohrid, FYROM. In both manuscripts the miniatures accompany the Words of Institution and are divided into two scenes. In Athens 2759 Christ, standing on a pedestal, offers the bread to the apostles who are approaching reverently. Below, after a rosette, the apostles receive the chalice. In Stavrou 109 the scene is split vertically, flanking the text (Fig. 115). In both instances Christ stands behind two diminutive closed doors, the doors of the church's sanctuary. Christ's actions echo perfectly the way communion was distributed among the clergy. The bishop would give first the bread then the wine to the priests and deacons that celebrated with him. The scenes of the Apostles' Communion are not meant to depict the historic Last Supper of the gospel narratives. In Byzantine art there was a different composition for this, with Christ and his disciples reclining around a semicircular table.[27] Instead, it depicts the heavenly, nonterrestial liturgy. Another image of the Heavenly Liturgy is found again in Stavrou 109, where it extends not only to the sides but also to a panel above the prayer it accompanies. In that panel, Christ, blessing with his right

24 Grabar, "Un rouleau liturgique", figs. 12, 13. Liturgical commentaries also sometimes do not follow a linear chronology, something noticed by the author of *Protheoria*, see PG, vol. 140, cols. 437-40.

25 For this prayer, see Brightman, *Liturgies*, p. 329 (right column).

26 For these images, see Kepetzi, *Les rouleaux liturgiques*, pp. 112-3.

27 Lavra 2 contains such as scene, illustrating the recount of the Last Supper in Basil of Caesarea's anaphora.

hand and holding a scroll with his left, stands behind an altar on which there are two chalices and a paten. He is flanked by two deacon-angels carrying liturgical fans. Groups of apostles approach reverently from both sides. Outside this panel is found an angel on each side. The one on the left, who forms the letter K, swings a censer and the one to the right carries the chalice with his left hand and a paten over his head with his right. The two angels on the side clearly participate in the heavenly Great Entrance, which took place immediately after the recitation of the prayer juxtaposed on the scroll with the image.[28] The central panel is more difficult to decipher. Its iconography evidently derives from that of the Communion of the Apostles, and the scene has been interpreted as such.[29] However, there are some iconographic divergences – Christ, for example, is not distributing the elements – the miniature is out of place, and the same manuscript further down has a more traditional scene of the Communion of the Apostles. So the central panel might simply depict the aftermath of the Great Entrance, when the chalice and paten were deposited on the altar. The main celebrant would read the ensuing prayer, which addresses God directly and, in the Liturgy of Basil, invokes the "worship of the apostles".[30] After the end of this prayer the principal celebrant proclaims "Peace be to all!" while blessing the congregation. All this fits perfectly with the iconography of the scene. The miniature, furthermore, creates a mimetic relationship between the celebrant and Christ and the Saints, and underscores in detail the connection of the earthly ritual with the heavenly one.

Literal Illustrations

Sometimes illustrations are inspired by acts and rituals that took place during the celebration of the Liturgy. In Patmos 707 the prayer of the *proskomide*, read immediately after the bread and wine were deposited on the main altar at the conclusion of the Great Entrance, begins with a historiated initial K (the first word of the prayer is Κύριε, "Lord").[31] The letter is formed by the body and two extended arms of a deacon, who is distinguished by his long and narrow white stole (*orarion*). He carries a paten with his left arm and swings a censor with his right. This is the deacon who leads the Great Entrance, the procession that took place just before the recitation of this prayer. According to liturgical

28 For this prayer, see Brightman, *Liturgies*, p. 319 (right column).

29 Grabar, "Un rouleau liturgique", p. 174; Kepetzi, "Tradition iconographique".

30 Brightman, *Liturgies*, pp. 319-20 (right column).

31 For the text of this prayer, see ibid., p. 319 (right column).

rubrics the deacon carries the paten with the bread and the censer.[32] In Lavra 2 a deacon carrying a paten forms the initial letter of the *Cheroubikon* prayer, which was read right before the Great Entrance.[33]

Many miniatures illustrate a word, a phrase, or a narrow concept from the prayer they accompany. In Lavra 2, which contains an extensive illustration of the *anaphora*, a panel precedes the last part of the *epiklesis*. The panel is divided in five registers, each occupied by a group of saints named in the prayer that follows the panel: ancestors, fathers, patriarchs, prophets, and apostles.[34] Another panel comes immediately after a short sentence that the celebrant said aloud after the conclusion of the *epiklesis*: "[We offer this spiritual worship] especially for our most holy, pure, blessed, and glorious Lady, the Theotokos and ever virgin Mary".[35] The panel appropriately depicts the Theotokos seated on a throne under an arch with the Christ child on her lap, an image that emphasizes the special role of the Mother of God in the celestial hierarchy. The secret prayer that follows enumerates other saints. The initial of the first word (T for τοῦ, "of" or "for") is held by John the Baptist, who is the first in the list of saints.[36] In Athens 2759 one of the prayers of the *anaphora* has an initial M (for μετά, "with") composed of the archangels Michael and Gabriel, inspired by the prayer which reads: "Together with these blessed powers, merciful master, we the sinners …".[37] A scroll now in Saint Petersburg, National Library of Russia, gr. 672, has a similar initial at the same place.[38] In Stavrou 109 the iconography of the prayer of the *trisagion* follows closely the text.[39] The initial O (for ὁ Θεός, "God") contains an image of Christ. On the corresponding side there is a panel with the Theotokos in an intercessory position, a reference to the end of the prayer: "through the prayers of the holy Theotokos". The rest of the prayer is flanked by three pairs of angelic powers: seraphim and cherubim, the archangels Michael and Gabriel, and two angels. The prayer mentions seraphim and cherubim, which, along with "every heavenly power" praise and worship God. Less often scrolls contain images that are "localized". For example, in Stavrou 109, accompanying one of the *anaphora* prayers that asks the Lord to remember "the city, which we inhabit" is a depiction of a walled city with a prominent

32 Trempelas, *Αἱ τρεῖς λειτουργίαι*, p. 9 (right column).

33 For this prayer, see Brightman, *Liturgies*, p. 318.

34 The prayer names ten categories of saints in total; see ibid., p. 330.

35 Ibid., pp. 330-1 (left column).

36 Ibid., p. 331.

37 Ibid., p. 324. Kepetzi, *Les rouleaux liturgiques,* p. 121-22.

38 Lichatchova, "Rouleau liturgique", p. 124 and fig. 6.

39 For this prayer, see Brightman, *Liturgies*, pp. 313-4.

dome inside the walls. An inscription identifies it as Constantinople, a clear indication that this manuscript was used in the capital.[40]

Decorative Illustrations

The category of decorative illustrations is represented mostly by initials. These could be composed of animals and birds, alone or in pairs, often accompanied by vertical vegetal motifs that complete the letter. Although the imagery of these initials does not relate specifically to the prayer they accompany, floral and animal decoration has clear paradisiacal overtones. Other initials, especially those representing pairs of birds and animals arranged symmetrically, might allude to *taxis*, the divinely commanded order, a concept that permeated many facets of Byzantine life. A very few initials contain secular subject matters, such as one from Patmos 707, which depicts a hunter carrying a bird of prey with his left arm and pointing with his stick to the birds eventual victim (Fig. 116a-b).

Conclusion

Liturgical scrolls contain the pinnacle of the Byzantine rite, the most sacred of the services. The Divine Liturgy has been the focus of intense theological and artistic reflection throughout the Byzantine era. Many of the illustrations unsurprisingly reflect typical Byzantine interpretive modes, without, however, slavishly following liturgical commentaries. At the same time these images are essentially private and intimate, meant to be seen by the celebrant – the priest or the bishop – who used them. As such they provide a mimetic relationship between the celebrant and his saintly prototypes, both the authors of the liturgies and bishop-saints who came before him. They also visualize the correct theological meaning of the prayers and facilitate a precise exegetical understanding of the Liturgy. They are complex and multivalent works, and careful encapsulations of the Divine Liturgy's text, setting, ritual, and symbolism.

40 Grabar, "Un rouleau liturgique", p. 176. For the prayer, see Brightman, *Liturgies*, p. 335 (right column).

CHAPTER 22

Synaxaria and Menologia

Nancy P. Ševčenko

No one who enters a Byzantine church can fail to be struck by the vast number of portraits of saints there: apostles; martyrs male and female; warriors and healers; hermits, monks and nuns; deacons, priests and bishops, all grouped according to their calling. These figures appear in manuscript illumination as well. But in the manuscript context they are arranged according to a quite different principle: that of the church calendar.

Manuscripts based upon the calendar are known as Synaxaria and Menologia, and these were the hagiographic manuscripts that were the most frequently illustrated in Byzantium. The terminology for the various calendar-based liturgical compendia is not always very consistent, but broadly speaking a Synaxarion notice consists of a short paragraph identifying the saint and the nature of his or her martyrdom or deeds, while the texts in a Menologion are longer narratives, proper Vitae that may recount the saint's entire career from birth to death.[1] The *Menaia*, books that contained the hymns and prayers for the services on saints' days, were very rarely illustrated.[2]

Synaxaria

The term Synaxarion may refer today to the simplest of church calendars, namely the brief references at the end of a Gospel Lectionary that provide the name of the saint, the date of his or her celebration, the Gospel reading that is prescribed for the day, and nothing more.[3] The commemorations are arranged in the order of the church year, starting with 1 September and ending at the end of August. The Synaxarion sections in Lectionaries were rarely illustrated:

1 The Byzantines themselves were not consistent in their terminology and, to compound the confusion, there is also often a difference between how we refer to a particular calendar-determined group of texts today, and how the Byzantines referred to it.

2 Baumstark, "Ein illustriertes griechisches Menaion"; Vocotopoulos, *Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts*, no. 21 (where the manuscript is wrongly identified as a Synaxarion).

3 If the text of the Gospel reading was already written out in full in the main body of the codex, a simple cross-reference was considered sufficient in the Synaxarion section. The Synaxarion section may be called a *menologion* or a *kanonarion* in the manuscript itself.

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the two best known cases, a Lectionary in the Vatican Library (*Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1156) and one on Mount Athos (Dionysiou Monastery, cod. 587), date from the latter part of the 11th century.[4] In the Synaxarion section of the Vatican Lectionary, for example, small figures of the saints stand next to their names and dates of celebration, within the column of text (Fig. 117). In the Dionysiou Lectionary, there are framed miniatures as well, although these are more apt to illustrate the content of the Gospel reading than the saint on whose day it was read. The choice of feasts and high level of production of both manuscripts suggest that they may have been destined for patriarchal use.

The best known illustrated Synaxarion is a manuscript commonly, though mistakenly, known as the "Menologion" of Basil II, also in the Vatican Library (*Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1613). It was made around the year 1000 or in the first decades of the 11th century. Here there is a short Synaxarion text for each saint in the volume (Figs. 118-119).[5] Only the volume for the first half of the church year survives: it contains 430 miniatures for feasts celebrated from September through February.[6] Often there is more than one feast per day. Each commemoration is allotted a whole page, which is divided equally between a block of 16 lines of text and a miniature of exactly equal dimensions; the result is an almost unprecedented balance between text and image. The great majority of the miniatures depict martyrdoms and scenes of torture, but there are also many standing portraits and a very occasional episode in the life of the saint. The commemorations include not only Christian saints, but also Old Testament prophets and the major fixed feasts in the life of Christ and the Virgin, as well as translations of relics and remembrances of the natural disasters that befell the city of Constantinople.

The martyrdoms, mostly beheadings, generally take place in landscape settings against a gold sky (Fig. 118). Most show the saint clad only in a tunic or loincloth, hands bound, head bowed toward an executioner who raises a sword

4 Gentile, *Oriente cristiano e santità*, no. 18; Dolezal, "Illuminating the liturgical word"; Pelekanidis, *The Treasures of Mount Athos*, vol. 1, figs. 237-72; Masuda, *Η εικονογράφηση του χειρογράφου αριθ. 587μ*.

5 Ševčenko, "The Illuminators". There is a recent facsimile of this manuscript: *El "Menologio de Basilio II"*. The associated commentary volume, D'Aiuto, *El "Menologio de Basilio II"* has essays on the period of Basil II, the Synaxarion text, the palaeography and codicology of the manuscript, its painters and the restoration of the miniatures, and its later history and binding, in addition to the articles mentioned in footnotes here. Despite its present name, the manuscript is not a Menologion but a Synaxarion.

6 15 miniatures lack an accompanying text, and two lack both text and title. On the origin of the text, see Luzzi, "El 'Menologio de Basilio II'".

to strike; by contrast, the costumes of the executioners are brightly patterned and shot through with gold. Fellow martyrs may stand on the sidelines awaiting their turn, while the heads of those already executed lie on the ground streaming blood. Blood is everywhere, in the many scenes of torture as well as the executions. Yet the painters never caricature the executioners: the impassivity of all the figures, victims and executioners alike, underlines the willingness and inevitability of the saint's sacrifice.

Saints who were not martyrs are generally depicted standing before architectural backdrops; there is no indication of what they actually did in life except the office they held, which is conveyed by their garments. Hermits, in open landscapes, raise their hands to heaven in prayer, seeking direct communication with God (Fig. 119).

The quality of the painting is indeed remarkable. The many gruesome images of man's inhumanity to man are transformed by the implications of the saint's sacrifice into works of exquisite beauty: the landscapes that receive the bodies of the martyrs and envelop the hermits bloom rich with flowers, and are among the finest in all of Byzantine art.

A proper name in the genitive case is written in the margin of each page. It is now generally agreed that these names, eight in all, indicate the artist who was responsible for the miniature on that page.[7] Despite the overall uniformity in style of the miniatures, the efforts to line up particular sets of miniatures with specific names on the basis of small, if telling, details, have largely been successful.[8]

The manuscript opens with a poem in praise of an emperor named Basil, identified as the emperor Basil II (976-1025). It calls upon "all those whom he has portrayed in colours", to aid Basil in the defence of the realm, heal him in illness and mediate for him at the end of time. There is no doubt that the manuscript was either an imperial commission or commissioned as a gift to this emperor.[9]

7 In many cases, the name is preceded by the words "tou zographou" ("of the painter"). For a detailed analysis of the painting style of each of the artists, see now Zakharova, "Los ocho artistas".

8 It had previously been argued that the names in the margins were those of the artists of a putative model of the Vatican manuscript, copied here in a single uniform style that overrode the differences in style that would presumably have characterized the eight original artists.

9 On the poem, see Acconcia Longo, "El poema introductorio".

The Menologion of Symeon Metaphrastes

The term Menologion usually refers to a collection of longer lives of the saints, in particular to those that were borrowed, rewritten on the basis of older sources, or composed afresh, and assembled into a corpus by the 10th-century court official Symeon Metaphrastes (Symeon "the translator").[10] His Vitae, arranged to follow the church calendar, were soon being copied into a regular series of ten volumes, spread somewhat unevenly across the year: some volumes contained the lives of the saints of a single month (September, October), others the lives for only half a month (thus November I and II, December I and II, January I and II), while still others, those for the spring and summer, contained three or four months of Vitae in a single volume (February-April, May-August).[11]

Designed for use in monasteries at orthros (matins), these Menologia are large books, written in two columns in as clear a script as could be summoned.[12] In their format, they closely resemble other 11th-century books of homily readings, such as those of Gregory of Nazianzus, whose texts were also arranged in the order of the church calendar.[13] The formal similarity to these 11th-century homily manuscripts confirms what we might deduce from their liturgical use, that the Vitae of Metaphrastes were considered another kind of homily or sermon.

The effort and resources required to produce such a corpus must have been enormous: a complete edition of the Metaphrastian Menologion, 148 texts in all, would have required more than 3,000 pieces of parchment. The illustration of such a corpus posed a further challenge, and indeed was rarely undertaken: of the *c.*850 surviving manuscripts of this Menologion, only 43 contain figural illustration, almost all of them dating from the second half of the 11th century.[14]

10 Høgel, *Symeon Metaphrastes*.

11 The fundamental study on the manuscripts of the Metaphrastian Menologion remains Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand*, vol. 2, pp. 306-717. There is a recent study by Høgel, "Hagiography under the Macedonians".

12 For the evidence of these readings at orthros that is provided by the Synaxarion of the Evergetis monastery, see *Synaxarion of the monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis,* trans. R.H. Jordan. The reading aloud of these lengthy Vitae had sometimes to be continued on the following day; the readings were eventually shifted to the refectory instead.

13 See the essay on Gregory manuscripts in this volume, chapter 24.

14 Ševčenko, *Metaphrastian Menologion*. Some of the 43 are related to each other, being different volumes from the same original series, now dispersed: 20, or nearly half of the surviving illustrated Menologia, can be assigned to one or another of seven different

All ten volumes in a single "edition" keep to the same format, even when the scribe or miniaturist changed in midstream. But the format, the overall "design" could vary considerably from edition to edition. In some cases, a miniature precedes each life in each volume: an image of the saint or of his martyrdom is inserted into the headpiece or placed alongside the title to each Vita (Fig. 120). In other cases, a full-page frontispiece is the only miniature in the volume: it may be an isolated full-length portrait of the saint whose text happens to be the first in the book, or have small but precisely delineated portraits of all the saints whose lives were included in that volume, lined up in rows (Fig. 121). In the most luxurious Menologia additional scenes, drawn from the Passio of the saint, may be included: in a September Metaphrastes in London (British Library, *Add. 11870), for example, some Passio scenes occupy roundels inserted into an elaborately ornamented headpiece[15] (Fig. 122). And in some editions of the Menologion of Metaphrastes the opening initial of each text is given a lively figural decoration inspired by the shape of the letter or by the content of the very first lines of the text (often the name of the Roman official who condemned the saint to death), while further illustration is lacking (Fig. 123).

Despite the highly developed narrative texts they accompany, then, the illustrations to the ten volumes of the Menologion of Symeon Metaphrastes make scant reference to any events in the life of a saint that precede his arrest and demise, but stick rather to the simple alternative of standing portrait or martyrdom scene that had characterized the Synaxarion tradition of illustration. This apparent conservatism is somewhat surprising, given the fact that in the 11th and 12th centuries extensive narrative illustration in other kinds of manuscripts was much in demand.[16] The sheer number of texts to be illustrated in a consistent manner throughout the ten volumes of a single edition of the Metaphrastian Menologion, and the time and cost involved, must have dampened ambitions for a more elaborate illustrative program. In short, the Metaphrastian Menologion never developed its own distinct tradition of illustration. The diverse character of the various editions shows a certain experimentation in book design, probably scriptorium-based, but in general the iconography was imported pretty well unchanged from the Synaxaria.

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editions. The remaining unaligned manuscripts thus likely represent the sole survivors of 23 separate undertakings. See also Hutter, "Le copiste du Métaphraste".

15 Ševčenko, *Metaphrastian Menologion*, pp. 118-25; fiches 3D2-3F1. There are scattered narrative images in other manuscripts, especially those of Edition F: ibid., pp. 61-72, 193-6.

16 For example the "frieze" Gospels, the Octateuchs, Barlaam and Ioasaph and the Madrid Skylitzes treated in other essays in this volume.

The Imperial Menologion

There is another group of hagiographical manuscripts that was produced even slightly earlier than the earliest surviving illustrated Metaphrastian Menologia, in the first half of the 11th century; these manuscripts are referred to collectively as the "imperial" Menologia.[17] This alternate multi-volume hagiographical enterprise consists of reduced versions of the Metaphrastian Vitae along with other, newer hagiographical texts, with the added feature that each text ends with a prayer for the victory and well-being of the emperor. Though the prayers do not name a particular emperor, the acrostics of each prayer (some are in verse, some not) contain letters, often marked out in red, that spell the name Michael P (Μιχαήλ Π), generally thought to be emperor Michael IV the Paphlagonian (r. 1034-41). The date, the second quarter of the 11th century, is confirmed by the palaeographic evidence.[18]

An imperial connection is further suggested by the miniatures.[19] We might expect that the images in the "imperial Menologia" would have travelled, so to speak, with the texts of Metaphrastes that they adopted. But this was not the case: the images in all the manuscripts in this group are copies, possibly even direct copies, of the miniatures in the "Menologion" of Basil II, faithful in virtually every detail, including landscape and architecture (Fig. 124). While the two-column format and layout of the books is essentially that of the Metaphrastes volumes and the other contemporary homily manuscripts, the miniatures themselves take us directly back to the "Menologion" of Basil II.

The purpose of the "imperial" Menologion is puzzling. The Metaphrastian Vitae were to be read at monastic orthros. But their length might possibly have proved a problem, while the other alternative, the extremely brief Synaxaria texts, offered too little information about any saint. The "imperial" Menologia may have been designed to provide some sort of middle ground between the two kinds of texts, perhaps meant for use in a royal monastery regularly attended by any active or retired monarch dissatisfied with the length of the usual readings.[20] Although the prayers, and the several finely illustrated editions, suggest an imperial level of patronage, the precise liturgical use of these volumes remains unclear.

17 D'Aiuto, "La questione delle due redazioni". Francesco D'Aiuto has brought much welcome clarity to the relation between the recensions of the "imperial Menologion", and the genesis of several of its texts.

18 D'Aiuto, "Nuovi elementi".

19 Ševčenko, "El 'Menologio de Basilio II'". For an earlier version of this article, in English, see Ševčenko, "The Walters 'Imperial' Menologion".

20 Cf. D'Aiuto, "La questione delle due redazioni", pp. 286-8.

Exceptions

The only manuscript that has extensive narrative illustration attached to texts of Metaphrastes is not in fact a proper Menologion at all but an 11th-century "Panegyrikon", or collection of homilies, on Mount Athos (Esphigmenou Monastery, cod. 14)[21] (Fig. 125). Here each of the eight Vitae included in the volume (seven of them by Metaphrastes) was originally preceded by a frontispiece (six survive) illustrating in some detail on the recto and verso of a single folio events from the life of the saint; as not all these saints were martyrs, not all the scenes are related to martyrdom, and less dramatic events in their lives appear as well. The fact that there are so few Metaphrastian Vitae in the manuscript, that the dates of the commemorations are so widely separated, and that homilies by other authors on non-hagiographical subjects are also included in the volume proves that this Esphigmenou codex was no ordinary Menologion but a special compendium of homilies assembled for some alternate purpose.

The narrative in these frontispieces unfolds in a sequence of two or three registers, an apparently archaic form that was used for the frontispieces of the ninth-century codex of the Homilies of Gregory in Paris (Bibiothèque nationale de France, *Par. gr. 510), but rarely thereafter.[22] The lively narratives in the Esphigmenou manuscript, however, make use of contemporary artistic formulae such as those developed in the 11th century to illustrate the frieze Gospels, the Octateuchs, the Barlaam and Ioasaph manuscripts, among others.

There is only one manuscript preserved today that illustrates the Metaphrastian Vita of a saint in any real detail. A codex in Turin (Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, B. II. 4]), which dates from the 12th century, is devoted entirely to one Vita text, that of Saint Eustratios and his companions, known collectively as the Five Martyrs of Sebaste, or simply the Holy Five.[23] It is illustrated with a large number of framed marginal miniatures (Fig. 126). The origin of this manuscript remains unclear, but given the rarity of its form, it is unlikely that it represents a tradition of extended hagiographical narrative illustration in manuscripts that has simply been lost.

21 Pelekanidis, *The Treasures of Mount Athos*, vol. 2, figs. 327-408, especially 327-41; Cacharelias, *The Mount Athos Esphigmenou 14 Codex*.

22 For the Paris manuscript, see the essay on Gregory manuscripts in this volume, chapter 24.

23 Gentile, *Oriente cristiano e santità*, no. 29; Weitzmann, "Five Martyrs of Sebaste", esp. pp. 103-7; figs. 12-3, 15-27.

Influence

Regular Menologion illustration, then, consisted primarily of holy portraits and straight-forward representations of individual martyrdoms, with little narrative component: its primary iconographic source was the Synaxarion. Its influence is hard to assess. The holy portraits that we find in the Synaxaria and the Menologia manuscripts alike belonged to such a widely shared visual language, one that was common to manuscripts, mosaics, frescoes, sculpture and the minor arts as well, that it is impossible to claim that any one medium provided the source for any other.

What might have been taken over from these manuscripts into another medium were the martyrdom cycles that appear in Byzantine church decoration. Painted most often in the narthex of a church, these bloody events, at least one to mark each day of the year, unfold in a continuous landscape, in the order of the church year[24] Closely resembling the "Menologion" of Basil II in content, a scene of martyrdom is the scene of choice, replaced by a portrait only when the saint was no martyr, or when a Christological or other feast trumps any other commemoration. There is some textual evidence for the existence of painted cycles of this type in churches as early as the late 8th century, but the first surviving one in monumental painting dates from the late 13th (Trnovo, Church of the Forty Martyrs). Hence we cannot be entirely sure whether the concept of painted calendar cycles originated in monumental painting or in manuscripts. At any rate, calendar cycles were never to be a very common element of Byzantine church decoration.

Also possibly influenced by Synaxarion and/or Menologion illustration are the so-called "calendar icons" that line up all the saints for one or more months of the year in rows on a single panel.[25] There are four sets of these icons on Mount Sinai; they range in form from a series of 12 separate panels, one for each month, to a diptych displaying a full half year of commemorations on each of two facing panels.[26] All use the same formula, lines of saints drawn up in registers, that is found on the frontispieces of one of the editions of the Metaphrastian Menologion (see Fig. 121). The calendar icons and the manuscripts are roughly contemporary but which direction the influence went is hard to say: there is no parallel in any other medium. Byzantine calendar icons are found today only in the monastery of Saint Catherine on Mount Sinai; it is

24 Mijovic, *Menolog.*

25 Ševčenko, "Marking holy time". For black/white images of several of the icons, see Soteriou, *Εἰκόνες*, figs. 126-45 and for color, Nelson/Collins, *Holy Image*, nos. 30-1.

26 Included, of course, were the fixed feasts of Christ and the Virgin.

not clear whether this form of icon was once more widespread, or whether it was a convenient way of bringing the distant monastery in tune with the rhythm of celebrations of Constantinople and with the established portraiture of the time.

This survey of hagiographic manuscript illustration reveals a tension between the concept of the saint as individual and the concept of the saint as a member of a holy band. In the Synaxarion tradition exemplified by the "Menologion" of Basil II, every saint is given equal space whether he or she was a major figure in the history of the church, or a virtual unknown. This view of the uniform value of each saint and the overwhelming value of the whole is at the root of the entire calendar concept, and from this perspective there was no place for extended individual narrative. Only when hagiographical imagery was freed from its manuscript context, i.e. from the domination of the calendar, as was the case on Vita icons or in fresco painting starting in the 12th century, did it develop into narrative, focus on major saints rather than on all the saints together, and begin to dwell on the relatively mundane events in their lives like birth and schooling, consecrations and miracles that are specific to each. And significantly, while texts of Synaxaria and of the Menologion of Metaphrastes and even, to a lesser degree, the "imperial" Menologia, continued to be copied throughout the Byzantine period, by the end of the 12th century they were no longer being illustrated.[27] Hagiographical illustration had shifted away from manuscripts and the notion of the calendar, and was developing in new directions elsewhere, in other media where more attention was given to the life and deeds of the individual saint than to the power of the unified holy assembly.

27 There is one exception: the so-called Picture book Menologion in the Bodleian Library in Oxford, *Gr. theol. f. 1. There is a facsimile and an accompanying volume of commentary, by Hutter/Menaza, *Menologion bizantino de Oxford*.

CHAPTER 23

The Akathistos Hymn

Elina Dobrynina

The Composition, Date, Authorship and Place of the Akathistos Hymn in Orthodox Liturgy

In Greek manuscript tradition the Akathistos to the Theotokos was included in various liturgical books: the Kondakar, Triodion, Menologion, Euchologion, Horologion, Psalter and Miscellanies. The name means "chant", and during a rendition of the chant it was inappropriate to sit (ὕμνος ἀκάθιστος). This hymn has a specific structure (closer to the Kontakion by composition and metrics) that was reproduced in later imitations.[1] It consists of 12 long and 12 short Oikoi (οἶκοι) whose initials form an alphabetical acrostic.[2] Long Oikoi end with 12 Chairetismoi (χαιρετισμοί) addressed to the Theotokos and the refrain "Rejoice, O Bride Ever-Virgin" (Χαῖρε, νύμφη ἀνύμφευτε); the short Oikoi with the refrain "Alleluia".

In historical dogmatic terms the Akathistos to the Theotokos is comprised of two parts: the narrative, recounting the events of the Holy Virgin's earthly life and Christ's childhood according to the canonical Gospels and the Protoevangelion of James (1st-12th Oikoi); and dogmatic, relating to doctrine on the Divine Incarnation and Salvation of mankind (13th-24th Oikoi).

Included at the beginning of the hymn at different times and in varying sequential order were stanze of a particular metrical structure, commonly known as the Prooimion (προοίμιον – introduction) or Koukoulion (κουκούλιον – hood, i.e. covering the stanza). The first Prooimion was the text "When he perceived what had secretly been ordered" (Τὸ προσταχθὲν μυστικῶς λαβὼν ἐν γνώσει). The second Prooimion became the troparion "Unto you, O Theotokos, invincible Champion, the victory" (Τῇ ὑπερμάχῳ στρατηγῷ τὰ νικητήρια), which represents the triumphant song of thanksgiving addressed to the Theotokos by

1 On the chant tradition for rendition of the Akathistos of the Theotokos, see: *Akathistos Hymn,* ed. E. Wellesz; Stathis, *Ἡ καταλογογράφησις τῶν χειρογράφων*; id., *Οἱ ἀναγραμματισμοί*, pp. 122-25; id., *Τά χειρόγραφα βυζαντινῆς μουσικῆς,* vol. 3, pp. 736-9.

2 In Byzantine hymnography the alphabetical acrostic is a favourite form for rendition of chants. Krumbacher, "Die Akrostichis"; Weyh, "Die Akrostichis".

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"Her City", i.e. Constantinople.[3] The third Prooimion (Οὐ παυόμεθα κατὰ χρέος ἀνυμνοῦντές σε Θεοτόκε), like the first, probably devised in the 6th century, was known even to Romanos the Melodist.

In the manuscript tradition there was no indication of the authorship of the Akathistos to the Theotokos.[4] At present the majority of scholars date the composition of this hymn to the period from Emperor Justinian I (527-565) to Emperor Herakleios (610-641) inclusive, and attribute it to Romanos the Melodist.[5] In support of this theory, P. Maas and S. Trypanis believe the Chairetismoi were added in the 620s, by Patriarch of Constantinople Sergios I.

According to data from liturgical sources (no earlier than the 10th century), the place the Akathistos to the Theotokos occupied in divine service was variable. It was sung at the feast of the Annunciation (initially in full, later in a truncated version)[6] five days before the feast,[7] two days before. Since the 6th

3 Creation of the Prooimion is correlated with the siege of Constantinople in the summer of 626 by the Avars and Slavs. It was chanted together with the Akathistos to the Theotokos on 7 August 626, when Patriarch of Constantinople Sergios I circled the city walls with an Icon of the Holy Virgin and the danger was averted (*PG*, vol. 92, cols. 1348-53).

4 Suggested as possible authors: Apollinaris of Laodicea (4th century; K. Oikonomos), Romanos the Melodist (6th century; P. Krypyakevich, H.G. Beck, F. Dölger, P. Maas, S. Eustratiades, C. Trypanis, E. Wellesz, K. Mitsakis, R. Fletcher, E. Pandelakis, M. Carpenter, E. Mioni, M. Huglo), Patriarch of Constantinople Sergios I (7th century; J. Pitra, H. Stevenson, E. Bouvy, K. Krumbacher, P. de Meester, P. Trembelas, W. Christ, M. Paranikas), George Pisida (7th century; J.M. Quercius), George Syncellus (7th-8th eighth centuries; A.I. Papadopoulos-Kerameus), Patriarch of Constantinople Germanos I (8th century; P. Winterfeld, O. Bardenhever, N. Thomadakis), Kosmas Melodos (8th century, T.E. Detorakis), Kassia the Nun (9th century; I. Rokhov), Patriarch of Constantinople Photios (9th century; A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, J. Rehork), etc. J. Grosdidier de Matons and A. Baumstark suggested that the Hymn originated from Syria. E.M. Toniolo dates the Hymn to no earlier than the late 5th century and no later than 800.

5 J. Grosdidier de Matons asserts that the Akathistos to the Theotokos could not have been written later than the Kontakia of Romanos the Melodist. Textological parallels to the Akathistos to the Theotokos and the Kontakia for the Paschal time, for the Annunciation and for Joseph are cited by K. Mitsakis (Mitsakis, *Βυζαντινὴ ὑμνογραφία,* pp. 486-7, 499-505). The dating of the composition of the Akathistos Hymn to the 6th/7th century was challenged by Leena Mari Peltomaa, who concludes that the Council of Ephesos (431) constitutes the most likely historical context for the hymn's composition; see Peltomaa, *Akathistos Hymn.*

6 The 10th-century Kondakar (Sinai, Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sin. gr. 925) records the practice of chanting the Akathistos to the Theotokos at the feast of the Annunciation on 25 March without Prooimion.

7 The Messina Typikon (d. 1131) prescribes that the Akathistos to the Theotokos be chanted five days before the feast of the Annunciation at matins (Arranz, *Le Typicon*, pp. 223-4). An almost exactly corresponding description is contained in an 8th-century Italian

century a cathedral service of vigil was held from Friday to Saturday in Constantinople to honour the Most Holy Theotokos, and this was accompanied by a procession with Her icons through the city, from Blachernae to Chalkopratia.[8] It is believed that the Akathistos to the Theotokos service on the Saturday of the fifth week of Great Lent was introduced in the 10th century and supplemented the old rite.[9] It included readings related not only to victory over the Avars in 626, when the Akathistos to the Theotokos was for the first time chanted for a standing congregation, but also in memory of another two sieges, in 674-678 and 717-718. All Jerusalem typica feature the service for the Saturday of the Akathistos, and many tell us that the Akathistos to the Theotokos was chanted by a priest wearing the epitrachelion and phelonion, standing before a particularly venerated icon of the Theotokos or in the altar space.[10] Over the centuries diverse changes were introduced to the practice of performing this hymn, but it was invariably correlated with the Blachernae church and the reliquaries of the Theotokos housed there.[11]

Illustrations of the Akathistos to the Theotokos

The cycle of illustrations of the Akathistos to the Theotokos was fully developed no earlier than in the last third of the 13th century and soon disseminated in monumental frescoes, icons and embroidered works.[12] A. Weyl Carr ascribes

version of the Studios Typikon from Mili Monastery, with the exception that the service is held on the Saturday of the Akathistos (Dmitriyevskii, *Opisaniye*, vol. 1, p. 878). For various days in the liturgical year for which the Akathistos is prescribed, see also Wellesz, *A History,* p. 143.

8 Mateos, *Le Typicon,* vol. 2, pp. 52-5; Dmitriyevskii, *Opisaniye*, vol. 1, p. 124.

9 *Akathistos Hymn,* ed. E. Wellesz; *Akathistos Hymn*, ed. Trypanis, pp. 17-39; Grosdidier de Matons, *Romanos le Melode*, pp. 32-7; Romanos the Melodist*, Hymns*, trans. J. Koder, pp. 101-93. A theory is suggested that it was likened to the analogous procession in Jerusalem (Ševčenko, "Icons in the Liturgy").

10 Jerusalem, Greek Patriarchal Library, Hagiou Saba 311, 16th century (Dmitriyevskii, *Opisaniye*, vol. 3, p. 368); *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 388, dated 1573 (ibid., p. 343).

11 For the location of the church and its connections with the Imperial Palace at Blachernae in the Komnenian and Palaeologan periods, see Angelidi/Papamastorakis, "The Veneration".

12 A detailed illustrative cycle of the Akathistos of the Theotokos and also images with various compositions featured in frescoes from the following churches: Panagia Olympiotissa at Elasson (Greece), last third of the 13th century; St. Nicholas Orphanos at Thessaloniki,

the creation of the cycle to the 12th century.[13] There is no unified opinion among scholars about the origins of the widespread depictive interpretation of the hymn in works of art. Some connect this with a reaction to the Uniate policy of Michael VIII Palaeologos,[14] some with the spread of Hesychasm and the works of Gregory Palamas[15] or enhancement of the Mariolatrous aspect in liturgy of the Palaeologan period.[16] Nor is there any one consensus of opinion about the origins of illustrated cycles and the iconography of different scenes. Were they sourced from illuminated manuscripts in which pictorial images were directly linked to the text of the hymn, with canonical types for frescoes?[17] Or, on the contrary, did the complex iconographic programmes of wall paintings that illustrated the hymn chanted in churches influence the creation of this extended cycle of miniatures?[18] No solution has yet been found to this question, although the earliest illustrations of the Akathistos are far better known from frescoes and preserved monumental cycles than from manuscript miniatures.

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c. 1320; Panagia Chalkeon at Thessaloniki, first half of the 14th century; Dečani, Pantokrator Monastery (Kosovo and Metohija), 1348-1350; chapel of St. Gregory the Theologian in the church of St. Clement of Ohrid (FYROM), 1364-1365; Holy Virgin of Matejče Monastery (FYROM), 1355-1360; chapel of the Markov Monastery of St. Demetrios (FYROM), 1371-1381; Holy Virgin and Christ the Saviour in Roustika near Rethymnon (Crete), 1381-1382; Holy Trinity Monastery of Cozia in Wallachia (Romania), *c.* 1386; St. Peter's on Veliki Grad Island, Lake Prespa, *c.* 1360; Holy Virgin of Pantanassa Monastery in Mistras (Greece), 15th century (?); Latin chapel of St. John Lampadistis Monastery at Kalopanagiotis (Cyprus), late 15th century. We also know of the following Greek icons from the Byzantine period: "Laudation of the Theotokos with the Akathistos" from the Dormition Cathedral at the Moscow Kremlin, second half of the 14th century (SMMK); "Dormition of the Theotokos with the Akathistos" from the church of the Life-Giving Spring in Livadia on Skopelos Island (Greece), first half of the 14th century. On the iconography of the Akathistos of the Theotokos, see Pätzold, *Der Akathistos Hymnos*; Gromova, *Problyema ikonografii Akafista Bogomateri*; Ševčenko, "Icons in the Liturgy"; Spatharakis, *Akathistos Hymn*.

13 Carr, "Illuminated musical manuscripts".

14 Constantinides, *The Wall Paintings*; ead., *Images*, pp. 40-51.

15 Pätzold, *Der Akathistos Hymnos*; Velmans, "Une illustration inédite".

16 Lafontaine-Dosogne, "L'illustration de la premiere partie", pp. 656-8, figs. 9-20.

17 Walter, *Art and Ritual*, pp. 65, 78; Loerke, "The Monumental Miniature".

18 Ševčenko, "Illuminating the Liturgy", pp. 223-4.

Origins of the "Moscow Akathistos", its composition and purpose

In the Byzantine manuscript tradition only two Greek manuscripts containing illuminations for the text of the Akathistos to the Theotokos have been preserved.[19] These are the so-called "Moscow Akathistos" (Moscow, State Historical Museum, Synod. gr. 429, hereafter referred to as "M")[20] and a copy in the manuscript Escorial, Real Biblioteca, R. I. 19 (hereafter, "E").[21]

In view of the particular role of M as a unique example of this hymn's illustration in Byzantine book illumination, special attention should be paid to the history of the production of the codex and the iconography of the miniatures.[22] Since in the strictest sense we cannot attribute this manuscript to any recognised type of liturgical book, our examination of it in this chapter (Service Books) is conditional. In terms of its composition, this is a collection of Byzantine hymnography united by the theme of prayer to and praise of the Theotokos. Apart from the Akathistos Hymn itself (fols. 1r-34v)[23] the miscellany includes two Akolouthia read on the Saturday of the Akathistos and the feast of the Annunciation (fols. 35r-55r), the penitential Canon of Theodore II

19 Several Greek manuscripts are known from the post-Byzantine period: an early 17th-century Akathistos with one miniature at Princeton, University Library, Garrett MS. 13; manuscript of 1645 originating from Chalki Island, Athos, Iviron Monastery, cod. 1435m; manuscript of 1669 produced in Laodicea, Athos, Vatopedi Monastery, cod. 1560. Velmans, "Une illustration inédite", pp. 131-65; Aspra-Bardabaki, *Garrett 13;* Braun, "Akathistos Hymnus".

20 Victorov, *Fotograficheskiye snimki s miniatyur*; Amfilochii, *Grecheskii litsevoi Akafist*; Vladimir, *Sistematicheskoye opisaniye*; pp. 416-7; Lixačeva, "The Illumination"; Schulgina/Cortés Arrese/Bádenas de la Peña, *Akáthistos de Moscú*. In 1662 the manuscript was sent to Moscow as a gift to Tsar Alexei Mickhailovich from the lay elders of the church of the Holy Virgin of the Life-Giving Spring in Galata John Palaeologos and Alexander Laskariev. In the 8th century it was kept at the Typrography Library of the Moscow Printing House. In 1920 it was acquired by the State Historical Museum.

21 Apart from these two Greek manuscripts illustrated Slavic Akathistos Hymns have also survived in the Bulgarian Tomić Psalter at Moscow, State Historical Museum, Muz. 2752 and a Serbian Psalter of *c.*1370-1395 at Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Slav. 4. Strzygowski, "Die Miniaturen des serbischen Psalters"; Ščepkina, *Bolgarskaya miniatyura XIV vyeka*; Džurova, "Le programme iconographique"; Belting, *Der serbische Psalter*.

22 For a full description of the manuscript, see Mokretsova, *Materials and techniques*, cat. no. 22.

23 *Akathistos Hymn*, ed. I.B. Pitra, pp. 250-62; *Akathistos Hymn,* ed. E. Wellesz, pp. XXVIII-XXXIII.

Doukas Laskaris (fols. 55r-61v),[24] and also two non-liturgical works – Troparia in the form of Patriarch Philotheos Kokkinos's dialogue (fols. 62r-66v)[25] and Emperor Leo VI the Wise's Hymn of Attrition (fols. 67r-71r).[26]

According to G.M. Prokhorov's attribution, M was written in the hand of Ioasaph II – a scribe in the scriptorium of the metropolitan monastery τῶν Ὁδηγῶν – by order of Patriarch Philotheos Kokkinos in the 1360s, during his second patriarchate.[27] Ioasaph II was active in the Hodegon scriptorium in the period from 1360 (the earliest dated manuscript by this scribe is Athos, Panteleimon Monastery, cod. 82) to his death in 1406. G.M. Prokhorov identified an image of Patriarch Philotheos on a miniature accompanying the 20th Oikos (fol. 28v), which has been disputed.[28] Prokhorov also advanced the theory that all the texts of the given manuscript are parts of a single dramatic work, the "Annunciation Mystery Play", whose author and compiler was Patriarch Philotheos himself, although this hypothesis appears to be erroneous.[29]

M combines texts belonging to various orders of service and compiled from various sources; they are not meant to correspond. The liturgical directions placed before the Akolouthia in the Akathistos do not correspond to the Akathistos itself and the Hymn and Akolouthia are inscribed in different parts of the manuscript, which is emphasised by the larger script and rich illumination of the first part.[30] Codex E,[31] copied directly from M at a later date, contains one more text – a metaphrase (or *metaphrasis*) of the Akathistos of Manuel Philes (Escorial, R. I. 19, fols. 33r-41r).[32] Since all the other texts and miniatures of the original and the copy coincide, it seems probable that Philes's

24 *PG*, vol. 140, cols. 772-80. This Canon, erroneously referred to by G.M. Prokhorov as the work of an unknown author, is usually placed in the longer-version Liturgy of the Hours after the Akathistos to the Theotokos; see *Horologion to mega,* pp. 426-33.

25 For publication of the Troparia, see Dobrynina, "Neizdannyye tropari".

26 *PG*, vol. 107, cols. 303-14; *Akathistos Hymn,* ed. W. Christ/M. Paranikas, pp. 48-50 (not including the Theotokos hymns).

27 Proxorov, "A Codicological Analysis".

28 Spatharakis, *Corpus*, pp. 129-39; Moran, *Singers*, pp. 99-101; Voordeckers, "Examen codicologique", p. 294.

29 For refutation of the given hypothesis and a detailed textological analysis of the miscellany, see Dobrynina, "Neizdannyye tropari".

30 For example, the troparion "When he perceived what had secretly..." mentioned with reference to the typicon, i.e. the first Prooimion of the Akathistos, is absent from the text of the hymn.

31 Revilla, *Catalogo*, pp. 68-70; Velmans, "Une illustration inédite"; De Andrés-Martínez, *El Hymno Akathistos*.

32 Revilla, *Catalogo,* p. 68; Manuel Philes, *Carmina,* ed. E. Miller, pp. 317-33.

metaphrase was also originally included in M.[33] If this is the case, the metaphrase placed after the Akathistos would be an obvious demonstration to the reader of the possibility of successful poetic adaptation and the mastery of the poet.

Clearly the M miscellany was created for a different purpose. As noted in their headings, Philotheos's troparia were written in the form of a reverse-alphabet acrostic, moreover a double acrostic with each letter of the alphabet repeated twice in the corresponding strophe, at the beginning of the first and third verses. The alphabetical acrostic was a favourite form for constructing chants in Byzantine hymnography.[34] All the texts in this collection, including Philes's metaphrase, were written in this form. The Canon for the Annunciation I-VII of Philes's hymn is a simple alphabetical acrostic, while VIII-IX of the John of Damascus hymn is reverse-alphabetical. This canon is written as a dialogue, a relatively rare form in liturgical poetry, with the Theotokos and an Angel as dramatis personae.[35] This chant obviously served as an example for Patriarch Philotheos, whose troparia are also a dialogue, with the Theotokos and the Lord or the Theotokos and the servant of God participating in turn.

Also notable is a rare codicological feature of M – the two final parts were written by the same calligrapher, but in a smaller hand. They were probably added to the miscellany when the quires with the Akathistos text and miniatures were already complete. Many details indicate the absence of a manuscript model in the production of M.[36] Quite possibly the miscellany grew larger as it was written at the initiative of the patron, who may have observed the work process. This would explain the fact that the scribe entered his colophon Θ(εο)ῦ τὸ δῶρον at the end of each small section (fols. 34v, 61v and 71v); the occurrence of two devotional prayers on the upper margins fols. 34 and 62, i.e. at the beginning of each of the added sections; and also the specific contents of the quires with Philotheos's troparia and the Hymn of Leo VI (fols. 62r-71r).[37] It is very probable that the author, i.e. Patriarch Philotheos himself,

33 An oblique confirmation of this is provided by the characteristics of preserved lock details on the covers of M's binding, which suggest that the surviving manuscript is thinner than was once the case. Two quaternions with Philes's text may have been lost in the last rebinding in the 19th century. This conclusion was made during restoration of the manuscript in 1990-1994 at the All-Russian Scientific Research Institute for Restoration by T.B. Rogozina.

34 Krumbacher, "Die Akrostichis", pp. 561-691; Weyh, "Die Akrostichis".

35 Wellesz, *A History*, pp. 199-203.

36 For more details on the subject, see: Dobrynina, "Neizdannyye tropari", p. 41.

37 Placed inside the bifolium of fols. 62-71 is a quire with two singleton sheets on the folds of fols. 63-8 and another two singleton sheets on the folds of fols. 69 and 70. Behind these are

included the last folios with the text in the manuscript at a final stage of the work process. He paid close attention to the copying of his poetic works: in the manuscript Moscow, State Historical Museum, Synod. gr. 349 there is a copy of these troparia, but from a different protograph. As established by B.L. Fonkič, this copy contains a correction entered by Philotheos in his own hand.[38]

Patriarch Philotheos, a scholar and connoisseur of ancient hymnographic tradition, placed his composition in a series of works by Orthodox poets that have a similar structure and theme. This helps us elucidate the character of the miscellany: in the eyes of its compiler the liturgical texts were read as poetry, and only that. This is ἀνθολογία in a literal sense – an "inflorescence" of hymns united by the theme of devotional prayer to the Holy Virgin and embellished by skilfully executed miniatures. The author placed his own composition after the well-known hymns sung during the liturgy, at the end of the book, as donor he places his own image on the margins of the icon, and he, again as donor, was duty bound to write on the margins of the manuscript: Θεοτόκε, βοήθει μοί (Holy Virgin, help me, fol. 35r) and further on, several quires later, a prayer to Christ (fol. 62r).[39] The theme of Philotheos's troparia was an address to the Holy Virgin with a request for intercession, and the manuscript itself is an offering to her, a gift to the monastery in her name.

The illuminated collection of Byzantine hymnography (M) with a distinctive content of texts and, as we shall later see, with distinctive iconography in several of the miniatures, was created with participation from the most illustrious masters working at the Hodegon scriptorium in the second half of the 14th century – the scribe Ioasaph II, subsequently hegumen of this monastery.[40]

Not only the work of the scribe, but also the particular technology by which parchment for M was prepared, link the origin of this manuscript with the Hodegon Monastery scriptorium.[41] M belongs to a wider group of manu-

another four sheets without text but produced at the same time as the manuscript overall, using the same technology. These features show that the manuscript was not created according to a previously known plan, but instead supplemented spontaneously as the scribe completed his work, i.e. in close collaboration between scribe and donor.

38 Fonkič/Polyakov, *Grecheskiye rukopisi*, p. 140.

39 See also Stichel, "Review on Prokhorov".

40 For details on the monastery and school of this scriptorium, see, Janin, *Le Siège de Constantinople,* pp. 199-207; Politis, "Eine Schreiberschule".

41 The theory that analogous technology was used for book production at the Hodegon Monastery arose on the basis of combined research for the Collection of Byzantine Hymnography in the restoration process at the State Scientific Institute of Restoration from 1990 to 1994. Results from studies of the parchment were published in the article by Dobrynina/Bykova, "Study and Conservation".

scripts with parchment of the "Hodegon type"[42] and was kept at the monastery at a time when the most valuable manuscripts were sent there for repair. Among the latter were ancient manuscripts used in the patriarchal liturgy or at the disposal of senior church clergy. These are the manuscript Moscow, State Historical Museum, Synod. gr. 225 from the group of so-called "patriarchal lectionaries"[43] and the Lectionary Moscow, State Historical Museum, Synod. gr. 511, from the library of St. Sophia in Constantinople.[44] Repair of the latter book, by which liturgies were conducted in the capital's main place of worship, was completed with participation from the scribe Ioasaph II, evidently in the 1360s, a period of close cooperation with Patriarch Philotheos Kokkinos.

It therefore seems very probable that the miscellany of Byzantine hymnography M was produced at the Virgin of Hodegetria Monastery in the capital as a commission from Patriarch Philotheos and kept there for many years, becoming well-known and serving as a model for scribes and miniaturists.[45]

Specifics of the Iconography

As already mentioned, in both M and E only the first parts of these hymnographic miscellanies are illuminated: the miniatures and initials are located at the beginning of Prooimion II, "Unto you, O Theotokos", and before each Oikos of the Akathistos. The compositions in many of the miniatures are traditional for Byzantine art, for instance in scenes depicting the Annunciation, Nativity, Adoration of the Magi and Presentation in the Temple. The iconography of other miniatures was inspired not so much by the text of the Hymn, as by particularities of the rite for veneration of the Holy Virgin in Constantinople, including the Lity for which double-sided portable icons were produced.[46] By the beginning of the Palaeologan epoch there emerged a tradition of illustrating the 23rd and 24th Oikoi with the reproduction of actual processions bearing icons of the Holy Virgin with the participation of the Emperor, court and senior clergy.[47] In the manuscript M there is no miniature for the 23rd Oikos, and the 24th Oikos is accompanied by the scene of veneration honouring the

42 For a catalogue of manuscripts and description of technology, see Dobrynina, "Technical Particularities".

43 Etzeoglou/Dobrynina, "Το Ευαγγέλιο Syn. Gr. 225".

44 Dobrynina, "Restoration (repair)", pp. 43-6.

45 On the copy of the Psalter at *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 12 (d. 1419), see note 89.

46 Ševčenko, "Icons in the Liturgy", p. 50.

47 On illustrations of the Akathistos rite with the Lity or veneration of the Holy Icon of the

"Virgin of Hodegetria" icon (fol. 33v), which fully corresponds to the place where this codex was produced in the Hodegon Monastery.

In comparison with other known illustrative cycles of the Akathistos to the Holy Virgin, M not only shows evidence of an individual creative concept (inclusion of non-liturgical texts), but also bears traces in the illustrative section of individual creative concepts – several details in traditional scenes and iconography of the miniatures have no analogies.

One such scene is depicted in a miniature accompanying the 22nd Oikos (fol. 31v)[48] (Fig. 127). This text is usually illustrated either by a scene of the Descent into Hell, or a composition specially devised and literally corresponding to the words of the Oikos "tearing of the manuscript". In the latter instance the centre of the composition customarily depicts Christ tearing the scroll, the sides of which form a V-shape.[49] In this respect the M miniature is unique: on the right by a high wall a group of people turn their faces to Christ, who is fast approaching, almost flying towards them – the tip of his cloak floats like a wing and his foot makes no contact with the earth – Christ is walking "incorporeally". His face encircled by the unrestricted gleam of the background is turned to the beholder, while his hand indicates in a solemn, eloquent gesture the high and luminous gates placed exactly in the centre. Obviously these doors decorated by a semi-circular finial are the key and centre to the entire composition; they surpass everything, even, to some extent, the head of Jesus.

In Byzantine iconography the depiction of gates occurs in various scenes.[50] An example of metaphorical interpretation of the gates is provided by compositions where they are closed.[51] The miniature in M is one of these. Here the image of the gates is not related to a specific event and Christ, turned towards the viewer, only points to them, while the faithful place their hope in them. The wall encloses nothing, neither a town, as a possible symbol of Heavenly Jerusalem, nor a garden. This is not in every sense an enclosure, but it is definitely a barrier, a boundary between the mortal world represented in the foreground, to which the Divine Logos is descending, and the invisible world that is not marked or described by any symbol.

Virgin in Byzantine and post-Byzantine manuscripts, see Etingof, *Obraz Bogomateri*, p. 163.

48 Dobrynina, "'Vrata zaklyuchyonnye'", fig. 1.

49 Pätzold, *Der Akathistos Hymnos*, pp. 73-4, 81-2, 110-1, fig. 48.

50 For more detail, see Dobrynina, "'Vrata zaklyuchyonnye'".

51 Babić, "L'image symbolique", pp. 145-51; Der Nersessian, "Program and Iconography", p. 346.

The gates to which Christ points are shut. The symbolic significance of the motif "closed gates" as a typological image of the Holy Virgin are interpreted according to the prophecy of Ezekiel (Ezek. 44:2): "Then said the Lord unto me, This gate shall be shut. It shall not be opened and no man shall enter in by it, because the Lord, the God of Israel, hath entered in by it; therefore it shall be shut" (πύλη κεκλεισμένη).[52] Two compositions appear in the 14th century in the Church of the Holy Saviour in Chora and in the Church of Theotokos Pammakaristos (Fethiye Camii), where against a background of the "closed gates" the Virgin is depicted – the Gates of the Logos.[53] The "citation" included in the miniature could be understood as a citizen of the capital, the donor of the manuscript, and without supplementary illustration of the Virgin in a codex that is entirely dedicated to her and where the text features the words: "Rejoice, the Gate is One, by which the One Word shall enter" and "Rejoice, Gate of the sacred mystery".[54] The latter expression – θύρα τοῦ μυστηρίου – would be used by Patriarch Philotheos in one of his treatises, also as a quotation and without reference to the context.[55]

Compositions are known in Byzantine iconography where it is customary to depict not the Virgin, but Christ, the Incredulity of Thomas, against a background of closed gates. In St. John's Gospel evidence is repeated twice that Christ entered a house where his disciples had gathered when the door of the house "was closed" (John 10:9-20). Τῶν θυρῶν κεκλεισμένων – "with closed doors" – is depicted in the scene "The Incredulity of Thomas" from Hosios Loukas in Phocis above the door that like a "golden ark" contains the figure of Christ, and his hand simultaneously points to these words and the signs of the Passion.[56] In such compositions[57] the closed door behind Christ corresponds to the "closed gates" – the prototypical symbol of the Holy Virgin – on a lexical level, in a literal sense through the subtext, for the text itself is presented to the viewer.

52 *Septuagint*, ed. A. Rahlfs, vol. 2, p. 852.

53 The composition from Fethiye Camii and the miniature in M show a close similarity in the way the gates are painted: coffered doors come together under a small angle and the semi-circular finial is analogously decorated with ornamental motif (Der Nersessian, "Program and Iconography", fig. 18).

54 Fols. 37v, 21v.

55 Philotheos Kokkinos, *Sermons,* ed. B.S. Pseutogkas, p. 78.

56 Lazarev, *Istoriya*, pl. 159.

57 An analogous example is provided by a fresco in the crypt of the same church. Also see the 10th-century bone plaque from the Dumbarton Oaks Collection. *L'art byzantine*, fig. 59.

In addition, there is a version in the iconographic canon of this scene where Christ appears to his disciples before the closed gates of a church in a remote or urban landscape.[58] In such compositions the resurrected Jesus, contrary to the Gospel narrative, does not enter the house from outside but emerges outside; moreover he emerges from the church into an open, unbounded and often "populated" space. An example of this arrangement is the icon "The Incredulity of Thomas" from Metéora Monastery,[59] contemporary with M. There are no doors "closed in fear for the sake of Judaism" here, but two symbols of the Virgin can be seen – the church, "vessel of the unplaceable", and the closed doors of the church. Christ represents the marks of the Passion on this background, outside them, for he, in the words of the Apostle Paul, "suffered without the gate" (ἔξω τῆς πύλης) (Hebr. 13:12). The "closed doors" of the Gospel scene and "closed gates" of prophecy could have been combined as an image to depict a common symbol.

Christ passed through the closed door three times without breaching the bolt. The first time at the Nativity of the Virgin, the Gates of the Logos; then at the Resurrection, rising from the tomb; then again at the Resurrection by appearing to his disciples. In all cases the bolt on the door signifies Christ's divine nature and the Mystery of the Incarnation of the Logos. A similar unification of all aspects in a single chain of events can also be found in the case of Proclus of Constantinople: "The door (θύρα) of life is an entry, though all the gates are closed, it is an entry – He alone was born without broaching the gates (πύλη) of maidenhood, as He entered inside the house without opening the bolt, as He rose from the tomb, which remained closed".[60]

The examples cited show that the symbolically interpreted motif of the closed door could in equal measure apply to the Holy Virgin or to Christ, in both scriptural and pictorial traditions. The difference intentionally emphasised here between the Gospel θύρα – as an image of Christ, and the Old Testament πύλη – and the prototype of the Holy Virgin is usually observed in homiletic theology, but was never strictly maintained in hymnography. The Treatise on the Nativity of the Holy Virgin by Andrew of Crete contains a formula that conveys the meaning of the miniature: "...and the Word shall come, and the mystery of the day shall appear, standing in the doors and addressing

58 For instance, "The Incredulity of Thomas" from the 13th-century. Nicomedian Gospels, Kiev, Ukraine Academy of Sciences, Vernadsky National Library, DA 25 L, fol. 323 (Mokretsova, "O nyekotorykh osobennostyakh"); fresco from the Peribleptos Church of the Holy Virgin at Mistras, second half of the 14th century (Lazarev, *Istoriya*, pl. 566).

59 *L'art byzantine,* fig. 193.

60 Leroy, *L'homiletique de Proclus*, p. 241.

a joyful exclamation to us. Rejoice and be glad, for that which has been anticipated will come. At the gates – an appeal, at the doors – destruction, in our hands – salvation".[61]

In the icon already mentioned, "The Incredulity of Thomas" from Metéora Monastery, the "closed doors" of the church are placed in one pictorial and, undoubtedly, symbolic row with other images of the Holy Virgin: Christ stands on the upper steps of the staircase, with the words of the Akathistos "the Lord came down to Her", and above the doors the church cupola rises heavenwards in a form reminiscent of a seashell. As we know, a shell, the "incarnadined purple raiment of the Lord",[62] is yet another metaphor of the Holy Virgin widespread in the hymnographic tradition.[63]

An instance of the dissemination of this motif in hymnography illuminations is provided by two miniatures in M. In the scene "The Reproaches of Joseph" on fol. 9r, which illustrates the 6th Oikos and elucidates the prehistory of the Incarnation, Joseph, "accepting a storm within of troubled thoughts", addresses Mary (Fig. 128).[64] The upthrown arms and anxious poses show their distraught state. Above them, rising on slender columns like a canopy, as a symbol of the coming Incarnation and the resolution of doubts, gleams a sky-blue shell, coloured like the robes of the Holy Parents, "revered", "inspirited", "the shell bringing the divine pearl".[65] In another miniature from the dogmatic part of the Akathistos (fol. 18v) relating to the 13th Oikos, which reflects the meaning of the already completed Incarnation, the Holy Virgin is represented with the Infant on a throne.[66] Its tall back, arched like the wall of an apse, is crowned by a concha, also a shell.[67] The shell's blue mantle skirts are splayed to reveal a bright vermilion heart that is enclasped just as the Infant Christ below is embraced by the Virgin, who presents Him to the exultant mortals.

61 *PG*, vol. 97, cols. 857-60.

62 Eustratiades, *Ἡ Θεοτόκος*, p. 38.

63 This motif is quite frequently seen in relics of early Christian iconography. For example, in a marble relief from the Berlin National Museum the image of the Hetoimasia (Preparation of the Throne) is framed by two columns and a shell placed above them (Weitzmann, *Age of Spirituality*, fig. 11). A similar correlation between Christological and Marian symbolism was consolidated in church architecture: the form crowning the altar apse was named the concha, i.e. shell (κόγχη, κογχύλη).

64 Dobrynina, "'Vrata zaklyuchyonnye'", fig. 2.

65 Eustratiades, *Ἡ Θεοτόκος*.

66 Dobrynina, "'Vrata zaklyuchyonnye'", fig. 3.

67 There is an analogous throne with an arched back crowned by a concha in the Annunciation scene from Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome (late 13th century). Fournée, "Architectures symboliques", pp. 223-35.

Here the Holy Virgin is "a shell that has reddened the divine purple robe of the King with divine blood".[68]

We have examined typologically related particularities of the three miniatures in the M miscellany, of which the donor and compiler of the entire illustrative programme was evidently Patriarch Philotheos, a scholar of the ancient hymnographic tradition, theologian and liturgist, extremely well versed in the selection and interpretation of metaphorical texts. In one handwritten manuscript there is a close relationship between the doctrinal conception, poetical metaphor and images based on models from the capital. According to Philotheos, "we direct our own selves towards that which is hidden by words and perceptible things, as well as by means of certain images and replicas", and "that which was indistinctly given to the ancients in symbolic dictums was later revealed to us in a form freed from symbols and enigmas".[69] The author's tendency towards contemplation is obvious, as well as his efforts to approach the gates to the ultimate Mystery.

Artistic Style of the Moscow Akathistos and Production of the Hodegon Monastery Scriptorium

The scriptorium of the largest Constantinople monastery, τῶν Ὁδηγῶν, was well known to Greek manuscript book historians. More than 70 manuscripts have survived which either contain entries about their origins in this scriptorium or are identified with it on the basis of palaeographical analysis.[70] Codicological and palaeographical examination of these manuscripts allows us to formulate an idea of "the Hodegon scribal school". Script of this type developed within the chronological limitations of the early 14th to mid-15th centuries. But this tradition also continued in the post-Byzantine period and for at least a century manuscripts were produced with handwriting "of the Hodegon type".

The question of the artistic tradition of the Hodegon Monastery manuscript workshop has been researched to a much lesser degree. The number of illuminated manuscripts produced at this scriptorium is large in comparative

68 Eustratiades, *Ἡ Θεοτόκος*, p. 37.

69 Philotheos Kokkinos, *Sermons,* ed. B.S. Pseutogkas, p. 146.

70 Politis, "Eine Schreiberschule", pp. 17-40, 261-87; Hunger/Kresten, "Archaisierende Minuskel", pp. 187-236; Bravo García/Pérez Martín, "El Escorialensis T. III. 4"; Pérez Martín, "El 'estilo Hodegos'".

terms.[71] After an examination of several of these manuscripts, H. Buchthal and H. Belting came to the conclusion that there is considerable variation in methods and techniques of decoration in the surviving manuscripts, which, according to these authors, points to the lack of an artistic tradition at the scriptorium. The hypothesis was made that the Hodegon Monastery scriptorium did not have artists working there on a permanent basis, but that each time a manuscript commission was received the miniaturist was invited from elsewhere, as there was no shortage of them in the capital.[72] But even if we disregard the issue of whether artists worked in the scriptorium on a permanent basis, in our view this circumstance cannot adequately establish the absence or presence of a tradition in such a major scriptorium. Naturally, if we interpret the concept of an artistic tradition in a broader sense, not only as a style of miniatures or specific ornamental motifs, but as principles for illuminating the book as a whole, including the role of each element in the decorative system, and as preferences given to particular models. In our opinion one of the important indications of an artistic tradition in the scriptorium is the different kinds of preparatory work before the artist takes up his brushes, and these largely determine the final result. It is our belief that all the various tasks on artistic reconstruction of manuscripts number among them.[73]

As already mentioned, in M the parchment was prepared by a special technology: a thick coat of white lead primer was applied to all the sheets, including flyleaves, so that the hair and flesh sides assumed an identical appearance. The majority of manuscripts with analogous parchment are connected to the manuscript tradition of the Hodegon scriptorium. During the period under examination manuscripts on paper also became widespread. The aesthetics of the paper manuscript differ from those of parchment manuscripts: here there is no alternation between the sides of the folio, no tonal and textural gradations of recto and verso, any spread of two pages gives the impression of a single background, and the ground beneath the text is always an even white colour. Of course the tastes of most manuscript donors favoured such innova-

71 The observation is made that almost all the illuminated manuscripts produced in the last century before the fall of the Byzantine Empire belong to the Hodegon scribal tradition; see Hutter, "Schreiber und Maler".

72 Belting, *Das illuminierte Buch*, pp. 12, 56; Buchthal, "Toward a History", pp. 157-61, 165, 177. Another supporter of this theory was P. Vocotopoulos: Vocotopoulos, "Ενα ἄγνωστο χειρογράφο", pp. 195, 198.

73 For this theme, see Dobrynina, "Khudozhestvennaya produktsiya", pp. 199-220; ead., "Restoration (repair)".

tions in book production.[74] Under their influence the idea of likening the external appearance of parchment sheets to paper could have arisen in the largest scriptorium of the capital, making the texture similar on both sides, with an even white colour, i.e. reminiscent of a paper page. One of the artistic innovations applied to the Hodegon scriptorium's production is the creation and subsequent realisation of a new aesthetic concept of the handwritten parchment book.

New features also appeared in the decoration of M, primarily in ornamentation of the headpieces and initials. Fine cinnabar frames of the 24 miniatures are surrounded by a border that it is hard to call decoration, since the mobile and apparently fluttering grasses and rare inflorescence are so far removed from geometrical patterns. "Grass" decoration used as a single motif to decorate the miniature and not just fragments is encountered for the first time in this manuscript. Almost several decades later, the miscellany Synod. gr. 429 served as the model for creators of the liturgical scroll Patmos, Monastery of Saint John the Theologian, cod. 708, written in the Hodegon scriptorium by the scribe Gedeon in 1429.[75] The motif of "grass" ornamentation used here to decorate the headpieces is very close to ornamentation in M. The Tetraevangelion on paper, Athos, Iviron Monastery, cod. 548, written in 1433 by Sophronios, a scribe of the Hodegon school, and embellished by full-folio miniatures whose frames are decorated using a similar "grass" motif.[76] Transformation of this motif into something resembling stylised grasses is found in the Tetraevangelion at Athens, National Library of Greece, cod. 2603 of 1418, produced by the scribe Matthew, who also belonged to the scribal tradition of the Hodegon scriptorium.[77] In this context mention should be made of the 14th-century "Ladder" at Athos, Stavronikita Monastery, cod. 50, which, although not directly linked to the Hodegon workshop, shows several borrowed decorative elements and in particular "grass" ornamentation from M.[78] In the early stage of its development "grass" decoration rarely contrasted with the traditional "petaline" patterns that avoided the slightest hint of life or movement. The "grass" decoration

74 It should be noted in passing that the production of paper manuscripts was equal to that of parchment manuscripts at the Hodegon scriptorium.

75 Hunger/Kresten, "Archaisierende Minuskel", p. 200; Spatharakis, *Corpus*, cat. no. 288, figs. 509-11.

76 Pelekanidis, *The Treasures of Mount Athos*, vol. II, pp. 324-5, figs. 133-6 ; Spatharakis, *Corpus,* cat. no. 291; Galavaris, *Ιερά Μονή Ιβήρων*, pp. 87, 90, 92, fig. 60.

77 Politis,"Eine Schreiberschule"; *Byzantine Art*, p. 283, no. 330; Hunger/Kresten, "Archaisierende Minuskel", p. 200.

78 Belting, *Das illuminierte Buch*, p. 16; Pelekanidis, *The Treasures of Mount Athos,* vol. IV, fig. 366.

created in the Hodegon scriptorium reflected a new taste for portraying liberated, living subject matter, the "biological mass" comprising everything that grows and breathes. For this reason it is hard to classify the new decorative style as ornamentation: its basic principle was the greatest possible divergence from geometrical patterns and schema. However it should be noted that this style of decoration was popular for a comparatively short period: this is obvious from the same "grass" decoration whose free forms were already transformed into schematic rapports and returned to the customary framework of stylised patterns in the first decades of the 15th century.[79]

Initials also developed in the course of this tendency. In M the first letters of the Akathistos Oikoi show a striking contrast with their modern forms. The exaggeratedly enlarged forms of the letters, with the height of initials occasionally extending over the entire area of text, are compiled from a whimsical combination of zoomorphic, ornithomorphic and anthropomorphic motifs. Anthropomorphic elements are introduced to a fantastical interweaving where the forms of wild beasts are painted with almost savage expressiveness: human heads, faces, masks, etc. The motifs themselves are less remarkable than the compositions arranged in a new way, and most of all, their disregard for strict letter borderlines that were once compulsory. Interesting are the leopards in a vertical position as if balanced on the tip of their tails, with a mask on the crosspiece between them (fol. 10r); the lions similarly placed (fol. 23r); two birds standing on their tails with crossed necks (fol. 6v). A new feature in decoration of initials is the "tau": the upper crossbar of the letter is comprised of two semicircles formed by the body parts of animals or birds (fol. 26v).

Similar motifs, naturally in modified form, occur in other manuscripts connected in some way with the Hodegon Monastery scriptorium. For example, there are initials very close in shape and expressive quality in the scroll at Patmos, cod. 708 (a lion standing on its hind paws, flourishes fanning from its head with characteristic dots at the ends)[80] and in the manuscript *Par. gr. 12, fol. 100r (two leopards with interlinked forepaws and heads thrown back). The overall configuration of the initials and also the use of certain motifs can also be found in a paper manuscript Moscow, State Historical Museum, Synod. gr. 66.[81] Paired masks (fol. 301r), diverse wild beasts and birds apparently standing on their tails (fols. 84, 307, 406), letter crosspieces embellished with

79 Referring to decoration of the manuscript at Athens, National Library of Greece, cod. 2603.

80 Spatharakis, *Corpus*, fig. 510.

81 Previously the manuscript was dated as 15th century and it was assumed that the donor's inscription was made by the scribe. B.L. Fonkič determined the main hand of the codex to be of the "Hodegon type" and dated it to the third quarter of the 14th century, specifying

anthropomorphic images (fol. 84r), birds with crossed necks (fol. 406r) and, finally, the most significant detail – the upper part of the initial "tau", composed of two semicircles (fols. 129v, 383v), are directly derived from the initials of the Akathistos. Similar treatment of the initials can be seen in the Psalter of 1419, *Par. gr. 12, produced in the Hodegon Monastery scriptorium by the scribe Matthew.[82] In addition, the headpiece on fol. 100r of this manuscript is decorated with motifs of tall waving grasses and birds pecking long plant stems purposely and freely moved far beyond the boundaries of the ornamental area. Analogous and close compositions embellish headpieces in the manuscript Synod. gr. 66, fols. 5r, 406r. In this connection we should also mention the Tetraevangelion at Oxford, Christ Church College, cod. 28, produced in the late 14th century by the scribe Gregory, possibly at the Hodegon Monastery.[83] Elements in the decoration of these manuscripts (corner embellishments in the form of bunches of grass, vases with huge inflorescences, the type of initials) show a close similarity.[84]

Thus in all the manuscripts previously mentioned that originate from the Hodegon scriptorium or are connected to its scribal school we observe new elements in the decoration of headpieces and initials, and also the reiteration of similar ornamental motifs or their modifications. There is a new correlation between central and secondary forms, a tendency towards the enlargement of initials or corner decorations in the form of huge bunches of grass and flowerpots with long-stemmed plants emerging from them. The images of wild beasts and birds traditional for Byzantine book illumination acquire new features: their bodies are liberated from the previous subordination to strict graphic delineation of the initial letter, to such an extent that the customary outlines of the letters themselves are altered.[85] In the representation of beasts and birds we encounter multiple small details that convey the finer particularities of the

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that the hand of the donor, hieromonk Simeon Malesinos, dated from the second half of the 14th century. Fonkič/Polyakov, *Grecheskiye rukopisi*, pp. 62-3.

82 Spatharakis, *Corpus,* cat. no. 283, fig. 502.

83 Hutter, *Corpus*, vol. 4, no. 51, pls. X-XII, figs. 663-710; Buckton, *Byzantium,* pp. 195-6, cat. no. 209, fig. 209.

84 Another indication of the spread of the motifs under examination outside the Hodegon scriptorium is the decoration of a manuscript of 1422 with the Commentary of Andreas of Caesarea on the Apocalypse (*Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 239), scribe Michael Kalofrenas. Spatharakis, *Corpus*, cat. no. 285, figs. 505-6.

85 For example, the initial "Π" from the manuscript *Par. gr. 12, fol. 100r is formed by the bodies of two leopards with front paws entwined so that the upper crossbar of the letter resembles an arch. Spatharakis, *Corpus*, fig. 502; Dobrynina, "Khudozhestvennaya produktsiya", fig. on p. 214.

species and the bodies are lengthened, acquiring flexibility and plasticity. Together these characteristics comprise the basis of a new style of ornamental decoration conditionally described as "biomorphic" – with expressed interest in the diversity of form in living nature, with intensity and expressive qualities lent by fantastical or hypertrophied elements. Decoration of the miscellany M, faithfully executed in this style, is therefore central to the art of the 1360s.[86]

Copies of the Moscow Akathistos

In the Psalter of 1419, *Par. gr. 12, produced by the scribe Matthew, pupil of Ioasaph II,[87] Patriarch Philotheos Kokkinos's Troparia and Emperor Leo VI the Wise's Hymn of Attrition on fols. 315r-319r were copied directly from M. This means that the M miscellany was then still located at the Hodegon Monastery. The text of the 22nd Oikos beneath the miniature on fol. 31v of M was evidently added in the 15th century, when the sheet between fol. 31 and fol. 32 with the original text was lost.[88] Existing information suggests that M was taken to Transylvania (Moldavia?) in the 16th century, when the codex was rebound (after 1529). Covers from the binding of a Western manuscript were used for this.[89]

86 Some elements of the new decoration are first encountered in the Tetraevangelion of 1285 at Sofia, Centre for Slavo-Byzantine Studies "Prof. Ivan Dujčev", D. gr. 339. In the miniature before the Gospel of Mark (fol. 112v) the "grass" motif in the omphalos and at the top of the Cross, also on fol. 113r with headpiece – long-bodied birds with serpentine tails. Dobrynina, "Khudozhestvennaya produktsiya", fig. on p. 215.

87 Linos Politis identifies Matthew as one of Ioasaph's pupils. Politis, "Eine Schreiberschule", pp. 261-86. Comparison between the texts of these two manuscripts shows that *Par. gr. 12 is a direct, precise copy of Synod. gr. 429. Dobrynina, "Neizdannyye tropari".

88 According to B.L. Fonkič, this addition was made in the 15th century (Mokretsova, *Materials and Techniques*, p. 186). It is suggested that the insertion was written by the scribe John Rossos (Pérez Martín, "The Escorial Akathistos", pp. 248-51). However, this identification cannot be regarded as fully proven.

89 From the first period: bevelled edges on both covers; knife marks on the inner sides of the boards; parchment folds with 12th-century(?) Latin text; and sewing of the block on cords. On the upper and lower covers of the binding paper sheets of waste paper were glued on the inner sides, underlapping the leather covering (after restoration of the manuscript from 1993 to 1994 these were transferred to added flyleaves at the beginning and end of M). Inscriptions preserved on these waste-paper sheets, some with dates, were deciphered by V.N. Malov (Mokretsova, *Materials and Techniques*, pp. 192-3).

Codex E is a direct and precise copy of M.[90] It reproduces the text contents, their headpieces and textological particularities, as well as the iconography of miniatures reproduced in it with a few differences (Fig. 129). An exception is Manuel Philes's Metaphrase on fols. 33r-41r, which M in its surviving form lacks. In the E miscellany two miniatures have been lost, to accompany the 23rd and 24th Oikoi, while in M only the miniature for the 23nd Oikos is lost.[91] Previously the E miscellany was dated as 15th to 16th century.[92] Recently the suggested date was based on attribution of the script of George, calligrapher of this manuscript, to the hand used by a circle of scribes working in the capital in the second quarter of the 15th century.[93] It is presumed that the E miscellany was copied from M in Constantinople, before the Moscow Akathistos lost the sheet between fol. 31 and fol. 32 and, possibly, the quires with Manuel Philes's text.[94]

90 Revilla, *Catalogo,* pp. 68-70; Velmans, "Une illustration inédite"; De Andrés-Martínez, *Akathistos*; id., *El Hymno Akathistos*.

91 None of the researchers have so far ventured an explanation for the remarkable fact that a miniature illustrating exactly the same text has been lost in two virtually identical manuscripts, both with a complex history and kept in different locations.

92 Revilla, *Catalogo,* pp. 68-70.

93 The colophon by the scribe George on f. 77r: ἔκητι Θεοῦ καὶ πόνῳ Γεωργίου / ἡ βίβλος αὕτη τέρμ᾽ ἔλαβε ῥαδίως. Cited by: Pérez Martín, "The Escorial Akathistos", pp. 256-7.

94 Ibid., p. 253.

Homilies

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CHAPTER 24

The Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus*

Leslie Brubaker

The homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus are sermons written (or believed to have been written) by the 4th-century Cappadocian church father. Gregory's status in the medieval Orthodox world was such that the Byzantines produced more copies of his sermons that of any other non-scriptural text. Only about one percent of the extant copies of the sermons, however, include all of Gregory's known homilies; most are formed of a selection of his texts. About half of these contain a relatively fixed sequence of 16 sermons known to modern scholarship as the liturgical homilies and called by the Byzantines the "read words". These were the sermons recited over the course of the liturgical year as part of the Orthodox church service. When the process of selecting the liturgical homilies began is unclear, but the standard selection seems to have been formalised by or during the 10th century. The "not read words" – in other words, the sermons that were never incorporated into the liturgy – were also collected into a special edition.

Illustrated Byzantine manuscripts of Gregory's homilies all date from the period after Iconoclasm (post-843), and most illustrate the liturgical homilies. There are only two copies of the full edition of the sermons with illustrations, the Paris Gregory (*Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 510) and the Milan Gregory (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, E 49/50 inf.), both of the 9th century;[1] in contrast, George Galavaris catalogued 36 copies of the liturgical edition, the earliest of which has been dated to the 11th century.[2] The reason

* I would like to take this opportunity to thank, once again, the librarians who have permitted me to study many of the manuscripts discussed here, and particularly the librarians at the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan (who permitted access to the Milan Gregory) and Dr Christian Förstel at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, who so generously gave up half of his own office so that I could examine the Paris Gregory across several visits to Paris, and with whom I hope to continue to have inspiring conversations about the codicology of the book.

1 Brubaker, *Vision and meaning*; Durand, *Byzance*, no. 258 (pp. 346-8); Grabar, *Les miniatures du Grégoire de Nazianze*.

2 Galavaris, *Liturgical Homilies*. He included the mutilated copy – with all illustrations excised – at Princeton, on which see now: Kotzabassi/Patterson Ševčenko, *Greek manuscripts at Princeton,* pp. 242-7. There is also an illustrated commentary: Walter, "Un commentaire enluminé".

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for this distinction is not hard to imagine. Most deluxe manuscripts that have survived were given as gifts to churches or monasteries and because of their value were only used or displayed on special occasions, thus preserving them from the wear-and-tear of routine use; they have lasted because they were special books and not much handled. For the monastic or priestly recipients, the most useful edition of Gregory's sermons was the liturgical version used regularly in the Orthodox service; it is therefore unsurprising that the liturgical, rather than either the full or the "not read" edition appears to have been the version of choice for most pious donors.[3] There are, in other words, more illustrated copies of the liturgical homilies because these were the most appropriate version of the sermons to gift to a church or monastery, and, once given, they were treasured and have thus survived.

The Liturgical Homilies

The liturgical homilies are the most profusely illustrated non-biblical texts to have survived from the Byzantine era. The 36 manuscripts in this group were published almost in their entirely by Galavaris in 1969;[4] since then, individual manuscripts have been studied,[5] but the group as a whole has received little attention. This is perhaps because, while there is a small core of related images in most of the manuscripts, there is no homogeneous or consistent picture sequence.[6] The format of the manuscripts is equally inconsistent. Along with non-figural ornamental bands, six of the manuscripts contain only an author portrait;[7] one incorporates three such portraits.[8] One manuscript contains only framed column pictures;[9] one contains full-page miniatures in two reg-

3 On the production of luxury service books, see Lowden, "Luxury and liturgy".

4 Galavaris, *Liturgical Homilies*.

5 E.g. Anderson, "Vat. gr. 463"; id., "Sin. gr. 339"; id., "The Common (Studite) Origin"; Noret, "Les manuscrits sinaïtiques".

6 Galavaris, *Liturgical Homilies*, pp. 14-7 includes a chart listing the scenes incorporated in all manuscripts. His stemma, which attempts to link the manuscripts, has not met with wide acceptance: see the reviews by Cyril Mango in *Art Bulletin* 54 (1972), p. 346, and Christopher Walter in *Revue des études byzantines* 29 (1971), pp. 183-212.

7 Athos, Great Lavra, cod. B 111; Athos, Pantokrator Monastery, cod. 31; *Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Laur. Plut. 7.24; Jerusalem, Greek Patriarchal Library, Hagiou Saba 258; Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, I 120 sup.; Moscow, State Historical Museum, Synod. gr. 66: Galavaris, *Liturgical Homilies*, figs. 430, 428, 97, 429, 451, 473.

8 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 541: ibid., p. 239 (no plates).

9 *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1947: ibid., figs. 123-36.

isters.[10] In three, the "miniatures" are all, in fact, historiated initials.[11] The remaining manuscripts mix headpiece miniatures, column pictures (framed and unframed), marginal illustrations (also framed and unframed) and historiated initials, sometimes seemingly at random.[12] Despite the frequency with which copies of the "read words" were commissioned, no standard formula for illustrating them developed.

Nor are the images tied closely to the Orthodox rite. The various manuscripts in the group are "liturgical" only in their function and format: they contain sermons read as part of the liturgy, re-arranged – though the ordering is not consistent across all of the manuscripts – to follow the order of the liturgical year. Thus Gregory's sermon "On New Sunday", listed as homily 44 in the full edition of his works, appears as homily 3 in most liturgical editions.[13] The liturgical role rarely affects the illustrations. Only one episode not discussed in the adjoining sermon was introduced because it was a theme of the liturgy on the day that Gregory's sermon was read, and this scene – the Doubting of Thomas, celebrated on New Sunday, also known as Thomas's Sunday – was inserted in only five of the 36 manuscripts as an illustration to Gregory's sermon "On New Sunday" (Fig. 130).[14] Furthermore, of the approximately 100

10 *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 543: ibid., figs. 454-69.

11 Athens, National Library of Greece, cod. 213 and 2554; Sinai, Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sin. gr. 346: ibid., figs. 257-60, 343-54. Athens, cod. 213 is not illustrated in Galavaris, and his description is inaccurate: for plates and a full description of both Athens manuscripts, see Marava-Chatzinicolaou/Toufexi-Paschou, *Catalogue*, pp. 146-50, figs. 183-8 (cod. 213); pp. 164-71, figs. 208-16 (cod. 2554).

12 If any manuscript "family" could be said to disprove Kurt Weitzmann's theories about the development of book illustration, as set out in his classic *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*, it is the liturgical homilies. It is thus particularly ironic that George Galavaris, one of Weitzmann's key students and followers, published the main catalogue of the manuscripts to date.

13 Liturgical homily 1=full edition homily 1; liturgical homily 2=full edition homily 45; liturgical homily 3=full edition homily 44; liturgical homily 4=full edition homily 41; liturgical homily 5=full edition homily 15; liturgical homily 6=full edition homily 24; liturgical homily 7=full edition homily 19; liturgical homily 8=full edition homily 38; liturgical homily 9=full edition homily 43; liturgical homily 10=full edition homily 39; liturgical homily 11=full edition homily 40; liturgical homily 12=full edition homily 11; liturgical homily 13=full edition homily 21; liturgical homily 14=full edition homily 42; liturgical homily 15=full edition homily 14; liturgical homily 16=full edition homily 16.

14 Athos, Vatopedi Monastery, cod. 107, fol. 27v; Moscow, State Historical Museum, Synod. gr. 61, fol. 23v; *Par. gr. 543, fol. 51v (Fig. 130); Sinai, Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sin. gr. 339, fol. 42v; Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, C. I. 6, fol. 18r. Galavaris, *Liturgical Homilies*, figs. 318, 3, 457, 380, 29.

episodes that appear sprinkled across the 36 manuscripts, only two illustrate liturgical rites: four manuscripts (all of which also inserted the scene of the Doubting of Thomas) include an image of the washing or anointing of an altar to represent the dedication of a church as part of the illustration to the sermon "On New Sunday";[15] one illustrates the rite of baptism as part of the illustration to the sermon "On Baptism", read on 7 January.[16] Gregory himself occasionally appears (incorrectly) in monastic habit, but the monastic audiences that appear in miniatures of the full edition of the sermons (to which we shall shortly turn) have been universally replaced by lay audiences. Finally, except for the dedication and baptism vignettes just mentioned, most images incorporated into the liturgical editions replicate conventional Byzantine iconography – for example, standard feast pictures such as the Anastasis, author portraits, or familiar biblical episodes such as the Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace or the Sacrifice of Abraham – or present scenes invented for specifically to illustrate Gregory's sermons, such as the images of Julian the tax collector that accompany "To Julian the tax collector", read on 21 December to complement the parable of the creditor and his debtor (Matt. 18:31-36) that is one of the Gospel lections of the day.

The Milan Gregory

The two illustrated manuscripts of the full edition of the homilies both belong to the same text family, called the "collection of fifty-two" or "family N", to distinguish it from the so-called "collection of forty-seven" (family M), which has no illustrated members.[17] Here the 44 sermons are joined with four of Gregory's letters, two poems, and two works no longer assigned to Gregory, for a total of 52 texts. The Milan copy is considered a somewhat better witness to the original text than is the Paris Gregory (which is in fact often unique in its particular readings and in the arrangement of the sermons),[18] and the illustrations in the Paris and Milan copies are normally quite different from one another.

15 Synod. gr. 61, fol. 23v; *Par. gr. 543, fol. 51v; Sin. gr. 339, fol. 42v; Turin, C. I. 6, fol. 16r. Ibid., figs. 3, 457, 380, 28.

16 *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 550, fol. 34v; ibid., fig. 408.

17 The on-going edition of the homilies texts appears in Sources chrétiennes, each volume of which discusses the text families and the variants relevant to the sermons under question. See, e.g., the first volume in the series: Gregory of Nazianzus, *Homilies 1-3*, ed./trans. J. Bernardi, pp. 53-68.

18 See, e.g., ibid.; and for variant readings peculiar to *Par. gr. 510 see, e.g., Gregory of Nazianzus, *Homilies 20-23,* ed./trans. J. Mossay, pp. 25-6; Gregory of Nazianzus, *Homilies 32-37,* ed./trans. C. Moreschini, pp. 64-73.

The Milan Gregory is written in slanting uncial, in two columns, and has been traditionally dated to the 9th century, though without further precision (Fig. 131). It is often attributed to Italy.[19] The manuscript has not been handled with sympathy: the text is disordered and between third and half of its images have been roughly excised, though remaining inscriptions occasionally allow us to identify the lost image. Despite these significant losses, the manuscript, now collected into two volumes, retains nearly 250 marginal illustrations, most of which consist of dark ink drawings filled in with gold leaf, with touches of red-orange paint.[20] By and large, the images were inspired directly by the adjacent sermon. Extended narratives in the text are usually, though not always, reduced to a portrait of the protagonist or an abbreviated, almost "shorthand", version of the episode. Most of the homilies are introduced with a portrait of Gregory delivering the sermon that follows, often with the first words of the text written on a scroll that he displays to the reader; his audience, often pictured and usually monastic, is sometimes joined by the subject of the sermon. The images themselves are not always carefully drawn, and the gold leaf is sometimes applied so sloppily that it obscures the contours of the figures.

The Milan Gregory thus presents a curious and enigmatic amalgam of a strikingly accurate textual recension written by a not particularly distinguished careless hand; and relatively unimaginative images drawn at a fairly low technical level but painted with an abundance of what surely must have been hugely expensive gold leaf.[21]

The Paris Gregory

The *Paris Gregory is equally unusual, but in a quite different way. It is a huge manuscript, both in terms of its length (the text ends mid-sentence on fol.

19 Cavallo, "Funzione e strutture", pp. 95-110, at 101-3; Grabar, *Les manuscrits grecs enluminés*, pp. 20-1; Cavallo, "La cultura italo-greca", pp. 506-8.

20 Most of the images appear in Grabar, *Les miniatures du Grégoire de Nazianze*; for colour reproductions see Cavallo, "La cultura italo-greca", figs. 464-7.

21 It is often compared with the Sacra Parallela (*Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 923, see chapter 29 in this volume), also of the 9th century, which also contains marginal illustrations drawn in ink with gold leaf, but the Paris manuscript is much more carefully drawn and painted. The medium used is similar, but the execution is quite different. For reproductions see Weitzmann, *Sacra Parallela*; for the comparison, see Brubaker, *Vision and meaning*, pp. 15, 25, 33 (with further bibliography).

465[22]) and the dimensions of its pages (*c.*410 by *c.*300 mm), which are so large that many of them are of necessity single leaves rather than bifolia. Like the Milan Gregory, the Paris manuscript is written in slanting uncial; the text is displayed in two columns of 40 lines each, with marginal *sigla* (usually in gold leaf) of the sort familiar from other manuscripts of the homilies.[23] In addition, Gregory's references to mythological figures are marked with marginal numbers that correspond with the 6th-century commentary attributed to Pseudo-Nonnos where the by-then obscure references were explained.[24] The text itself may once have followed the homilies, which now break off abruptly in the middle of Gregory the Presbyter's *Life of Gregory of Nazianzus*.

The text is embellished with over 1,500 gilded and painted initials (Fig. 132), and is the first Byzantine manuscript to include them.[25] 51 of the original headpieces remain, along with five prefatory miniatures and 41 full page miniatures, one of which originally introduced each sermon. The size, use of uncial – which rarely appears except for ceremonial scripts after *c.*870 because it was so much more expensive to produce than the newly introduced minuscule – and proliferation of expensive ornament proclaim the Paris Gregory to be an expensive product: it was meant to impress. But the Paris Gregory is important for other reasons as well. Most notably, it is one of the few securely datable and localisable Middle Byzantine manuscripts preserved; and we know for whom it was made, and, almost certainly, who commissioned it, and why. But this is only the beginning – for the Paris Gregory is a truly extraordinary book.

Date and place of origin:[26] The Paris Gregory was made in Constantinople, for the emperor Basil I, who initiated the long-lived Macedonian dynasty in 867 by the simple expedient of murdering his patron and co-ruler, Michael III. Basil reigned until 886; he was succeeded by his (presumed) son Leo VI; and the Macedonian dynasty continued until the death of its last member, the empress Theodora, in 1056.

The manuscript's frontispiece miniatures allow us to date the manuscript quite precisely. The first (Fig. 133) shows the emperor Basil I between the prophet Elijah (his patron saint), who hands him the standard of Constantine the Great to confirm his legitimacy, and the archangel Gabriel, who crowns

22 Though the paginator omitted the number 383, so there are in fact only 464 folios.

23 See Astruc, "Remarques sur les signes marginaux".

24 Pseudo-Nonnos, *Commentaries on Gregory's homilies*, ed. J. Nimmo Smith/S.P. Brock/B. Coulie; English translation: Pseudo-Nonnos, *Commentaries on Gregory's homilies,* trans. J. Nimmo Smith.

25 Brubaker, "The introduction of painted initials".

26 For additional details and bibliography, see Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, "The Portraits of Basil I in Paris gr.510"; Brubaker, *Vision and meaning*, pp. 5-7.

him to demonstrate that, despite his unorthodox ascent to the throne, Basil is blessed by God and destined to rule. The poem surrounding the miniature informs us that Gabriel, who announced the birth of Christ, now crowns Basil – thus implicitly equating Basil's elevation to the throne with the advent of Christ.[27] This was clearly composed during Basil's period on the throne, and thus dates the manuscript to the years between 867 and 886.

The second frontispiece portrait allows us to narrow this range. It shows the empress Eudokia between two of her sons, the future emperors Leo VI and Alexander. The dynastic portrait omits Basil's eldest son, Constantine, who died in September 879, so the book must date after this, and presumably after the period of deep mourning that followed Constantine's death. Eudokia died in 882, soon after Leo's marriage to his first wife Theophano. In all likelihood, then, the Paris Gregory dates to the years around 880-882. It is the only securely dated manuscript from the second half of the 9th century, that crucial period immediately following the end of Iconoclasm. And it is the first surviving illustrated book produced for a Byzantine emperor.

Innovations: Within the book itself, there are two major innovations. The first is that, as noted above, the Paris Gregory is the oldest Byzantine manuscript to incorporate painted initials. The inspiration for this sudden profusion of initials was almost certainly western, and, more specifically, the scriptoria attached to Greek-speaking monasteries in Rome and elsewhere in south Italy.[28] Byzantine receptivity to such new ways of marking texts indicates a rethinking of how texts worked in the aftermath of Iconoclasm, and this can be documented in other realms. But one of the most important manifestations of the new relationship between words and images is in fact within the Paris Gregory itself, where, for the first time, we find full page illustrations introducing each of Gregory's sermons. Some of these are simple illustrations of the content of the sermon, or of the incidents that provoked it: the miniature that prefaces "On the plague of hail" (homily 16), for example, shows the storm that flattened the crops of the village of Nazianzus (the earliest example of a pure landscape painting since the Roman period) (Fig. 134).[29] This so distressed the inhabitants that they rushed to the church demanding an explanation; in response, Gregory delivered the sermon that then follows in the manuscript. Many more of the illustrations, however, provide visual commentaries on the sermons that they introduce, and this is very new indeed.

27 This point was first made by Maguire, "A murderer among the angels".

28 Osborne, "The use of painted initials"; Brubaker, "The introduction of painted initials".

29 *Par. gr. 510, fol. 78r: Brubaker, *Vision and meaning*, pp. 124-7, fig. 15.

Miniatures: The miniatures are scattered throughout the text, and preface most of the sermons included in the volume. Approximately half of them were painted on single sheets and tipped into the book as individual leaves (indicated in red in table 24.1); and about half were, most unusually, painted on leaves integral with the text (indicated in green in table 24.1). This means that 20 miniatures were painted on ruled sheets, and this has not always been kind to the miniatures.

TABLE 24.1 *Quires with miniatures in *Paris, Bibliothèque national de France, Par. gr.510*

									69v						
				30v					71v						
	3r			32v		43v	52v	67v	75r	78r	87v		104r		
quire	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
folios	1-9	10-17	18-25	26-34	35-42	43-51	52-60	61-67	68-75	76-83	84-90	91-98	99-106	107-114	115-122

						165r								
		137r	143v	149r		170r	174v			196v		215v		226v
quire	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29
folios	123-130	131-138	139-146	147-154	155-162	163-170	171-178	179-186	187-193	194-201	202-207	208-215	216-222	223-230

											310v				
		239r			264v		285r		301r		316r		332v	340r	347r
quire	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44
folios	231-238	239-246	247-258	255-262	263-270	271-278	279-286	287-294	295-301	302-309	310-317	318-325	326-333	334-341	342-349

											435v				
			367v							424v	438v				
	355r	360r	374v					409v		426v	440r		452r		
quire	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	
folios	350-57	358-65	366-74	375-82	384-91	392-99	400-07	408-15	416-23	424-31	432-40	441-48	449-57	458-65	

Tipped in (16): 3r, 30v, 32v, 43v, 52v, 67v, 69v, 87v, 137r, 264v, 332v, 347v, 355r, 360r, 367v, 435v
Integral (20): 71v, 75r, 104r, 143v, 149r, 165r, 170r, 174v, 215v, 226v, 239r, 285r, 301r, 374v, 409v, 424v, 426v, 438v, 440r, 452v
Unclear (5): 78r, 196v, 310v, 316r, 340v
NB: there is no folio 383 (number omitted by modern paginator)

Three striking features characterise the miniatures in the Paris Gregory. The first is formal, and I will start with a brief consideration of the style of the miniatures, with a focus on the innovative use of composition pioneered by the miniaturists. The second striking feature is how iconography is manipulated to make particular points – in effect, commentaries on the sermons – and I will spend the bulk of what follows discussing this. The final striking feature about the miniatures is what they tell us about the context in which the manuscript was produced, and I will conclude with a discussion of the topicality of the miniatures and with some remarks on patronage in 9th-century Constantinople.

Style: In terms of style, the miniatures are broadly comparable to a number of other 9th-century works from Constantinople. Their overall characteristics – shared with monuments as diverse in genre as the *Sacra Parallela* miniatures (see chapter 29), the miniatures of the Vatican *Christian Topography* (see chapter 27), and the 9th-century mosaics at Hagia Sophia[30] – are the placement of figures in the immediate foreground, against a relatively flat backdrop; an interest in complicated poses; detailed attention to props used by the figures; and linear rather than modulated drapery, which contrasts with the careful attention to facial modelling. The Paris Gregory differs from all these comparable works, though, in one significant way: the use of composition to provide an additional layer of meaning to the scenes shown.

A good example of this is provided by the miniature on fol. 174v (Fig. 135), which pictures the Sacrifice of Abraham at the top, Jacob's struggle with the angel and his dream in the middle, and the Anointment of David at the bottom.[31] The page prefaces Gregory's sermon "On Theology", and uses compositional alignment and colour to connect disparate episodes into a coherent whole. Isaac, Jacob with the angel, and David are united by their shared costume of blue, gold and red. This reinforces the typological association of all three Old Testament figures with Christ. It also unifies the page, and suggests that we are meant to see a single cohesive theme running across the three episodes depicted. That theme is identified for us by the structures aligned along the

30 For reproductions of the Sacra Parallela, see Weitzmann, *Sacra Parallela*. For reproductions of the 9th-century Christian Topography (*Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 699), see Stornajolo, *Le miniature della Topografia Cristiana*; for recent discussions, see Kominko, *The World of Kosmas* and, on the Vatican manuscript, Brubaker, "The Christian Topography (Vat. gr. 699) revisited". For good reproductions of the Hagia Sophia mosaics, see esp. Mango/Hawkins, "The Apse Mosaics at St. Sophia"; id./id., "The Mosaics of St. Sophia".

31 Brubaker, *Vision and meaning*, pp. 98-107, 186-91, 207-10, fig. 23.

right margin of the miniature: the altar of Abraham's sacrifice, the altar – found in no other representation of this scene – accompanying Jacob's dream, and the altar of David's anointment. This altar cements the Christological theme of the page. Gregory, and many others, equated the sacrifice with Christ's crucifixion, and read the anointing of David as a prefiguration of Christ. Only Gregory and the 9th-century patriarch Photios, however, provided a Christological interpretation to Jacob's dream, and this interpretation is focused on the anointing spot – here shown as the anomalous altar – that, in Photios's words, is the "rock that is glorious Christ, uniting two peoples".[32] Colour and compositional alignment, then, here unify the page and provide a guide to how, specifically and unusually, the image is intended to be interpreted. No inscriptions help us here: this commentary is provided purely through visual clues.

Iconography: As this example suggests, the iconography of the Paris Gregory is unusual, and standard formulae are often manipulated to make specific points relevant to the imperial court of the late 9th century. Across the book, three themes are especially notable. These are, first, visual panegyric directed at the emperor Basil I; second, images promoting missionary activity and condemning heresy; and, third, pictures demonstrating human interaction with divine beings.

Visual panegyric: The panegyric begins with the frontispiece where, as we have seen, Basil stands as equal to the Old Testament prophet Elijah and the archangel Gabriel, best known for his role in the Annunciation to the Virgin Mary. Basil I was the first emperor routinely to be shown sharing pictorial space with sacred figures: he appears, for example, with the empress and Christ on the roughly contemporary ivory casket now in the Palazzo Venezia in Rome.[33] In general, this new association highlights the emperor's relationship with God as the divinely-appointed ruler of God's Chosen People – a relationship that came to the fore across the 8th and 9th centuries, as Gilbert Dagron has brilliantly demonstrated.[34] For Basil, who had murdered his way to the top, this was particularly important to establish, and the miniature emphasises Basil's status by the association with two divine figures and, in addition, the standard handed to him by Elijah. As we saw earlier, this is Constantine the Great's labarum, and serves to indicate that Basil continues the greatness and orthodoxy associated with the first Christian emperor.

32 Photios, *Amphilochia*, question 259, ed. B. Laourdas/L.G. Westerink, p. 18.

33 Maguire, "The art of comparing in Byzantium", dates the casket to the reign of Basil I; Cutler/Oikonomides, "An imperial Byzantine casket", date it to the reign of his son, Leo VI. I believe that the casket dates around 870, and thus depicts Basil and his wife Eudokia.

34 Dagron, *Emperor and priest*; rev. and trans. of Dagron, *Empereur et prêtre*.

The imperial panegyric continues throughout the manuscript, where Basil is visually equated with a number of powerful Old Testament figures: Samson, David, Joshua and Joseph.

Mission and heresy: One of the major thrusts of Basil's (and his sometime patriarch Photios's) ecclesiastical policy was missionary work. As has recognised long ago by André Grabar, this interest too had an impact on the miniatures of the Paris Gregory.[35] The Mission of the Apostles introduces the sermon, "On the Words of the Gospel" (homily 37). The text has little to say about missionary activity, but does contain the sentence "Jesus who chose the fishermen, himself also useth a net", and this seems to have been enough to spur our miniaturist to include a picture of a theme close to the hearts of the manuscript's audience.[36]

There are also anti-heretical miniatures, such as the image of Christ's miracles that introduces Gregory's sermon "Against Eunomians" (homily 27), a 4th-century heretical sect which denied Christ's equality with God.[37] The miniature depicts Christ healing the leper, the man with dropsy, the two demoniacs, the centurion's servant and Peter's mother-in-law, then closes with Christ walking on water to rescue Peter. None of these events is mentioned by Gregory in his sermon. All of the miracles, however, emphasise Christ's divinity, and thus visually parallel Gregory's attack on the Eunomians who did not believe that Christ was as divine as God. Beyond this, the miracles selected for inclusion in this miniature specifically update the anti-heretical sermon to show scenes that were interpreted as evidence that 9th-century heretics were wrong. The main heretics targeted in the Paris Gregory were Jews and iconoclasts. In this miniature, for example, the healing of the leper appears in the anti-Jewish polemic of the patriarch Photios, and the healing of the man with dropsy was a Sabbath day miracle and thus habitually also appeared in anti-Jewish polemic.[38]

To modern ears, the anti-Jewish invective is distasteful and unpleasant, but it was a standard component of 9th-century rhetoric, and – unlike the heresies condemned by Gregory – would have been familiar to all viewers of the Paris Gregory. What the miniaturist has done, then, is to update the miniatures in order to make Gregory's anti-heretical text relevant for its new 9th-century

35 Grabar, "L'art religieux".

36 On this theme, see further Brubaker, *Vision and meaning*, pp. 239-80; and on this miniature, ibid., pp. 243-5, fig. 42.

37 Ibid., pp. 262-5, fig. 22.

38 Ibid.; for the Photios reference (*Amphilochia*, question 60), ed. B. Laourdas/L.G. Westerink, pp. 45-50 (a long harangue against the Jews).

audience. The pictures told the 9th-century viewers why the text was important for them.

Perceiving the divine: Human ability to perceive divinity was a particularly important theme when the Paris Gregory was made, because it had been one of the major arguments of the pro-image faction during the image debates (Iconoclasm) that ended less than 40 years before the manuscript was commissioned. Essentially, the pro-image faction (the iconophiles) argued Christ's incarnation allowed him to be seen on earth, that what could be seen could be depicted, and that to say otherwise was to deny the incarnation.

This argument was extended to Old Testament prophetic visions. The iconophiles argued that the prophets saw images of divinity, that this privilege was extended to all humanity through the incarnation, and that what can be seen can be depicted. They insisted that visions were historical and visible realities, not symbolic events; in iconophile polemic, Old Testament visions justified images.[39]

Two prophetic visions are depicted in the Paris Gregory, the vision of Isaiah on fol. 67v and the vision of Habakkuk on fol. 285r,[40] and the theme continues in what is perhaps the most famous miniature in the manuscript, the miracle of Ezekiel in the valley of the dry bones.[41] The miniature carries the most elaborate frame of any image in the book, apparently to emphasize the importance of the scene it surrounds. It shows two distinct moments of the narrative, which flow together within a single unified setting. The first shows Ezekiel in the valley of the dry bones: at the prophet's feet and continuing up the mountainside are human skulls and bones. The prophet raises his arms to a hand of God that emerges from heaven. In the Old Testament account of the event, God asks Ezekiel, "Son of man, will these bones live?". In the Paris Gregory, however, the inscription reverses the direction of the question, and Ezekiel asks God, "Lord, Lord, will these bones live?". Ezekiel, in other words, asks God the question that in the Septuagint the Lord asks him.

Ezekiel recurs in the lower right, standing with an archangel. The scene evokes Ezek. 37:9, when God instructs the prophet to call upon the winds to "breathe upon these dead, and let them live"', but there is no mention of the archangel in the Old Testament, and it appears in no other representation of the scene. The dead, re-formed from the bones of the valley at Ezekiel's command, appear as a group of small figures to the left of the archangel; painted in grisaille, they evidently have yet to receive the life-giving breath. Ezekiel does

39 See Brubaker, *Vision and meaning*, pp. 281-307.

40 Ibid., pp. 281-6, figs 11, 29.

41 Ibid., pp. 286-8, fig. 44.

not seem, however, to call upon the winds specified in the bible to fill the specters with breath; rather, he points to his own mouth and looks to the archangel, which, while looking back toward the prophet, strides forward and gestures downward to the grisaille figures. Ezekiel appears either to be requesting that the archangel breathe life into the dead, or to be receiving this instruction from the angel. This is absolutely unique: no other even vaguely comparable version of the scene exists in Byzantine art or anywhere else.

The Ezekiel miniature does not present a prophetic vision; it records a conversation between the prophet and God. But by incorporating the archangel – which has neither biblical justification nor visual precedents – the miniaturist was able to show a divine being appearing to the prophet. Ezekiel communicates, if mutely, with an obviously corporeal figure. As in the prophetic visions, here the archangel confirms, visually, the orthodox dictum that the prophets saw divinity. To achieve this goal, the miniaturist invented a scene that was never repeated. We can, I think, conclude that it was of paramount importance to portray human and divine figures acting together in historical narratives. This was a prime concern of the victorious pro-image party and particularly of its leader when the Paris Gregory was made, the patriarch Photios.

Context: The ideas and thought patterns of Photios permeate the manuscript. As we saw in the discussion of fol. 174v (Fig. 135), his own particular interpretations of biblical events inform the iconography of the miniatures. There are many other examples. For instance, the miniature that prefaces Gregory's sermon "On Baptism" includes four scenes, two of which – the Ascension of Elijah and the Crossing of the Red Sea – were standard Byzantine "types" of baptism. The other two scenes – Moses and the Burning Bush, and the Conversion of Paul – were not. Both, however, appear in Photios's *Amphilochia*, a series of essays framed as responses to questioned posed by Amphilochios, the bishop of Kyzikos, as types of baptism.[42] Similarly, in the miniature of Habakkuk's vision, Helena carries a small model of Christ's tomb that is completely different from any other Byzantine representation of it. Its rock-hewn form is, however, described in detail by Photios in his *Amphilochia*.[43] A third example is the image of the Council of 381 on fol. 355r.[44] The miniature is a complete anomaly: it has little to do with the sermon it introduces and Gregory was not even present at the council. It was, however, of tremendous interest to Photios,

42 *Par. gr. 510, fol. 264v: Brubaker, *Vision and meaning*, pp. 217-21, 337-43, 356-60, fig. 28.

43 *Par. gr. 510, fol. 285r: Brubaker, *Vision and meaning*, pp. 205-7, fig. 29.

44 Ibid., pp. 210-17, fig. 36.

who relied on its judgement against Makedonios (pictured) to inform his condemnation of the Latin position on *filioque*.[45]

I think it is fairly safe to assume that Photios commissioned the Paris Gregory as a gift for the emperor Basil I. Basil is unlikely to have commissioned the manuscript himself – he was not an educated man, and his only known patronage was of buildings and their decoration. Photios, too, is associated with monumental commissions in the capital, notably the apse mosaic at Hagia Sophia, inaugurated in 867.[46] But, unlike Basil, Photios is also associated with at least one other manuscript, and was himself a prolific author.[47] He also, perhaps alone among 9th-century Byzantines, had the imagination, the learning, and (not least) the unlimited resources that would have been needed to produce the Paris Gregory.

Conclusions

The Paris Gregory is the only illustrated copy of the homilies – and indeed one of the only manuscripts in the world – in which images were used to make exegetical statements in their own right. The images shape the way we are meant to understand the words by providing a contemporary, 9th-century interpretation of Gregory's 4th-century sermons. The value and power of sight expressed in the dialogue between text and image here tell us one very important thing: images communicate differently from words, and the people involved in the production and design of this manuscript knew and believed that images could and should do this. The pictures in the Paris Gregory are not substitutes for words. They were selected instead of words, and they insist on their separation from the text by their full page format (so unlike the marginal and text illustrations of all of the other homily manuscripts), and by their nearly unanimous lack of explanatory captions. The miniatures of the Paris Gregory do not provide a pictorial supplement to written exegesis, as the images in the roughly contemporary marginal psalters do, they *are* visual exegesis. Though there are times when the miniatures parallel written interpretations, there are more examples that, while operating from within the same

45 This comes across especially well in his letters: see Photios, *Letters*, ed. B. Laourdas/L.G. Westerink, 1, pp. 1-39, esp. lines 123-71 (epistle 1, to Michael the Bulgarian); 1, pp. 39-53, esp. lines 101-92 (epistle 2, encyclical of 867); 3, pp. 114-20, 123-38, 138-52 (epistles 288-90, to pope Nicholas; epistle 291, to the archbishop of Aquileia).

46 Mango/Hawkins, "The Apse mosaics at St Sophia".

47 See further Brubaker, *Vision and meaning*, pp. 201-38, 412-4.

frame of reference as contemporary written words, communicate ideas not expressed in any surviving texts. In the Paris Gregory, the miniaturists convey messages through manipulating the composition of the page and through the juxtaposition of scenes; they weave independent threads of interpretation together to create new meaning that co-existed with, but was in important ways independent of, the text with which their visions were bound.

CHAPTER 25

The Homilies of John Chrysostom

Vasiliki Tsamakda

The Author and His Work

St John Chrysostom (*c.*347-407) was the most important Father of the Orthodox Church. Archbishop of Constantinople from 398 to 404, he was officially recognized as a Doctor of the Orthodox Church by the Council of Chalcedon in 451[1] due to his vast and important theological writings.[2] He was the most productive among the Church Fathers, with over 1,500 works written by, or ascribed to him. His name was firmly associated with the Liturgy, but above all he was appreciated for his numerous sermons and as an extraordinary preacher. From the 6th century on he was called *Chrysostomos*, the "golden mouthed". The fact that over 7,000 manuscripts including his writings exist, attests to the importance and great distribution of his works, many of which were translated into other languages. The great majority of them date after the Iconoclasm.

The homilies of John Chrysostom were read during the Service of the Matins (*Orthros*) mainly in Byzantine monasteries. They were transmitted in various collections or series from which only a few were selected for illustration.

Illustrated homilies of John Chrysostom

The exact number of illustrated manuscripts containing Chrysostomic sermons is unknown,[3] but their number is extremely low in view of the very rich

1 The translation of his relics to Constantinople and their deposition in the Church of the Holy Apostles marks the beginning of his cult in Byzantium. The Orthodox Church commemorates him on 27 January, 13 November and also on 30 January together with the other two Cappadocian Fathers, Basil the Great and Gregory of Nazianzus. On his biography and cult, see Brändle, *Johannes Chrysostomus*; Krause, *Homilien*, pp. 1-2; Tiersch, *Johannes Chrysostomus*. See also the vast bibliography on the Church Father at: <http://www.cecs.acu.edu.au/chrysostombiblioJ-L.html>.

2 On the importance of John Chrysostom, see Krause, *Homilien*, pp. 2-3.

3 Madigan, *Homilies*, lists 30 manuscripts from the 9th to the 14th centuries. This unpublished thesis should be used with caution, since it contains numerous errors; for a critical view, see Krause, *Homilien*, pp. 8-10. Krause's publication lists only those of the 11th and 12th centuries

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text tradition. Furthermore, as Weitzmann remarked: "Considering the wealth of illustrations in Gregory manuscripts, the contrast with what one finds in the homilies of John Chrysostom is striking".[4] The very rich production of the author, as well as the absence of a liturgical edition of his sermons, may explain this discrepancy. Moreover, the Chrysostomic sermons were edited in several different editions and collections.

No illustrated Chrysostom manuscript with figural illustration is known before the Iconoclasm. Weitzmann posited the existence of illustrated Chrysostom manuscripts before the Iconoclasm on the basis of the illustrated Chrysostom passages in the *Sacra Parallela,* *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 923.[5] He concluded: "Yet there are two illustrations which can only be explained by the homily text and on these alone rests the evidence for an early illustrated John Chrysostom".[6] A Latin illustrated John Chrysostom manuscript, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, cod. 1007 [Salisb. 181],[7] executed in *c.*800, was also used in support of this theory, although it displays elements that greatly differ from the Byzantine tradition. In the lack of more convincing evidence, the possibility of the existence of illustrated Chrysostom manuscripts before the Iconoclasm must remain open.

From the 9th century on, the main principle ruling the illustration of the Homilies of John Chrysostom is the decoration with headpieces or strips and large opening initials inserted at the beginning of each sermon. Some manuscripts also contain full-page miniatures and in very rare cases framed miniatures are incorporated. These types of illustration are not bound to specific sermon collections as we will see. The codices to be presented below all share common features: they are large-scale manuscripts (at least 30 cm high) and their text is written in minuscule script in two columns. Regarding the layout of the pages there is consistency in the hierarchy of the script, according to which the headings are written in a more careful manner and sometimes even with use of gold.

(18 with text-based illustration and six with frontispieces) and also mentions five illustrated homilies from the 10th century.

4 Weitzmann, "Selection", p. 96.

5 On this manuscript, see chapter 29 in this volume.

6 Weitzmann, *Sacra Parallela*, p. 244.

7 Weiner, *Illuminierte Handschriften*, no. 26; Krause, *Homilien*, pp. 3-4.

The Homilies on the Holy Scripture

a *Homilies on Genesis*

At least 180 codices dating from the 9th to 16th centuries transmit the 67 homilies of John Chrysostom on the Old Testament Book of Genesis, also known as *Hexaemeron*.[8] These sermons, delivered between 388/89, were the ones more extensively copied. They normally required two volumes. Several of these were illuminated, the earliest ones dating from the 10th century.[9] Their decorative program is in most cases based on headpieces and initials of various types. Very few of them exhibit figural illustrations depending on the text, their decoration is however not uniform. To the earliest manuscripts with this type of illustration belongs the 10th-century codex Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. T. 3.3, containing Homilies 1-29. The codex has been attributed to Asia Minor or Constantinople.[10] Some of its unusual initials, although composed of a limited number of motifs, seem to offer a complex visual interpretation of the homilies. On fol. 134v, the initial *Kapa*, for instance, is formed by a curious figure with human's head and bird's legs, which holds the letter's ascending diagonal bar in its right hand, while its left hand stretches upwards. The figure was interpreted as Cain's wild and sinful nature and was regarded as an illustration to Gen 4:8 and the text of the homily which mentions the transformation of a human being in an animal.[11]

The 11th-century codex Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Pal. gr. 259, dated by colophon to the year 1054 and probably made in Cappadocia, contains the first 30 homilies.[12] Each homily opens with a polychrome-golden initial, of which seven are figural and relate to the text in various ways. These initials include author portraits, but also scenes unconnected to the text. There is a rare representation of everyday life in a depiction of a monk striking a *semantron* (a percussion instrument used in monasteries to summon the monks), for example.[13] This initial is placed at the beginning of Homily 25 on fol. 227v commenting the Genesis passage 7:6: "Noah was six hundred years old when the floodwaters came on the earth". In another case a historiated initial relates to the text in a typological manner that can be rarely observed in

8 *CPG* 4409; for an English translation, see St John Chrysostom, *Homilies on Genesis,* trans. R.C. Hill.

9 Krause, *Homilien*, pp. 66-9; Maayan-Fanar, "Interpreting Genesis".

10 Maayan-Fanar, "Interpreting Genesis", pp. 30-4.

11 Ibid., p. 33, fig. 9.

12 Krause, *Homilien*, pp. 69-75.

13 Ibid., p. 73, fig. 115.

illustrated Chrysostom homilies: the initial *Tau* at the beginning of Homily 28 (fol. 264v) links the sacrifice of Noah mentioned in the beginning of the homily with the scene of the Crucifixion of Christ.[14]

The 11th-century codex Moscow, State Historical Museum, Synod. gr. 119, probably produced in Constantinople, contains the first 32 homilies on Genesis, of which only the first two are illuminated with figural illustration.[15] The opening miniature preceding Chrysostom's preface shows the author standing, dressed in bishop's garments and flanked by a group of people in front of an architectural setting (fol. 5r).[16] The representation is placed within an ornamental *pyle*, as is the second miniature on fol. 13r.[17] Above the cited Genesis passage and the beginning of John's homily the author of the Book Genesis, Moses, is depicted receiving a scroll from God's hand, an iconography depending on the depiction of Moses receiving the Law.[18]

The 11th-century codex *Paris, Bibliothèque national de France, Par. gr. 605, also contains the first part of Chrysostom's homilies (1-30). The four[19] figural initials of this manuscript all relate to the cited Genesis passages. The miniatures include Adam and Eve unusually clad in long garments at the beginning of the Homily 21, as well as illustrations of Noah. The adjacent text is in all cases rendered in a very reduced manner. For example, at the beginning of Homily 22 the passage Gen 5:32 "After Noah was 500 years old, he became the father of Shem, Ham and Japheth" is visualized by Noah standing facing the reader with his sons in front of him, which form the vertical stem of the initial *Tau*.[20]

The 11th-century codex Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1640 includes the Genesis homilies 1-33 and once belonged to the monastery of S. Maria del Patir in Rossano.[21] In addition to the basic decorative program described above, it includes a frontispiece miniature on fol. 1v.[22] The unframed and presumably unfinished miniature shows the seated John Chrysostom writing while the Apostle Paul stands behind him holding a scroll. This

14 Krause, *Homilien*, p. 73, fig. 117.

15 Ibid., pp. 68-9.

16 Ibid., p. 68, figs. 100-1.

17 Ibid., p. 68, figs. 102-3.

18 Ibid., p. 68 proposed that in this case the representation probably alludes to the divinely inspired author.

19 The codex also contains two historiated initials depicting the Creation of Adam and the Creation of Eve, which were added several centuries later; Ibid., pp. 79-80.

20 Ibid., pp. 78-9, fig 121.

21 Ibid., pp. 176-7.

22 Ibid., fig. 229.

representation is the earliest one reflecting the tradition about the inspiration of John by the apostle, based on the vision of Proklos.[23] It is interesting to note that this depiction appears in the Genesis commentaries of Chrysostomos and not in a manuscript containing his commentaries on Paul's Epistles.

b *Homilies on the Psalms*

John Chrysostom's *Hermeneiai* on the psalms comprises 59 homilies.[24] An early illustrated manuscript is *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 654,[25] attributed to the 10th century. It is decorated with simple frames containing the title of each homily and the reference to a psalm, while each commentary opens with an initial, many of which are composed of human figures, but only in a few cases they are inspired by the homilies. In other cases there is no correspondence to the text or the initials have a purely decorative function.[26]

c *Homilies on the Gospel of Matthew*

The 90 homilies on this Gospel[27] were delivered around 390 in Antioch. At least 174 manuscripts dating between the 9th and 16th centuries contain the first or the second volume of this collection. At least eight of them are illustrated, the earliest of which date from the 9th century.[28] The primary form of illustration consists of decorated headpieces and (figural) initials.[29]

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23 On this vision and its illustration in Byzantine art, see Krause, *Homilien*, pp. 186-194.

24 *CPG* 4413.1. Commentary has survived on only 58 of the 150 psalms (4-12, 41, 43-9, 108-117, 119-150); cf. Baur, "Der ursprüngliche Umfang". For an English translation, see St John Chrysostom, *Commentary on the Psalms,* trans. R.C. Hill.

25 Krause, *Homilien*, pp. 158-9; Maayan-Fanar, "Interpreting Genesis", pp. 29-30, with further bibliography.

26 The codex displays the same layout as Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Marc. gr. app. II. 179, to be discussed later. Both of them were written by the same scribe and have been assigned to South Italy, Asia Minor or Constantinople. To the same group also belongs *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Ottob. gr. 14, a Panegyrikon including mainly Chrysostomic homilies. On this group, see Madigan, "Chrysostom Initialer"; Krause, *Homilien*, pp. 155-6. On the so-called expanded Chrysostom group, see Maayan-Fanar, "Interpreting Genesis", p. 28.

27 *CPG* 4424. For an English translation, see St John Chrysostom, *Homilies on the Gospel of Saint Matthew,* trans. Ph. Schaff.

28 Krause, *Homilien*, Table 2 lists only the five ones which contain text-based figural illustration.

29 A fine example from Constantinople is the 12th-century *Oxford, Bodleian Library, Cromwell 19. It also offers an example for the use of identical initials to open different homilies, like the initials *Omikron* on p. 688 (Homily 27) and p. 706 (Homily 28), both shaped by a

Princeton, University Library, Garrett MS. 14,[30] containing Homilies 1-45, was written in 955 by the scribe Nikephoros, who was also responsible for its embellishment. The decoration was drawn and sometimes coloured in the same ink of the scribe. It is one of the earliest manuscripts of this group which exhibits figural illustration apart from headpieces and calligraphic initials. The homilies begin with strips containing roundels with busts of the author, various bishops, a bust of Christ flanked by angels and unidentified emperors. Author and saints portraits are also inserted in several enlarged initials.[31] Before Homily 21 (fol. 151v), a bust of Modestos, Patriarch of Jerusalem appears. This points to an eastern Mediterranean rather than a western origin of the manuscript.

Among this group of illustrated Chrysostom manuscripts, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, gr. 1, which also contains Homilies 1-45 and can be assigned to Constantinople in the first half of the 12th century,[32] is especially richly illustrated. Furthermore, its images are not only of a purely decorative character, but are frequently text-based. They illustrate or are inspired by the Matthew passage cited. On fol. 263r, for example, the initial *Tau* opening Homily 30 depicts the Calling of Matthew and illustrates the words "Follow me" from the cited passage Matt 9:9.[33] In rare cases the initials illustrate the Chrysostom commentary itself. Other figural initials are not related to the text and seem to be purely decorative, such as the initial *Omikron* of Homily 18 (fol. 155v) with a head in profile bearing a crown (Fig. 136).[34] This depiction is inspired by coins showing emperors as *sol invictus*. Among the initials one also finds a great portion of profane imagery (athletes, acrobats, hunters etc.), all reflecting the profane aesthetic in Byzantium.[35]

Apart from this type of illustration, two members of this category are additionally embellished with luxurious full-page miniatures placed at the

bird biting a fish, swallowing the bird. On this codex, see Hutter, *Corpus*, vol. 1, pp. 69-72, no. 41; Krause, *Homilien*, p. 16.

30 Spatharakis, *Corpus*, no. 13, figs. 31-3; Kotzabassi/Patterson Ševčenko, *Greek Manuscripts at Princeton*, pp. 95-103, figs. 114-24. The codex is a composite manuscript, of which the oldest part (fols. 1r-295r; fols. 1-26v and 35-38v were added in the 16th century) contains the Chrysostomic homilies.

31 It also contains the earliest preserved dated depiction of John Chrysostom as an ascetic (fol. 93v); Krause, *Homilien*, fig. 65.

32 Tiftixoglou, *Staatsbibliothek München*, pp. 27-31; Krause, *Homilien*, pp. 17-54.

33 Krause, *Homilien*, p. 24, figs. 25-6.

34 Ibid., p. 21, figs. 12-3.

35 Ibid., p. 39.

beginning of the codex. The codex Sinai, Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sin. gr. 364,[36] containing Homilies 1-45, was commissioned by Emperor Constantine IX Monomachos (r. 1042-1055) and was presumably offered to the monastery of St George of the Mangana in Constantinople, founded by him in 1047. The miniature on fol. 2v shows John Chrysostom on the right receiving a book from the Evangelist Matthew. The miniature, framed by an ornamental border with an inscription,[37] visualizes the relationship between the two authors and also underlines Chrysostom's legitimacy. The miniature on the facing page (fol. 3r) depicts Emperor Constantine IX Monomachos, flanked by the Empress Zoe and her sister Theodora. Christ is depicted above in a mandorla with open hands, from which rays are directed to the imperial figures below. The rays from Christ's feet reach the emperor through a crown. Two angels flanking Christ are holding crowns for the empresses. The epigram around the frame reads: "As the one Pantokrator of the Trinity, oh Saviour, may You protect the shining trinity of the earthly sovereigns, the mightiest ruler Monomachos and the couple of common blood, the offshoot of the purple".[38] Word and image thus create an association between the heavenly and the earthly trinity, a connection which alongside the divine crowning additionally legitimizes Constantine, who was not born in the purple, but became emperor through his marriage to the Empress Zoe.[39]

Another manuscript with the same contents (Homilies 1-45), the 11th century Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Coislin 66,[40] includes a now misplaced full-page author portrait on fol. 4r, which originally faced the beginning of the first homily. John Chrysostom is depicted seated and writing within an ornamental architectural setting, while an icon of Matthew hangs in the gold background. Interestingly, John Chrysostom is incorrectly depicted in monastic habit, which may indicate that the manuscript was produced in, or dedicated to a monastery.

36 Spatharakis, *Portrait*, pp. 99-102; Weitzmann/Galavaris, *Sinai*, pp. 65-8, no. 24; Krause, *Homilien*, p. 175.

37 For a transcription and translation, see Spatharakis, *Portrait*, p. 100; Weitzmann/Galavaris, *Sinai*, pp. 65-6.

38 Spatharakis, *Portrait*, p. 100; Weitzmann/Galavaris, *Sinai,* p. 66.

39 Constantine IX ruled, in conjunction with Zoe and Theodora, for three months only, after the coronation of Constantine in 1042. Therefore, Spatharakis has suggested that the date for the execution of the codex may be thus fixed in those three months in 1042.

40 Krause, *Homilien*, p. 176.

d *Homilies on the Gospel of John*

The collection of homilies on the Gospel of John, delivered by Chrysostom in 391, consists of 88 homilies and is preserved in over 90 manuscripts.[41] The homilies were usually edited in two volumes. Several of them were decorated with purely ornamental headpieces and strips and various kinds of decorative initials. In some of these manuscripts author portraits are included, such as in the 11th-century codex *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Ottob. gr. 10, which originally contained all 88 homilies.[42] An author portrait is placed before the first homily on fol. 1^{c}r serving as an opening miniature to the whole manuscript. John Chrysostom appears frontally in bishop's garments and holding a book. He is placed within a decorated frame.[43] A second author portrait, on fol. 5r, shows the seated John the Evangelist writing his Gospel. He is placed within a circle in an ornamental headpiece directly before the beginning of the second homily.[44]

e *Homilies on the Acts of the Apostles*

An illustrated manuscript containing the 55 homilies on the Acts (*CPG* 4426) is kept in Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Marc. gr. Z. 97. It dates from the beginning of the 11th century and was probably executed in Constantinople.[45] Apart from the standard illustration with headpieces or strips and decorative initials at the beginning of each homily, it includes a frontispiece full-page miniature with gold background on fol. IIIv (Fig. 137).[46] In the central field the seated John Chrysostom is depicted writing while behind him stands the Evangelist Luke, who was considered to be the author of the Acts, whispering in John's ear and thus inspiring him. The image is surrounded by a frame with medallions showing Christ and the Mother of God as well as the 12 apostles. According to the epigram around the miniature, the manuscript was commissioned by the *Protospatharios* Leo for the salvation of his soul.

f *Homilies on Paul's Epistles*

The 10th-century codex Marc. gr. app. II. 179 contains the 44 homilies on Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians (*CPG* 4428).[47] It is decorated with ornamental

41 *CPG* 4425. For an English translation, see St John Chrysostom, *Homilies on the Gospel of St. John,* trans. Ph. Schaff.

42 On this manuscript, see Krause, *Homilien*, pp. 60-4.

43 Ibid., pp. 62-3, fig. 94.

44 Ibid., p. 63, fig. 96. For other illustrated manuscripts with this text including author portraits, see ibid., pp. 64-6.

45 On this codex, see Ibid., p. 177.

46 Ibid., p. 177, fig. 232.

47 Krause, *Homilien*, pp. 156-8; Maayan-Fanar, "Interpreting Genesis", p. 30.

headpieces as well as figural initials, some of which are related to the cited Epistle-passage or to the adjacent beginning of the homily. The preface to the homilies is illustrated with a decorated strip and the initial *Eta*, composed of two women, the right one representing the personification of the city of Corinth and the left one presumably the personification of Abundance.[48] This interesting illustration, inspired directly from the words written in the first lines, in which the city of Corinth and its past abundance are mentioned, is a good example for the inventiveness and creativity of the painters. It is noteworthy that personifications among painted initials are very rare.

An interesting case is represented by Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, A 172 sup., containing the 32 homilies on Paul's Epistle to the Romans, the beginning of the first homily on the Epistle to the Ephesians and the homilies on the Epistle to the Galatians.[49] The codex was written in the 11th or 12th century. In the 14th century a full-page unframed miniature was inserted on fol. 263v before the commentary of the Epistle to the Galatians.[50] It shows John Chrysostom seated on a throne and writing his commentaries while Paul is standing behind him. The end of John's scroll transforms into a stream of water. A group of bishops and monks stand to the right, while some bishops below them are bending in order to drink from the water. A man clad in civil garments prostrates in the foreground and makes a supplication gesture. He probably depicts a later owner of the manuscript. On the upper right corner Christ in a medallion is shown blessing John and sending rays towards him. The miniature depicts the subject of the "Source of Wisdom", which is exceptional in book illumination and appears only in mural painting from the 12th century onwards.[51]

Anthologies

Among the anthologies, the so-called Margaritai or *Pearls of Chrysostom* stand out. This term is applied to a series of shorter homilies of biblical and non-biblical content.[52] Copies of all these homily collections exist in hundreds of manuscripts, but only a few of them are illuminated. The basic illustration

48 Krause, *Homilien*, pp. 156, 157.

49 Ibid., pp. 178-9.

50 Ibid., p. 178, fig. 233. For more examples of Chrysostom manuscripts which were illustrated in later centuries, see Ibid., p. 179.

51 Kominis, *Patmos*, p. 60.

52 The core of this special collection includes regularly the following homilies: 1) On the Priesthood (De sacerdotio; CPG 4316); 2) On the Incomprehensible Nature of God (De incomprehensibili dei natura; CPG 4318); 3) Eight homilies Against the Jews (Adversus

system, the oldest example of which dates from the 10th century, consists of decorated headpieces, strips and painted initials, many of which are figural and inspired by the homilies. Among these illuminated manuscripts, the 11th-century *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 799, assigned to Constantinople,[53] stands out because it is the only one additionally containing framed miniatures, placed at the beginning of five of the six homilies series included in the manuscript. Most of them display a unique iconography. Before the beginning of the first book of *De sacerdotio*[54] (fol. 1r) four miniatures with gold background appear in a rectangular frame.[55] This work comprises six books and narrates in dialogue form the story of the friendship between John Chrysostom and Basil of Caesarea as well as John's denial to be ordained. The four miniatures are inspired by this story. They depict John Chrysostom and Basil discussing, John with his mother, who tries to persuade him not to become a monk, the ordination of Basil and finally John and Basil seated opposite to each other. These miniatures offer thus a rare example of cyclic illustration in this particular text category. Another interesting miniature is the one on fol. 97r (Fig. 138), at the beginning of *Adversus Judaeos*, a series of six homilies against the Judaizers. It illustrates the third chapter of the first homily, in which the story of a man is told, who wanted to force a Christian woman to enter the synagogue. John Chrysostom witnessed this incident and intervened verbally. The miniature renders this episode with a depiction of the Church Father in a speech gesture on the left and a group of people on the right. In the foreground a man drags and kicks a woman.[56]

Apart from the illustrated manuscripts containing the *Pearls of Chrysostom*, there are several other anthologies of Chrysostomic or pseudo-Chrysostomic homilies, among which Athens, National Library of Greece, cod. 211 deserves special attention due to its remarkable originality.[57] It has been variously attributed to the end of 9th or the beginning of the 10th century and assigned

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Iudaeos; *CPG* 4327); 4) Homilies on Isa 6:1-6 (In illud: Vidi Dominum; *CPG* 4417); and 5) On Lazaros (De Lazaro; *CPG* 4329). See Krause, *Homilien*, pp. 81-8, with bibliography.

53 Krause, *Homilien*, pp. 88-102.

54 *CPG* 4316. On this series, see Krause, *Homilien*, pp. 83-4.

55 Ibid., pp. 92-5, fig. 126 and text fig. 3.

56 Ibid., pp. 96-7, figs. 133-4. For the remaining framed miniatures included in this manuscript, see Ibid., pp. 95-9, figs. 128, 133-5.

57 On this manuscript and its contents, see Grabar, "Atheniensis 211"; Marava-Chatzinicolaou/Toufexi-Paschou, *Catalogue*, pp. 24-53, no. 2, figs. 11-37; *Byzantine Hours*, no. 38; pp. 107-9 (M. Evangelatou); colour fig. p. 107 (fol. 63r); Krause, *Homilien*, pp. 5-10; Gasbarri, "Retorica e imagine"; id., "Immagini eloquenti"; id., "Cristo al tempio".

to South Italy, the Syro-Palestinian area or Constantinople.[58] The manuscript, which misses the beginning and the end, consists of 314 parchment folios measuring 35 × 24 cm. The text of the 41 surviving homilies is written in minuscule in two columns. Illustrations appear exclusively in conjunction with the titles of the homilies, supporting thus a quick orientation of the reader and having also mnemotechnic function. The decoration consists of vividly executed coloured drawings, displaying many classical elements.

The title of each homily is preceded by a decorative headpiece, or is inserted in a frame which takes various forms, such as branches with flowers and fruits coming out of vases, crosses, geometric shapes, etc. A great number of these title-frames include, apart from author portraits, figures or elaborated scenes that are mainly inspired by the title of the homilies. On fol. 87r[59] for example, both miniatures are inspired by the title of the homily they frame: *On the Earthquake and on Lazaros* (sixth homily of the series *De Lazaro*). Above the title is an impressive ruined city, while the miniature below illustrates the Luke parable and is divided in two parts. On the left, the naked Lazaros, covered with sores, is sitting at the entrance of a reed hut (meaning a gate), while dogs are licking his feet. This part is inspired by the Luke passage "Even the dogs came and licked his sores" (Luke 16:19), also mentioned in the Chrysostom's homily. On the right, a horseman, the rich man of the Luke parable, is shown departing. His gesture brings to mind the iconography of the rich man in hell, inspired by the passage Luke 16:24: "Father Abraham, have pity on me and send Lazarus to dip the tip of his finger in water and cool my tongue, because I am in agony in this fire".

Other miniatures are theologically highly sophisticated and singular in their iconography. In the homily entitled *That hell is eternal*, Chrysostom comments on Paul's 1 Cor 3:11-15: "For no one can lay any foundation other than the one already laid, which is Jesus Christ. If anyone builds on this foundation using gold, silver, costly stones, wood, hay or straw, their work will be shown for what it is, because the Day will bring it to light. It will be revealed with fire, and the fire will test the quality of each person's work. If what has been built survives, the builder will receive a reward. If it is burned up, the builder will suffer loss but yet will be saved-even though only as one escaping through the flames". The title of this homily on fol. 151v is surrounded by two unframed miniatures

58 On the various suggestions regarding date and origin of the manuscript, see Gasbarri, "Immagini eloquenti", pp. 301-3. Gasbarri, who is preparing a detailed analysis of the manuscript, favours a date under the reign of Basil I (867-886) and an eastern origin.

59 Marava-Chatzinicolaou/Toufexi-Paschou, *Catalogue*, pp. 35-6, fig. 21; Gasbarri, "Cristo al tempio", pp. 22-4, fig. 6, who traced an influence of the Job imagery on this scene.

in strip form (Fig. 139).[60] The upper one shows a group of sinners drowning in a river and being attacked by a sea monster, emerging from a city. Noteworthy are the personifications of the winds, the river and earth in the upper miniature, characteristic for this painter. The lower miniature shows the fiery river beginning from a depiction of the Preparation of the Throne (*Hetoimasia*) and burning a church on the right. The miniatures express the idea that sinners on earth will face judgment and be punished in the moment of trial, in a vivid and subtle manner. These images belong to the most interesting, early depictions of the Last Judgment.

Another interesting miniature is the one accompanying the adjacent homily title *On how Jesus went up to the temple and taught, and that I came not to judge the world but to save it, and on the ingratitude of the Jews; the story of Gedeon*. It depicts Christ opposite a group of Jews in a temple (fol. 226r).[61] John Chrysostom stands behind the seated Christ, holding a book. It is a miniature that combines the author portrait with the content of the homily and anachronistically inserts the Church Father in a biblical scene. In this way, Chrysostom is being presented as a divinely inspired church authority.[62]

Another anthology is notable because of its decoration with full-page miniatures. The 10th-century codex Athens, National Library of Greece, cod. 210, a very large book containing 39 Chrysostomic homilies, displays two full-page miniatures facing each other on fols. 93v and 94r, with representations of St John Chrysostom and St Paul respectively, both of them standing and holding a book.[63] The miniatures could have been misplaced or taken over from another manuscript since they are placed between Homilies 7 and 8, which are not related to the Apostle Paul. Two now lost miniatures once appeared before the first homily. The decoration of the codex also consists of hundreds of initials of all kinds marking the paragraphs.

The 11th-century Athos, Pantokrator Monastery, cod. 22 is another remarkably illustrated anthology. It contains besides two shorter series of homilies, mainly single homilies, as well as two homilies from the Commentary on Matthew.[64] Its figural initials are inspired by the homily's title or by episodes mentioned in the sermons. For example, the initial *Ni* of Homily 12, *In*

60 Marava-Chatzinicolaou/Toufexi-Paschou, *Catalogue*, pp. 40-2, fig. 26; Gasbarri, "Immagini eloquenti", pp. 299-301, figs. 18-20.

61 Marava-Chatzinicolaou/Toufexi-Paschou, *Catalogue*, pp. 42-4, fig. 33; Krause, *Homilien*, p. 195, fig. 250; Gasbarri, "Cristo al tempio", pp. 24-6.

62 The composition also reminds of representations of councils, like the one on fol. 335r of the *Par. gr. 510; see Gasbarri, "Cristo al tempio", p. 26 and fig. 10.

63 Krause, *Homilien*, p. 188, figs. 238-9.

64 On this manuscript, see ibid., pp. 125-38, with bibliography.

secundum Domini adventum, on fol. 184v, combines the subject of the homily, the Second Coming of Christ and the Last Judgment, with a depiction of John Chrysostom commenting on this subject.[65] The left vertical stem is shaped by the enthroned Christ below two cherubs and John Chrysostom below him, while the right stem is formed by John the Baptist and the Mother of God and figures inscribed as *the sinners* below. These are surrounded by the fiery river deriving from Christ's throne and forming the diagonal stem of the letter. This miniature is characteristic for the inventiveness of Byzantine book illuminators and their ability to adapt known iconographic types (the *Deesis* from the Last Judgment scene and the representation of Hell) to fit certain texts and messages. John Chrysostom appears here not only as author of the homily, but also as an intercessor and a model opposed to sinners.[66] Other initials of this manuscript include images related to the author as well as representations of the Job story, which are comparable to illustrated Job manuscripts, but render the established iconography in a compressed manner. It is interesting to observe that the illustrations of the homilies on Matthew included in this manuscript, are not identical or similar to the ones discussed above.

Eklogai

Among the few illustrated manuscripts containing the *Eklogai*, excerpts from various Chrysostomic works,[67] the magnificent codex *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Coislin 79 stands out because of its luxurious decoration.[68] It is a large codex (40.5 × 31.5 cm) of 325 parchment folios. The text is written in minuscule in two columns.[69] Four frontispiece miniatures with golden back-

65 Krause, *Homilien*, pp. 132-3, figs. 182-4.

66 Moreover, his depiction close to Christ's throne reflects an idea already expressed in the hagiologic work *Leimon* (*Pratum spirituale*) of John Moschos (*c.*550-619) and in various other works of later centuries; see Ibid., p. 133.

67 These excerpts were grouped together according to their content and compiled by an unknown author to serve as a moral instruction. The compiler was eventually Theodore Daphnopates; see ibid., p. 179. Such compilations do not have a place in the Liturgy.

68 On this manuscript, see Spatharakis, *Portrait*, pp. 107-18; Dumitrescu, "Coislin 79"; Evans/Wixom, *The Glory of Byzantium*, no. 143, pp. 207-9 (H. Maguire); Krause, *Homilien*, pp. 179-83; Bianconi/Fioretti, "All'ombra dell'imperatore".

69 For a recent description, see Bianconi/Fioretti, "All'ombra dell'imperatore", pp. 132-43. The author suggests that the scribe is identical with the one who wrote the codex *London,

ground precede the homilies,[70] but they are no longer bound in their original order. Originally, the first miniature was the one on fol. 2bisr (Fig. 140). It shows the monk and eunuch Sabbas before an architectural background, standing in front of a lectern with an open book and pointing to it with a staff. On the right, the enthroned Emperor Nikephoros III Botaneiates (r. 1078-1081), according to the accompanying caption, attends to his words. An epigram above the miniature beseeches the Emperor to reward his servants.[71] This rare miniature visualizes the purpose of the production of this manuscript, that is, the edifying education of the Emperor. An official, hieratic portrait of the imperial couple, Nikephoros and his wife Maria of Alania, is depicted on fol. 2bisv. In the upper part, the half-figure of Christ appears; with extended hands he touches their crowns as a sign of protection, as the epigram above the miniature states.[72] Fol. 2r depicts Emperor Nikephoros Botaneiates seated on a lyre-shaped throne, behind which the personifications of Truth and of Justice appear. A group of court officials flank the Emperor. All of them are depicted hieratically in impressive costumes and provide an idea of the magnificent Byzantine court. The one to the right of the emperor is the only one whose hands are crossed before his chest and is considered to be the commissioner of the manuscript.[73] The epigram above the miniature praises the Emperor and the dignitaries for their virtues and asks the Emperor to show sympathy for the loyal scribe (τῷ γράφοντι).[74] Colour traces on the upper right part of fol. 2v betray that it originally faced fol. 3r, containing the table of the titles of the Homilies and decorated with an ornamental headpiece. Fol. 2v shows Emperor Nikephoros Botaneiates standing frontally on a *suppedion* in the middle and receiving a

British Library, Add. 11870; see on this and the relationship between scribes and artists in both manuscripts ibid., pp. 139-52.

70 Apart from the frontispieces, the codex is embellished with ornamental headpieces and *pyle* as well as large decorative initials at the beginning of each *ekloge*; Bianconi/Fioretti, "All'ombra dell'imperatore", pp. 137-9.

71 Spatharakis, *Portrait*, pp. 107-8, fig. 69; Krause, *Homilien*, pp. 180-1, fig. 236. Dumitrescu, "Coislin 79", p. 38 claims that this miniature, which differs in style and colours from the others, was painted at a later stage on the initiative of the monk Sabbas. The latter was according to Dumiterscu the second commissioner of the codex. See also Bianconi/Fioretti, "All'ombra dell'imperatore", pp. 153-4.

72 Spatharakis, *Portrait*, p. 108, fig. 70; Krause, *Homilien*, p. 181, fig. 237.

73 Dumitrescu, "Coislin 79", pp. 38-45, who identifies this official with John, metropolitan of Side; see also the remarks by Bianconi/Fioretti, "All'ombra dell'imperatore", pp. 156, 165.

74 Spatharakis, *Portrait*, pp. 110-1, fig. 71; Krause, *Homilien*, p. 180. Bianconi/Fioretti, "All'ombra dell'imperatore", pp. 156-66 with a discussion on the possibility that with the word γράφων the commissioner of the codex is meant.

book from St John Chrysostom, who is depicted on the left in bishop's garments. Archangel Michael in imperial costume stands on the right and points to a tiny kneeling figure, the scribe (γραφέως) of the codex, mentioned in the epigram above the miniature.[75] This miniature indicates that the codex was given to this emperor as a gift and also attests its private use.

A highly unusual technical aspect of these miniatures, that gave rise to various theories about its date and production,[76] is that they were separately painted on parchment and were bound with the existing folios, which had rectangular openings in the middle. This procedure recalls modern picture framing (matting). It is unclear whether the folios originally had miniatures that were cut out and for some reason had to be replaced,[77] or if this unfamiliar procedure was intentionally chosen from the beginning.[78]

Conclusions

Illustrated Chrysostom manuscripts are preserved from the time after the Iconoclasm. The prevailing illustration system is based on illustrated headpieces and initials. These initials exhibit a broad repertory of forms (geometric, floral, zoomorphic, anthropomorphic and their combinations) and display both religious and secular subjects. The majority of them, including the figural ones, play a purely decorative role, but several are text-based. Their physical relationship to the related text is in most cases very close. They refer mainly to the words (cited passages or the beginning of a homily) written nearby, but can also illustrate the main subject of a homily. The correspondence to the text

75 Spatharakis, *Portrait*, pp. 111-2, fig. 72. In the epigram, the Archangel asks the Emperor to support and favour the scribe. Dumitrescu, "Coislin 79", pp. 41-4 believes that the kneeling figure is the illuminator, while Bianconi/Fioretti, "All'ombra dell'imperatore", pp. 166-9 suggests that scribe and artist was the same person.

76 On these theories, see Krause, *Homilien*, pp. 181-3 and more recently Bianconi/Fioretti, "All'ombra dell'imperatore", passim.

77 Only in the captions is the name of the Emperor Nikephoros given, while the epigrams above generally speak of the Emperor without naming him.

78 Spatharakis, *Portrait*, pp. 113-8 proposed that the miniatures originally depicted Michael VII Doukas (r. 1071-1078) and that new frames with new epigrams were made for them, in order to present the codex to his successor, Nikephoros Botaneiates. See also Dumitrescu, "Coislin 79", pp. 33-4; Bianconi/Fioretti, "All'ombra dell'imperatore", p. 128. However, a careful examination of the miniatures by K. Krause has shown that there is no evidence of any tampering with either the imperial portraits or the captions; see Krause, *Homilien*, pp. 181-3, who assigns the entire codex to the reign of Botaneiates.

ranges from literal illustration to typological interpretation, while many of the initials were specifically invented *ad hoc* for the given text. The sources for the illustration are, apart from the text itself (cited passages and homilies), various biblical writings, the motifs often being borrowed from other illustrated manuscripts of disparate content (homiliaries, hagiographic manuscripts, lectionaries and gospel books). Obviously, there was a repertory of figural initials common to them that could be adapted to fit the needs of a specific text. The use of model books is also probable.

Framed miniatures are very rare, as are frontispiece miniatures. Regardless of the illustration system, these manuscripts frequently include author portraits, biographical scenes being exceptional. The Athens codex 211 bears the only example for an *ad hoc* illustration within this group and clearly stands out in terms of illustration system and originality. In general, it has to be concluded, that there was no homogeneous or consistent illustration. In only a very few cases are there manuscripts illustrating the same sermon collection and in these cases the miniatures are not identical even if the texts are.

Many of these manuscripts were produced in a monastic environment. In some cases, the scribes were also responsible for the decoration. In many cases, though, one has to ask whether the miniaturists really considered the text. The great number of profane imagery, including acrobats, athletes, etc., points to the opposite, since John Chrysostom was known for his rejection of every kind of spectacle.

As Karin Krause claimed, the fact that most of these manuscripts can be attributed to the 11th and 12th centuries reflects the intensive use of these homilies during the Liturgy. Some liturgical *typica* indeed prescribed certain Chrysostomic homilies as readings for the monastic *Orthros*.[79] One should also bear in mind the importance of John Chrysostom's liturgy, which superseded that of Basil in the 11th century, although it should also be emphasized that there are almost no traces of the Liturgy having an impact on the illustration. How each one of the illustrated exemplars was used can only be inferred in a few cases with the aid of colophons or frontispiece miniatures. Most of the manuscripts discussed here bear very few traces of use. From the existing evidence, we can therefore conclude that illuminated Chrysostom homilies were used privately, for edification, as well as in ecclesiastic and monastic milieus. Many of them were certainly given as gifts to churches or monasteries. It is more probable that these were kept in their libraries, rather than being used during the Liturgy.

79 For the use of the Chrysostom's homilies and their role in Byzantium, see Krause, *Homilien*, pp. 163-74.

CHAPTER 26

The Homilies of Iakovos of the Kokkinobaphou Monastery

Kallirroe Linardou

The Kokkinobaphos manuscripts – *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1162, hereafter referred to as V[aticanus], and *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 1208, hereafter referred to as P[arisinus] – are well-known among Byzantine scholars for their text and above all for their decoration.[1] In its present state of preservation, V is bound in a single volume and consists of 194 parchment folios of excellent quality. The text was written carefully in a regular, clear and large minuscule script, on ruled leaves, in one column of 23 lines, in dark brown ink by a single scribe/calligrapher.[2] The illustration of the codex is preserved in an excellent condition. It consists of six full-page frontispieces, six decorated headpieces, 70 miniatures incorporating approximately 130 different illustrated episodes (all miniatures are painted on ruled leaves), and 82 decorated initials. P is bound in a single volume and consists of 261 parchment folios of high quality. The text was written carefully, in a regular, large and clear minuscule script, on ruled leaves, in a single column of 21 lines. The illustration of the codex is preserved in a very good condition except for some minor abrasions on the painted surface. It consists of a full-page introductory miniature with the portrait of Iakovos, six full-page frontispieces, six narrow decorated headpieces, 66 miniatures (all miniatures are painted on ruled leaves), and 78 decorated initials.

These two richly illuminated and almost identical Byzantine books of the 12th century were commissioned in a prominent Constantinopolitan work-

1 For the text see *Jacobi Monachi ex Monasterio Coccinobaphi Orationes Encomiasticae in ss. Virginem Dei param*, PG, vol. 127, cols. 543-700 (The Migne edition is incomplete and with numerous mistakes. A critical edition of Iakovos's homilies is still anticipated). For the illustration see Stornajolo, *Omilie*, pp. 2-82; Omont, *Miniatures*, pls. I-XXX; Hutter/Canart, *Marienhomiliar*.

2 In his palaeographical analysis of the script in V.P. Canart reported a resemblance with the work of the scribe Arsenios, a monk of the monastery of Prodromou Petras in Constantinople. He also noticed that the script in V bears a resemblance with the script in P and tentatively suggested that both copies might have been written by the same scribe. See Hutter/Canart, *Marienhomiliar*, p. 88, n. 15.

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shop.[3] They each contain six sermons of the monk Iakovos of the Kokkinobaphou monastery on the early life of the Virgin Mary, namely her Conception, Nativity and Presentation, her betrothal to Joseph, the Annunciation and finally the Visitation, Joseph's doubts and the public demonstration of her innocence.[4]

Iakovos's six illustrated sermons on the life of Mary, a theological treatise on the Holy Spirit and a collection of 43 letters addressed to a well-known female member of the Komnenian court of the 12th century, Eirene the *Sevastokratorissa* (*c.*1110-*c.*1152),[5] constitute the corpus of his works to have survived today. The secure identification of the author of the sermons was achieved after the study of his epistles,[6] and Iakovos is believed to have lived and worked during the first half of the 12th century or shortly thereafter. The documentation and precise whereabouts of the Kokkinobaphos monastery remain inconclusive to this day, although scholars appear to favour the hypothesis that the monastery must have been located in the environs of the Byzantine capital.[7]

Both Kokkinobaphos manuscripts are luxurious books preserved in an excellent condition. The visual effects achieved through the shining colours and gold leaf applied lavishly on frontispieces, miniatures, headpieces and decorated initials testify to the extravagant taste involved in their manufacture and the abundance of materials the commissioners had at their disposal.

The position of prominence, though, that both manuscripts have been accorded in Byzantine art lies in reasons other than the sumptuousness of their execution. The back bone of the narration, which is expounded in six sermons/chapters is the apocryphal account of the *Protevangelion* of James (ca. beginning of the 3rd century).[8] They both recount vividly the early life of Mary from her conception until the public demonstration of her innocence and have been supplemented by a continuous visual narrative of miniatures, interspersed within the homiletic text, and six additional typological frontispieces (full-page miniatures) representing biblical theophanies (visions of God) and introducing each sermon. This is the most extensive Marian cycle to

3 Ibid., p. 17.

4 For Iakovos see ibid., pp. 12-4; Anderson, "The Illustrated Sermons", pp. 70-6; Iakovos Monachos, *Letters*, ed. E. Jeffreys/M. Jeffreys, pp. xv-xxiv. For the Kokkinobaphou monastery see Stornajolo, *Omilie*, p. 5; Omont, *Miniatures*, p. 5; Janin, *Les églises et les monastéres*, p. 163; Hutter/Canart, *Marienhomiliar*, p. 12; Anderson, "The Illustrated Sermons", p. 86.

5 For Eirene see Varzos, *Η Γενεαλογία*, vol. 1, pp. 357-79; see also Jeffreys, "The *Sebastokratorissa* Eirene as patron".

6 Jeffreys, "The Monk Iakovos"; Anderson, "The Illustrated Sermons", pp. 85-95; Hutter/Canart, *Marienhomiliar*, p. 12.

7 Iakovos Monachos, *Letters*, ed. E. Jeffreys/M. Jeffreys, p. xxii, notes 45-6.

8 For the original Greek text, a scholar's translation, introduction and further bibliography see, James, *The Protoevangelion*, ed./trans. R.F. Hock, pp. 8-13, 32-77 and 78-81.

have survived today in Byzantine painting. Both Kokkinobaphos manuscripts contain such a wide repertoire of visual narrative information that one of their major "contributions" has been to function as compact "galleries" of pictorial motifs for modern scholars to draw upon.[9] In addition to this, their aesthetic qualities and distinctive style of execution seem to have been very popular in 12th-century Constantinople. Art historians have traced them in numerous Byzantine illustrated books of the second and third quarter of the 12th century, which are believed to have been commissioned in the same workshop or under the influence of the same artistic current and are today known collectively as the "Kokkinobaphos group".[10]

Publications on the books have mainly focused on individual pictures, the illuminated initials and the artist(s). The first Byzantine scholar who has studied both manuscripts comprehensively as illustrated books and not individual pretty pictures is Irmgard Hutter.[11] She painstakingly analysed the iconography of every miniature and the complex way the pictures were structured, without disregarding the text of Iakovos. Moreover, she was the first scholar to study systematically the style of their paintings and decorated headpieces and initials, to date them and to substantiate a secure group of illustrated books ascribed to the same atelier as the Kokkinobaphos manuscripts. Finally and most importantly, Hutter was the first Byzantinist to decipher and present the sophisticated and complex theological argument of the books and to demonstrate that Iakovos the monk, the author of the sermons, was the designer of the Kokkinobaphos illustration.

Conceptual Design, Narrative Structure and Date of the Manuscripts

The Kokkinobaphos pictorial cycle remains the most extensive visual testimony on the life of the Mother of God to have survived in Byzantine art. Both manuscripts were luxurious assets designed with a characteristic assiduous-

9 For the extensive bibliography on the Kokkinobaphos manuscripts see the bibliographical catalogues compiled by the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana: Canart/Peri, *Sussidi Bibliografici*, pp. 547-48; Buonocore, *Bibliografia*, p. 875; Ceresa, *Bibliografia* (*1981-85*), pp. 368-9; id., *Bibliografia* (*1986-90*), p. 442. See also Voicu/D'Alisera, *Index*, pp. 261-2, and 496. Finally, see the annual listings of manuscript citations in *Scriptorium*, which note all new references to the manuscripts.

10 For the "Kokkinobaphos workshop" see Hutter, *Die Homilien*, pp. 491-2; Anderson, *Two Twelfth-Century Centers*, pp. 1-5.

11 Hutter, *Die Homilien*. A résumé of her research results have been presented in ead./Canart, *Marienhomiliar*, pp. 11-84.

ness involving a particularly lavish execution manifested by the extent and quality of their pictorial and decorative cycle and the excellence of the materials used in their manufacture.

Iakovos's exposition of Mary's early life is arranged in six sermons and it is heavily dependent on the apocryphal narration, the Christian homiletic tradition and exegetical literature. The fabric of his writings was structured in an extremely complex and selective way, deriving mainly from the works of a 9th-century homilist, George, Metropolitan of Nicomedia.[12] As a matter of fact, Iakovos's idiosyncratic style of synthesis complies better with the working principles of a compiler than those of a composer.[13] The six sermons, which according to the author's statements were conceived on the occasions of Mary's feasts, were arranged as a continuous narrative in six chapters, designed essentially to provide the reader of the books with an elaborate and pleasant biography of Mary.

The narrative cycle of the illustration was structured in a manner similar to that of the accompanying sermons. It in effect constitutes an amalgam of earlier pictorial motifs dismantled and reinterpreted so as to meet both the demands of the text's illustration as well as the tastes and ideology of an aristocratic audience of the 12th century. Miniatures are always framed, of different dimensions and attached to a specific part of the sermon within which they had been inserted (Figs. 141-142). They were either of pure narrative nature or tended to combine narrative information along with allegorical symbolism designed to provide a fluent and continuous visual counterpart to Iakovos's homiletic text. They illustrate the apocryphal story of the *Protevangelion* and the monk's rhetorical elaborations on it, together with his theological comments. Surviving internal evidence extracted from the manuscripts indicates that Iakovos, the monk and author of the homilies, was most surely the mastermind who designed the illustration programme, probably in collaboration with a talented miniaturist – the so-called Kokkinobaphos Master – in order to meet very specific needs and tastes on the part of his commissioner.[14]

A quick riffling through both books is sufficient to demonstrate that the distribution of the pictures encourages and dictates a certain parallel reading of words and images. This is the main principal upon which both books were structured. If the manuscripts are examined along this line, the reader is enabled to assess the complex interaction between these two axes, the verbal and the visual, that propel the narrative and interact in a complementary

12 Hutter/Canart, *Marienhomiliar*, p. 12.

13 Iakovos Monachos, *Letters*, ed. E. Jeffreys/M. Jeffreys, pp. XLI-XLIX.

14 Linardou, "The Couch of Solomon", pp. 73-85, esp. p. 75.

manner. Normally, the starting point of the illustration lies within the homiletic text of the monk, yet in many cases the images are emancipated from their verbal context and appear to transmit their own message as eloquently and articulately as Iakovos's words. Narrative information only hinted at in the text or theological comments of the author were taken up by the pictures in order to be further elaborated upon and clarified to an extent that frequently the visual message surpassed the exposition of words. Consequently, words and images appear to have been conceived as two corresponding components of the books that could be neither fully understood nor studied separately.[15]

The compositions are structured so as to follow the narration of Iakovos's text and to convey a clear visual message. As Hutter noticed, the Kokkinobaphos miniatures tell stories as simply and appealingly as children's illustrated books.[16] They employed a consistent visual vocabulary of landscapes, interior spaces and a body language of gestures and gazes in order to indicate a variety of locations, the elapse of time and psychological changes in the protagonists's mood. The story of Mary's early life unfolded within different spatial settings, where people and angels either individually or as groups move, stand or fly gracefully. Conventional architectural backdrops consisting of gabled or domed buildings framed the compositions on either side and they were usually unified by a lower decorated wall (Fig. 142). The luxurious premises of the Jewish temple where Mary spent most of her childhood were christianised and carefully highlighted by the addition of fine ornamental details such as colourful revetments and decorated *thorakia* (decorated slabs forming part of the screen separating the nave from the sanctuary in a Byzantine church) and *bemothyra* (low double doors allowing access into the sanctuary of a Byzantine church) (i.e., fol. 142r). The various landscapes represented were either mountainous settings comprising low hills with graduated peaks and rich floral decoration or imaginary gardens where one may admire the diminutive decorative preciseness of their execution (Fig. 141). Stylized and unrealistic trees executed in the most colourful palette are interspersed within an abstract golden lace-like floral motif of ornamental character (i.e., fol. 147r). They all provided a scenic background, a shallow spatial stage within which individuals and voluminous assemblies moved or stood elegantly and angels flew casually through open windows (Fig. 142). In the figures the painters combined elegance with inner dynamism. The characters have little volume but statuesque posture. Their elongated bodies crowned with elegant doll-like heads are either frontal and immobile or energetic in order "to produce emphatic action within

15 Linardou, *Reading two Byzantine illustrated books*, Chapter 1, pp. 186-9.

16 Hutter/Canart, *Marienhomiliar*, p. 16.

the impetuous narrative tempo of the pictures".[17] But the most striking feature of the Kokkinobaphos style is the colour: vivid colours shining with the intensity of valuable enamel and applied in thick layers over a light polished gold.[18] The result is not just colourfulness but a unique intensive shining effect that coincides with the intensive feeling of happiness and joy communicated by the salvific message of the sermons.

The typological cycle of the manuscripts constitutes the first ever organised attempt at the depiction of a comprehensive collection of biblical theophanies that prefigured, foretold and outlined Mary's paramount role in the process of salvation as the indispensable medium of the Incarnation (Fig. 141). Three of the Kokkinobaphos prefiguration miniatures – Jacob's vision, the Couch of Solomon and Isaiah's purification – provide us with the first surviving visual examples that connected the Mother of God with her *typoi* directly. The inclusion of a cycle of Mary's prefigurations is not strictly dictated by the homiletic text. Their connection to each of the six sermons is indirect and appears to have followed a consecrated Christian tradition as demonstrated in liturgical practises, homiletic verbal formulae, hymnography and patristic exegesis.[19]

The message of the typological cycle is strongly theological and instructive. It is primarily Christological/soteriological and then Mariological. The Mother of God is acknowledged for her intercessory role in the accomplishment of the divine plan of salvation, yet the real Saviour and God is Christ who is repeatedly exalted as such. The dogma of the Incarnation stressed endlessly in the sermons was not a veneration of the Mother of God for her own sake but rather a theological argument in defence of the Chalcedonian definition of Christ's two natures – the human and the divine – articulated in one *hypostasis*.[20]

The consistency with which both Kokkinobaphos books achieve their objective and the coherent argument with which both the verbal and the visual present us imply that the author of the sermons, Iakovos the monk, conceived the products of his pen as such from the beginning: the homilies must have been composed originally with their illustration in mind. The exegetical text that the monk composed to complement and interpret a certain picture,[21] and the consistent annotation system he employed to channel the "reading" of several miniatures against their textual context demonstrate that Iakovos was alive when his sermons were first illustrated and that he was the designer of

17 Hutter, *The Herbert History of Art*, p. 142.

18 Hutter/Canart, *Marienhomiliar*, p. 17.

19 Linardou, "Depicting the Salvation", pp. 134-6.

20 Ibid., pp. 148-9.

21 Linardou, "The Couch of Solomon", pp. 73-85.

the illustrated book. Moreover, the mechanisms he implemented in order to manipulate its reading along the right lines and the special care he exhibited for the correct interpretation of the images indicate that originally the Kokkinobaphos illustrated sermons were intended for a recipient, whom Iakovos felt needed guidance and assistance.[22]

Both books share content, iconography, design and style of execution. Despite the fact that they look like two peas in a pot, their thorough examination has revealed numerous discrepancies in text and image correspondence, iconography, layout and design, text reading and minor details in execution that testify unambiguously to the precedence of V over P. As it appears, V is the codex *optimus* and precedes P in terms of design, iconography, word and image correspondence and text reading. P is a smaller, less expensive copy of V, which was written and decorated hastily. Yet both copies must have been prepared under the close supervision of their author, who in all probability dictated some changes in the iconography and the design of P.[23]

The manuscripts have been dated to the 12th century and have been attributed to a leading Constantinopolitan scriptorium, known among art-historians as the "Kokkinobaphos workshop". The aesthetic qualities permeating the commissions undertaken by the specific workshop and its aristocratic clientele reaffirm its place of prominence in the capital during the second and third quarter of the 12th century. Stylistic evidence suggests that both Kokkinobaphos manuscripts were executed under the influence of the same stylistic trend as exercised by the specific scriptorium, yet not by the same painter. Their stylistic affinity is the result of imitation and not the product of a single miniaturist. According to my conclusions drawn from a selective stylistic analysis of pictorial and decorative examples from both Kokkinobaphos manuscripts and within the boundaries of the homonymous workshop, V was the work of the so-called Kokkinobaphos master – a leading miniaturist of the second quarter of the 12th century whose distinctive style promoted by the commissions assigned to him by the Komnenian aristocracy, was highly influential – and may be dated to around late 1140s, while P was the work of an equally skilful painter imitating the style of his model and may be dated to around early 1150s.[24]

22 Linardou, "The Kokkinobaphos manuscripts revisited", pp. 398-403.

23 Ibid., pp. 384-407.

24 Linardou, *Reading two Byzantine illustrated books*, Chapter 3, pp. 229-47.

The Manuscripts and Their Audience

Deluxe Byzantine manuscripts, such as the Kokkinobaphos codices, were apparently only made to commission and therefore the patrons of the Kokkinobaphos manuscripts should be factored into any understanding of the books. Regrettably the manuscripts themselves bear no direct evidence whatsoever on the question of patronage. Since Iakovos the monk was identified as the author of both the sermons and the letters, there seems to prevail a tendency among art historians to accept Eirene the *Sevastokratorissa*, who was in frequent correspondence with Iakovos, as the patron of the Kokkinobaphos manuscripts.[25]

Iakovos's responses to Eirene are preserved in a handsomely made codex of the 12th century (*Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 3039) and they have been published.[26] The reading of these epistles has shed considerable light on the relationship between Iakovos and Eirene, and supports the identification of the noblewoman as the potential patron of one of the Kokkinobaphos manuscripts on concrete evidence that connects the interests and literary tastes of the *Sevastokratorissa* with the content of the illustrated book Iakovos designed. The relationship between Eirene and the monk – a member of the secular elite and her spiritual advisor – may be exploited, since it forces a new perspective on the evaluation and interpretation of both the written and the visual narrative in the Kokkinobaphos manuscripts and facilitates a historical contextualisation of the books within the framework of 12th-century Constantinopolitan society.[27]

P preserves an introductory miniature representing the author Iakovos twice in the company of John Chrysostom and Gregory of Nyssa. Both writers were commentators of the Scriptures, and Iakovos the monk, who regarded himself as a scholiast of the apocryphal writings, acknowledges their authority and their contribution into his own work. The personal character that the specific miniature has been invested with has led me to believe that P, which was a cheaper copy of V, was made for Iakovos, who wished to have his portrait included in it. The absence of his portrait from V is not an accident of transmission; but, rather, its presence in P reflects a deliberate choice.[28]

The combination of evidence extracted from the letters and the illustrated sermons suggests that the *Sevastokratorissa* should, indeed, be seen as the

25 Anderson, "The Illustrated Sermons", p. 95; id., "Anna Komnene", pp. 141-4.

26 Iakovos Monachos, *Letters*, ed. E. Jeffreys/M. Jeffreys.

27 Linardou, *Reading two Byzantine illustrated books*, Chapter 4, pp. 248-86.

28 Linardou, "The Kokkinobaphos manuscripts revisited", pp. 387-90.

patron of the *optimus* Kokkinobaphos, v, a book of speculative theology designed by her spiritual advisor for her instruction on matters that Iakovos thought essential for her spiritual wellbeing and the reinforcement of her orthodox beliefs. These were specifically the nature of the Incarnation and Trinitarian issues. The book also responded to the *Sevastokratorissa's* profound interest in the Virgin Mary, the Song of Songs and theological mysticism.[29]

The identification of Eirene as the patron of the illustrated sermons can be further supported by the indirect evidence extracted from the Kokkinobaphos book. Both the verbal and the visual were carefully designed to appeal to the tastes and expectations of a noblewoman and mother with a strong preference for literature of secular character.

The six sermons which, according to Iakovos's statements, had been composed on the occasions of the celebrated feasts of Mary were not arranged according to their sequence in the liturgical calendar of the Byzantine Church, but instead as six continuous chapters that described Mary's early life. The Virgin's betrothal to Joseph (4th homily), the visitation cycle, Mary's trial and her release (6th homily) were never celebrated as feasts in Byzantium.

Consequently, it seems that the sermons were composed as a biography of Mary in a continuous narrative based on the apocryphal writings and rhetorical elaborations inspired from a long homiletic tradition, rather than as homilies *per se* intended to be delivered to a congregation. Rhetorical glorifications of Mary are interspersed with lengthy monologues of the main protagonists, psychological descriptions of the characters' emotional states and vivid dialogues. The narrative quality of the sermons and the assiduous construction of individual characters are reminiscent of contemporary literary products embedded in a secular environment, i.e. Byzantine romances.[30] The Kokkinobaphos biography of Mary has been structured and presented by Iakovos as a religious illustrated novel. This sort of mixing of "traditional" genres was common in the 12th century,[31] and definitely a biography of Mary

29 Linardou, "Depicting the Salvation", p. 149.

30 For the 12th-century Byzantine romances, their structure and socio-historic context see Alexiou, "A Critical Reappraisal", pp. 23-43; Jeffreys, "The Comnenian Background", pp. 455-86; Alexiou, "Literary Subversion", pp. 29-45; Beaton, *The Medieval Greek Romance*, pp. 7-18 and 67-86; Magdalino, "Eros the king", pp. 197-204; Beaton, "Epic and Romance", pp. 81-91; Agapitos/Reinsch, *Der Roman im Byzanz der Komnenenzeit*; Agapitos, "Από το «δράμα» του Έρωτα", pp. 53-72; Roilos, "The Sacred and the Profane", pp. 210-26. See also the brief comment of E. Jeffreys on the Kokkinobaphos sermons and the Byzantine novels of the 12th century in Jeffreys, "A date for *Rhodanthe and Dosikles?*", pp. 127-36, especially comment in p. 134.

31 See Mullett, "The Madness of Genre", pp. 233-43, especially for 12th century: pp. 238-9.

presented as such, interspersed with theological asides tailored to suit Eirene's interests, would have appealed to her.[32]

The visual narration of the Kokkinobaphos pictorial programme is structured on two base lines. On the one hand, the narration of the Gospels and the Apocrypha provided the raw material for the recipient's emotional participation. For example, the aristocratic context of Mary's upbringing as well as the aristocratic ideals permeating the adaptation of standard iconography or the afflictions the Virgin suffered were scenes and episodes that Eirene could easily identify with. On the other hand, the symbolism and allegories of the typological cycle provided the recipient of the book with a visual commentary on the fundamental beliefs of the Orthodox Christian faith. Just as the frontispieces were calculated to appeal to Eirene as a visual parallel to the theological instruction provided by Iakovos in the letters, the narrative cycle of the illustration was designed to satisfy and flatter the expectations and ideology of a noblewoman.[33]

Last, but not least, Mary herself, the prototype of the ideal Christian woman, and the story of her early life spent in absolute seclusion – in her childhood chamber, the temple of Jerusalem and the house of Joseph – obedience, prayer, weaving and faith to God, provided the ideal performative model for any woman to imitate and identify with.[34] As it stands, the Kokkinobaphos manuscript is not simply an illustrated biography of Mary but the perfect illustrated manual of "How to become an ideal Christian woman": follow the visual instructions so that you may one day become like the Virgin Mary. As Iakovos put it to Eirene in his epistles:

"Therefore, if your soul is shaped according to these virtues, it will become beautiful as the Jerusalem above [the Virgin Mary], the One who contained in herself Him who is uncontainable … The soul that will comply with the beauty of the virtue of the One who dwelled in Her, it [that soul] will become the heavenly Jerusalem".[35]

The Kokkinobaphos illustrated homilies are the most sophisticated surviving manuscripts to have been produced during the Komnenian era. Their achievements with respect to iconography, composition and visual narrative anticipate developments in the art of the Palaeologan period. Moreover, they

32 Linardou, *Reading two Byzantine illustrated books*, Chapter 4, pp. 281-2.

33 Ibid., pp. 278-85.

34 For a definition of the term "performative" in this context see Biddick, "Gender, Bodies, Borders", pp. 389-418, especially pp. 339-400.

35 For the original Greek text see Iakovos Monachos, *Letters*, ed. E. Jeffreys/M. Jeffreys, Epistle 23, fol. 120r, lines 231-6, p. 91.

were both original products of their times and as such they reflect, if not epitomise the tastes, interests, and ideological concerns of their socio-historic context. For these reasons, the Kokkinobaphos manuscripts constitute a unique verbal and visual source mirroring not only theological, but also socio-cultural trends appearing in the first half of the 12th century.

Various Theological Texts

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CHAPTER 27

The *Christian Topography* of Kosmas Indikopleustes

Maja Kominko

The majority of illustrated Byzantine texts, such as biblical books, homilies or lives of saints, acquired images in the process of copying. In the case of the 6th-century *Christian Topography,* however, we know that the images accompanied the text from the beginning. We have less certainty about how closely do the images in the three extant Byzantine copies, which date from the 9th (*Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 699) and 11th centuries (Sinai, Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sin. gr. 1186 and *Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Laur. Plut. 9.28), reflect the images in the original.[1] This question has importance beyond the context of the *Christian Topography:* inasmuch as we can confirm that the extant miniatures reflect those in the 6th-century work, the treatise offers a unique insight into how the relationship between word and image was constructed, and how the different potential of these two media was understood.

In addition to the three complete illustrated codices of the *Christian Topography,* an abridged illustrated excerpt of the text appeared in the 11th-century Smyrna Physiologus codex (Izmir, Evangelical School, B-08), a manuscript destroyed by fire in 1922. Its illustrations had little similarity with images in the three complete Byzantine codices of the treatise, and reflected a Marian interpretation of the text that has little to do with the original author's intention. We also have Russian illustrated codices of the *Christian Topography*. The oldest dates to 1495, but scholars agree that the date of the Slavonic translation should be situated between the 12th and 13th century. I will not take these codices into consideration, as they cast little light on the original, 6th-century work.[2]

The *Christian Topography* was written anonymously, however excerpts of the work in manuscripts from the 11th century onwards sometimes identified

1 For the edition of the text see Kosmas Indikopleustes, *Christian Topography*, ed./trans. W. Wolska-Conus. For text and images in the three illustrated byzantine codices of the treatise see Kominko, *The World of Kosmas*.

2 For Smyrna Physiologus manuscripts, see Bernabò, *Il Fisiologo di Smirne*; for the Russian codices of the *Christian Topography* see Piotrovskaja, *Khristianskaia Topografiia*.

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the author as "Kosmas Indikopleustes", that is, Kosmas who sailed to India.[3] Although the authenticity of this name seems dubious, it is now customary and I will continue to use it, particularly as none of the numerous attempts at identifying the author of the *Christian Topography* is fully persuasive. We know that the treatise was written in Alexandria, shortly after 543 AD. The author declares he has no formal education and disdains the *enkyklios paideia*, yet the use of rhetorical figures and his broad knowledge of literature belie these avowals. He further states that all his knowledge derives from his master Patrikios, who came to Alexandria "from the land of Chaldeans". Patrikios has been identified with Mar Aba, a teacher in the East Syrian School of Nisibis and later a katholikos of Persia.[4] It was probably through Patrikios that the influence of East Syrian exegesis was transmitted into the *Christian Topography* and with it the teachings of Theodore of Mopsuestia. Kosmas never mentions Theodore, but this omission has been explained by the date of the treatise, written shortly after Justinian's edict against the *Three Chapters* (543 AD) and just a few years before the Council of Constantinople (553 AD), which condemned Theodore's teaching.[5] We should keep in mind, however, that while many of the notions discussed in the *Christian Topography* can be traced to the teaching of Theodore, they seem to be mediated through East Syrian sources. Kosmas also follows the East Syrian authors in incorporating the secular literature into theological and exegetical system. In terms of content, however, most of the issues he discusses belong to contemporaneous debates in Alexandria. Most important of these is the issue of the eternity of the universe. By the time Kosmas wrote his treatise, this concept had already been disputed by Christian Alexandrian authors, Zacharias Scholasticos, and later, more successfully, by Kosmas' contemporary John Philoponos.[6] Neither of these authors rejected the spherical model of the universe. Kosmas' take was different: he believed that spherical and perpetually rotating universe must necessarily be eternal. Because the eternity of universe was unacceptable for Christians, he argued that the universe could not be spherical. He sought to replace a spherical model of the universe with a system where the physical and temporal characteristics, biblical interpretation and science are in harmony. In the system he

3 Majority of autobiographical information appears in Kosmas Indikopleustes, *Christian Topogaphy* II: 1-2, ed./trans. W. Wolska-Conus; for the manuscript where the epithet appears, see ibid., pp. 109-15. For the use of this epithet in late antiquity see Bagnall/Sheridan, "Greek and Latin documents".

4 On Mar Aba and the School Nisibis, see Becker, *Fear of God*, pp. 113-21.

5 On Theodore's teaching and on 553 Council, see Price, *The Acts of the Council.*

6 John Philoponos, *Against Aristotle on the Eternity of the World,* trans. C. Wildberg; Elweskiöld, *Cosmas Indicopleustes and John Philoponus*.

proposed, the universe, based on the flat, rectangular earth was covered by the vault of heaven, and divided by the firmament into two superimposed spaces (Fig. 143). The northern parts of the earth were elevated and it was around this elevation that the sun, the moon and the stars circulated, in the space below the firmament. The two spaces of the universe corresponded to two conditions of human existence – the earthly present and the heavenly future.[7] Kosmas believes that the form of the cosmos was symbolically disclosed in the structure of the tabernacle built by Moses (Fig. 145) and that the future, heavenly condition was gradually revealed through the actions and words of patriarchs, prophets and saints.[8]

Kosmas' discussion is divided into ten books. Two additional books appear in the Sinai and Laurenziana codices, but the text makes it clear that they are not original parts of the *Christian Topography.* Book XI contains a discussion of plants and animals of India and may be an excerpt of Kosmas' work on this region. Book XII contains excerpts from ancient authors, whose works are thought to confirm the antiquity of Holy Scripture. From the text we learn that in its first publication the *Christian Topography* consisted of five books. Books I-IV contain Kosmas' exposition of cosmography, while Book V their theological and biblical supplement. In response to the criticism that the publication encountered the author added five more books: Books VI, VII and IX are concerned with science, whereas Books VIII and X provide further biblical and theological complement to Kosmas' theories. The references in the text indicate that the author prepared at least three editions of the treatise, consisting respectively of five, six, and ten books. The second edition may have simply involved appending Book VI to the treatise, but the third entailed the preparation of a new copy, since it seems to have affected the structure of the original five books: The text is divided into a series of passages marked κείμενα (the main text) and παραγραφαὶ (the notes). An overlap between many of the παραγραφαὶ and the theories in Books VII-X suggests that the author introduced them when preparing a new edition in order to tie the core of his treatise more closely to the newly appended books.[9]

Several major textual differences allow to separate the manuscripts of the *Christian Topography* into two families – that of Vatican and that of Sinai and Laurenziana. Few of these appear to be conscious revision of the text preserved in the Sinai and Laurenziana codices, aimed at emphasising a dyophysite theology and biblical interpretation that ultimately derive from Theodore

7 Wolska-Conus, *La Topographie Chretienne*, pp. 140-75; Kominko, *The World of Kosmas*, pp. 42-83.

8 Wolska-Conus, *La Topographie Chretienne,* pp. 98-102. Kominko, *The World of Kosmas,* pp. 134-87.

9 Kominko, *The World of Kosmas,* p. 6.

of Mopsuestia. Accordingly it has been suggested that the copy from which Sinai and Laurenziana descend must have been created when the controversy regarding this theology was still vivid in Byzantium, that is, shortly after 553 AD[10] This hypothesis seems likely and the early date for the splitting of the stemma is of great significance because the miniatures which appear in the Vatican, as well as in the Sinai and Laurenziana codices, must already have accompanied the text before that date.

Both the scientific and biblical expositions are accompanied by numerous images. In terms of their relationship with the text and in terms of their function in the exposition, the scientific illustrations compare well with those in ancient Greek illustrated scientific treatises, while the biblical miniatures are similar to those in Late Antique and Byzantine Bibles. This is not because the *Christian Topography* was not a homogenous creation, but rather because such a system was consciously chosen by the author to emphasise the epistemological divisions within his exposition. He employed the miniatures as markers and keys to understanding the way in which the text they accompany should be interpreted, either as science subjected to a rational analysis or as a revealed knowledge, exceeding the realm of rational scrutiny.

All the scientific miniatures of the original five books follow the relevant text and thus conform to a pattern of the text-image relationship common in ancient scientific treatises. Moreover, with a single exception, the scientific miniatures are gathered in Book IV, conceived as an album of plates for the cosmography discussed in the preceding books. The same pattern of the miniatures placed at the end of the exposition to which they pertain was also originally maintained in Books VI and VII. This placement was most likely designed to emulate an arrangement popular in late antique scientific treatises. A good example is Vitruvius' *Ten Books on Architecture,* with drawings gathered at the end of the books to which they pertain, and the *Geography* of Ptolemy, where all maps are gathered in Book VIII, the last book of the treatise.[11]

The miniatures of Book IV corroborate and clarify the text, and seem to have been originally arranged in an order that permitted a gradual comprehension of Kosmas' idea of the universe – from a bare outline of the cosmos, through its division into two superimposed spaces, to a representation of what these spaces contain, followed by the map of the earth and the miniature showing the movement of the heavenly bodies. The series culminates in the representation

10 Ibid., pp. 7-9; Kosmas Indikopleustes, *Christian Topography*, ed./trans. W. Wolska-Conus, pp. 56-86.

11 Small, *The parallel worlds,* pp. 124-33. Compare the relevant article in this volume, chapter 4.

of the universe and the earth within it (Fig. 143). The sequence of the illustrations reflects the order of creation: from the original creation of heaven and earth (Gen 1:1) – represented through an outline of the universe; creation of the firmament in the second day (Gen 1:6) – depicted by the representation of the universe divided by a watery firmament; the gathering of waters under the firmament and emergence of the dray land (Gen 1:9), depicted by the map of the earth; the creation of the heavenly bodies, the signs of seasons (Gen 1:14) represented by an image of the universe with the trajectory of the sun.[12] The arrangement of this sequence of the miniatures is particularly interesting in view of Kosmas' argument that God took six days to create the universe in order to show the angels, whose task was to operate the cosmos, its forms. Thus, by organizing his images in a sequence reflecting the order of creation, Kosmas gave his readers an opportunity to acquire the knowledge of the form of the universe in the same way as the angels did at the beginning of time.[13] An additional factor for choosing to employ so many miniatures is Kosmas' notion of the visual message as being more direct and universal than the verbal one. Following earlier exegetes, for example John Chrysostom, Kosmas emphasizes that the language of images is uniform in perception, accessible directly to all, unlike the verbal languages.[14] Such an understanding of visual communication is striking in the context of Kosmas' idea that it was during the construction of the tower of Babel that the Babylonians introduced the false concept that the universe is spherical.[15] In a sense, therefore, the *Christian Topography* provides a double remedy for the disastrous effects of the tower of Babel – it employs the universally understood language to present the true forms of the universe.

The textual analysis of the Book IV shows that the order of paragraphs and illustrations may have been slightly modified in the second edition. It also seems that one miniature, attached to a παραγραφαὶ was added at that stage. This illustration shows the spherical model of the universe that Kosmas opposes (Fig. 144) and serves as a contrast to his image of the cosmos. In *Vat. gr. 699 and Sin. gr. 1186 it appears on recto and verso of the same folio, but the copyist of the Laurenziana manuscript rearranged the text, in order to place these two images on facing pages and make the contrast even clearer.[16] We

12 Kominko, *The World of Kosmas,* pp. 42-83, figs. CT3a-10c.

13 Kosmas Indikopleustes, *Christian Topography,* ed./trans. W. Wolska-Conus, II: 83-4; 97; 103; III:13; 28-32; 36-42; 48-9; IV:15; IX: 3-7; 13-9; X:39.

14 John Chrysostom, *On the Statues*, *PG*, vol. 49, col. 102; Leyerle, "John Chrysostom on the gaze". See also Brown, "Images as a substitute for writing".

15 Kosmas Indikopleustes, *Christian Topography,* ed./trans. W. Wolska-Conus, VIII:4-14.

16 Kominko, *The World of Kosmas,* pp. 70-7.

should note that similarly contrasted images of Kosmas' theories and "pagan" theories that he seeks to disprove appear also in Book VI. An illustration where Kosmas illustrates his attempt to measure the diameter of the sun, based on the different length of the shadow at different latitudes is contrasted with an image purportedly showing an impossibility of replicating observable differences in the length of the shadow, if one assumes that the earth is spherical.[17]

Having described the physical forms of the universe, in Book V Kosmas moves to its theological and temporal significance. He begins by elucidating the relationship between the Old Testament, the Church, and the heavenly reality to come, through a metaphor of a painterly process. Taking inspiration from the Epistle to the Hebrews 10:1, "For the Law having a shadow of good things to come, and not the very image of the things", he writes that the events of Exodus were only a shadow (σκιά), while the church and its sacraments are an image (εἰκών) of the real things (πράγματα) of the second condition. He compares the shadow – the Old Testament – to a rough sketch (σκιαγραφία), giving an idea, but not the details, in contrast to the image – the church and its sacraments – which conveys more detailed characteristics of the heavenly reality it represents.[18]

In the following paragraphs Kosmas discusses the Exodus, comparing its events – the crossing of the Red Sea, the water gushing from the rock, etc. – to the sacraments of the church. At the same time he interprets them as signs of the future condition, with the arrival in the Promised Land symbolizing its beginning. This part is illustrated by a series of three images of the itinerary of the Jews through the desert, preserved only in the Sinai and Laurenziana codices and the Theophany on Sinai, preserved in the Vatican and Sinai manuscripts.[19] There is an effort to give the miniatures of this series a visual consistency: figures like Moses and Aaron are represented in the same way throughout the cycle. The figures and objects are scattered on a page without the background, some appearing almost suspended in the air and the compositions seem to be compiled by bringing together characteristic elements of iconography of several relevant biblical scenes. Many of the scenes and figures appear to have been copied from a cycle preserved in the Byzantine illustrated Octateuchs, the earliest of which dates to the 11th century.[20]

17 Wolska-Conus, *La Topographie Chretienne,* pp. 239-45; Kominko, *The World of Kosmas,* pp. 190-9.

18 Kessler, "Through the Temple Veil", pp. 55-6; id., "Medieval art as argument"; Kominko, *The World of Kosmas,* pp. 86-7.

19 Kominko, *The World of Kosmas*, pp. 86-105, figs. CT13a-16b.

20 Mouriki-Charalambous, *The Octateuch miniatures*; Lowden, *The Octateuchs*. For the Octateuchs see relevant article in this volume, chapter 13.

The Exodus series concludes with the crossing of the Jordan, but the narrative cycle is interrupted after the Theophany on Sinai with the series of images showing the tabernacle and its implements. For Kosmas the tabernacle is the image of the universe, with the outer tabernacle portraying the physical world in the lower space of the cosmos, and the Holy of Holies symbolizing heaven. The furnishings of the tabernacle placed in the external tabernacle, that is, the table and the menorah, portray the known world in its physical and temporal qualities. The illustrations clarify and emphasise the cosmographic interpretation. The careful use of perspective allows the reader to make an immediate connection between the tabernacle and the universe (Figs. 143 and 145) – shown in a quasi three-dimensional perspective, the table and the earth – shown from above, as well as the menorah and the heavenly trajectories of the heavenly bodies, depicted in Book IX. In the case of the Ark of the Covenant, placed in the Holy of Holies, it is the visual connection with the side view of the universe and with the representation of the Second Coming that permits, as we shall see below, the unlocking of Kosmas' eschatology, in which his temporal and physical understanding of the universe converge.[21]

Although the concept of the tabernacle as image of the universe is central to the *Christian Topography*, in Kosmas' miniatures the two do not seem very similar. It seems, however, that there is no correspondence between the shape of the universe and that of the tabernacle simply because Kosmas did not imagine the tabernacle as reflecting the physical shape of the universe. For Kosmas, the tabernacle replicated the core structure and organization of the world, namely the division into two spaces, corresponding to the two conditions and the two periods of world history. The external tabernacle symbolizes the current, temporal condition in the space below, which will last until the Second Coming, and the Holy of Holies reflects the future condition, in the space above, which will open at the end of time. The outer tabernacle corresponds to the known, physical universe designated for the present conditions, and subject to time.[22] Consequently, it is only in the case of the objects within it – the table and the menorah – that Kosmas draws a parallel between their shape and both the physical and temporal structure of the universe, seeing the table as the image of the earth and the menorah as the image of the heavenly bodies and their trajectories. However, the temporal interpretation is extended to the whole of the tabernacle. Kosmas writes that the external sanctuary, which corresponds to the present condition, is located in the east because it was in the east that men first entered the earth, in Paradise, and the history of

21 Kominko, *The World of Kosmas*, pp. 105-32.

22 Kosmas Indikopleustes, *Christian Topography*, ed./trans. W. Wolska-Conus, III:16; 51, 55; V:20-2, 27; 41; 64, 112, 248; VII:11-2, 71, 82, 87-8.

humankind began. From the east, people spread westwards, at the same time progressing towards the second condition.[23]

After discussing the structure of the universe as known through revelation, Kosmas turns to the idea that during the earthly condition the progression of humanity towards the heavenly state is gradually revealed through the sequence of biblical figures. The catalogue of these figures begins with Adam and finishes with Paul. The whole exposition concludes with a representation of the Second Coming. Kosmas describes the biblical protagonists as partaking in the gradual revealing of the divine plan either through their words or through their deeds, a distinction which is emphasized through illustrations. In *Vat. gr. 699 each of the 38 chapters begins with a miniature. The patriarchs, prophets and saints who revealed the divine plan of salvation in their words are accompanied by a representation of standing author portraits. Those who partook in the gradual revelation through their actions are depicted in narrative illustrations.[24] The entire series of author figures is omitted in the Sinai and Laurenziana manuscripts. It seems, however, that it did appear in the codex from which they derive, as the trace of this series is preserved in the narrative miniature illustrating the chapter on Saint Paul (Fig. 146). The text eulogizes Paul as the author of the Epistles, and makes no mention of his conversion, represented in the miniature. The illustration contains a sequence of scenes: Saul receiving the letters from the archpriest, Saul blinded by light on his way to Damascus, and in the last scene on the right, blind Saul being led to the city. Just before the last scene on the right, a nimbed figure of Paul holding a book appears, accompanied by the inscription: παύλος. This figure, which does not belong to the narrative sequence, is identical to the figures of authors preserved in the Vatican manuscript. Consequently, it seems that this chapter was illustrated by a standing figure of Paul, to which, at some point, a narrative scene was added.[25]

The biblical protagonists who gave testimony to the coming of Christ by acts rather than by words are represented in narrative miniatures, often showing several events within one composition. In some, like the miniature accompanying the chapter on Abraham, the illustrative sequence closely follows the text. In this case the illustration shows servants leading a donkey, Isaac carrying wood for the sacrifice, and the scene of the sacrifice itself. The text describes the sacrifice as the prefiguration of the Passion, and Isaac carrying the wood as a figure of Christ carrying the cross. While it does not mention the two ser-

23 Kominko, *The World of Kosmas,* pp. 130-2.

24 Ibid., pp. 132-89 figs. CT25a-50.

25 See also Buchthal, "Some representations".

vants, it describes Abraham's three-day journey to the site of a sacrifice as a type of three days between the death and Resurrection of Christ. In the same way as the narrative Exodus illustrations in the first part of Book V, this miniature combines elements which appear in the Byzantine illustrated Octateuchs in few separate compositions. In the Octateuchs, Gen 22 is accompanied by three illustrations, showing the journey of Abraham, Isaac and the servants; Abraham and Isaac climbing the mountain and the scene of the sacrifice itself.[26] In the *Christian Topography,* the characteristic elements of each of the three Biblical compositions have been selected to emphasize the main points of Kosmas' text.

The entire cycle of the original five books of the *Christian Topography* concludes with the representation of the Second Coming (Fig. 147). This miniature represents the culmination of the process of gradual revelation, the end of the earthly condition and the beginning of the second, heavenly one. For Kosmas this new existence was promised in the Old Covenant. He believes that the Ark of the Covenant symbolizes this promise. At the same time the Ark was the symbol of Christ, the one who, in the New Covenant, through his own blood, confirmed and fulfilled it. The side view of the universe, represented on several occasions in the *Christian Topography*, corresponds to the shape of the Ark of the Covenant in the miniatures of the treatise, although nowhere in the text does Kosmas explain this similarity, interpreting the Ark as Christ dwelling in heaven, symbolized by the Holy of Holies, in whom the universe will be reborn at the end of time. Thus, when the temporal tabernacle comes to an end, the universe is transformed in Christ and becomes the Holy of Holies, the second condition symbolized by the Ark of the Covenant. Whilst the tabernacle is the image of the universe at present, the Ark illustrates the world of the future, renewed in Christ.[27]

The placement of the Biblical miniatures in the text of Book V of the *Christian Topography* is in keeping with the diversity of the text-image relationship in late antique illustrated Biblical manuscripts. In the commentary on Exodus, pictures follow or are placed in the middle of the text to which they refer, as they do in the Cotton Genesis (*London, British Library, MS Cotton Otho B. VI) or Genesis of Vienna (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vind. theol. gr. 31).[28] Such arrangement appears to stress the narration of the subsequent events, and the miniatures can be read as consecutive episodes of the story. In the catalogue of patriarchs, prophets and saints, they precede the

26 Kominko, *The World of Kosmas,* pp. 144-9.

27 Ibid., pp. 184-7.

28 Zimmermann, *Wiener Genesis*, pp. 154-60.

relevant exposition, in a way reminiscent of the Syriac Bible of Paris (*Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. syr. 341), where standing author portraits or narrative illustrations provide frontispieces for the Biblical books.[29] They also resemble the frontispiece miniatures of Carolingian Bibles in that they provide a condensed communication stressing the significance of the text that follows.[30] This interpretative function for the frontispiece miniatures is remarkably effective: the logic of the image is different to that of the text, for it is holistic, as opposed to linear, and a picture which unites several significant elements of the story provides the reader/viewer with a mindset which imposes a certain interpretation when reading the text following the illustration. The visual references to other representations indicate the typological significance of the represented scenes and facilitate an understanding of the typological relationships in the text. The reasons for choosing such a complex – and costly – method of exposition, visual as well as textual, may have been several.[31] It was through the cycle of miniatures that Kosmas explicitly placed in front of readers' eyes the progression towards the second condition, marked by the gradual revelation exemplified by the figures of his catalogue. Through the visual connections between them, he indicated typological relationships which, together with the text, convey much more than the text could convey on its own.[32]

The final aspect of the miniatures concerns the possibility of visual connections that go beyond the *Christian Topography.* In addition to purely pragmatic reasons of adapting pre-existing images, it made sense for Kosmas to use, where possible, iconography which was already sanctioned by appearance in a biblical context. Such borrowing gave him the opportunity to legitimize further his account, by firmly connecting it with the Holy Scripture. The likelihood of this is corroborated by the appearance of some of these compositions in the Byzantine Octateuchs. If we assume that such was the method of the miniaturist throughout the exposition, we necessarily posit the existence of illustrated Books of Prophets, Psalters and Acts of the Apostles, now lost, from which the compositions in the *Christian Topography* were borrowed. In a field where the effects of K. Weitzmann's search for the mythical archetype are still felt, the proposal of the existence of such "ghost" manuscripts is not something that is lightly done.[33] Nevertheless, unlike the case of many other illustrated

29 Sörries, *Die Syrische Bibel von Paris,* pp. 10-3.

30 Kessler, "Hic homo formatur"; St Clair, "A new Moses".

31 Kotsifou, "Books and book production".

32 Kominko, *The Wold of Kosmas,* pp. 187-9.

33 For Weitzmann's method, see Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex;* Dolezal, "Manuscript studies".

manuscripts for which a late antique archetype was postulated, we know that the *Christian Topography* was both written and illustrated in the 6th century. Moreover, the textual differences between the two branches of the stemma indicate that the split into two families had already occurred in Late Antiquity. Accordingly, it is reasonable to assume that at least the miniatures which appear in the codices of both branches were introduced into the treatise in the 6th century. The implication is that either the miniaturist (or a team of miniaturists) of the *Christian Topography* singlehandedly invented a large cycle of very diverse biblical illustrations, later copied from Kosmas' treatise into various illustrated biblical manuscripts, which seems rather unlikely, or that they had access to a large body of illustrated works, from which they copied figures and scenes, creating a series of visual references to biblical books.

Kosmas wrote the *Christian Topography* to communicate the Christian concept of the universe, compatible both with the Holy Scripture and observable phenomena, harmonizing time and space. His original addressees were Christians who were exposed to, and had some notion of classical cosmography. In the context of an illustrated manuscript, the viewer is also the reader and the interpretative engagement which Gombrich called the "beholder's share" relies on the perception of image and text enclosed together in the physical form of the book.[34] Naturally, this perception is determined by previous knowledge, and, as a consequence, the reader's/viewer's response depends on how they are able to place the treatise in the context of other works with which they are familiar. Thus, to communicate its message effectively, a polemical treatise like the *Christian Topography* had to take into account readers' expectations concerning the form of presentation and the rhetoric – both visual and verbal – of the exposition. Kosmas solved this problem admirably, designing the layout of the treatise in a way that allowed him to present "science" on different terms to biblical exposition. He marks out this epistemological division by defining a different relationship between the visual and the verbal. Yet, serving as the markers of this divide, the miniatures are also employed to bring these two parts together. The use of perspective allows the reader to immediately connect the tabernacle and the universe, the table and the earth, the menorah and the heavenly trajectories of the heavenly bodies, the Ark of the Covenant and the side view of the universe with the Second Coming of Christ. This last connection emphasizes the typological relationship between the old covenant of Moses and the new covenant of Christ, and through it, the significance of the Old Testament Past for the New Testament and for the Christian Church.

34 Gombrich, *Art and Illusion*, pp. 33-45.

The *Christian Topography* offers a fertile ground for exploration of the reception of ancient science in Late Antiquity and of the ways that Christians navigated the contradictions between "secular" and "religious" sources, both written and visual. Far from being a document of intellectual shortcomings, the treatise shows a successful attempt at creating a single coherent system, reconciling science and biblical exegesis, and combining visual and written exposition into a new creation.

CHAPTER 28

The Heavenly Ladder[1]

Maria Evangelatou

The *Heavenly Ladder*, a treatise on monastic life that admonishes monks on how to achieve perfection and union with God, was written in the 7th century by John, abbot of the Monastery of Mount Sinai. The author is traditionally known in English as John Klimakos or Climacus, from the Latinised version of the Greek word κλίμαξ, for ladder. Although specifically addressed to monks, thanks to the merits of its text and the centrality of its subject in Eastern Orthodox spirituality the *Heavenly Ladder* became extremely popular even outside monastic communities, both in Byzantium and in the wider Eastern Orthodox world: hundreds of manuscripts in Greek and other languages still survive to attest to this success. In monasteries the text was read every year during Lent for the benefit of the entire community, while we can imagine that individual monks would also consult it personally. Many laypeople who could afford to own books would count the *Heavenly Ladder* among their prized possessions, together with more standard devotional books, such as the *Four Gospels* or the *Psalms*.[2]

The broad readership of the *Heavenly Ladder* is vividly reflected in the wide variety of illustrations that are preserved in numerous surviving manuscripts. In his classical monograph on the subject, John Martin catalogued 33 Greek codices, dating from the 10th to the 17th century and ranging from one or two introductory miniatures to extensive cycles of images.[3] The majority of the

1 The illustration expenses for this article have been covered by a grant from the Arts Research Institute of the University of California, Santa Cruz.

2 For all the above and an excellent discussion of the *Heavenly Ladder's* content and reception see Ware, "Introduction", pp. 1-70. See also Corrigan, "Constantine's problems", p. 61, note 4 and Ševčenko, "Monastic challenges", p. 39, note 1, pp. 59, 62.

3 Martin, *Heavenly Ladder*, 164-92. Five codices (nos. 18, 23, 29-31) date to the 16th century or later, so cannot be counted as Byzantine. A few of the manuscripts listed, e.g. nos. 2-3, do not actually include the *Heavenly Ladder* but a penitential canon inspired by it, for which see below. In addition to his catalogue of 33 codices, Martin mentions eight more with only a schematic image of the ladder (ibid., p. 164, note 1). Ševčenko, "Monastic challenges", p. 44, and Carr, "Ioasaph", pp. 182-3, mention codices Patmos, Monastery of Saint John the Theologian, cod. 121 and Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Library, MS 134 respectively, which were unknown to Martin. Even though published in 1954, thanks to its rigorous scholarship Martin's

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codices are unique creations: they correspond to the specific interests and means of their makers and commissioners, who in each case approached the text from their own individual perspective, and highlighted it through the singular nature of the images they chose to include in their book.[4] Even in the few cases that a manuscript's illustration seems to be based on a pre-existing model, variations are still present and reflect the individuality of each commission.[5] Given the variety of the preserved material, only a small representative sample can be discussed here, in order to offer the following information: a brief reference to the structure of the *Heavenly Ladder* text; an outline of the basic categories of images preserved in the surviving Byzantine manuscripts and some general observations about their function; and analysis of a few specific images from a number of codices, to exemplify the diversity and sophistication of the corpus.

Manuscripts of the *Heavenly Ladder* usually include a number of other texts in addition to the main work by John Klimakos: first the letter written by another John, abbot of Raithu, to our John, the abbot of Sinai, entreating him to provide instructions for his monastic community. The latter's reply comes next, followed by a biography of John Klimakos written by Daniel of Raithu. An anonymous prologue might also be included. The text of the *Heavenly Ladder* takes up the main part of each manuscript, introduced by a table of content. It is followed by John's short work *To the Shepherd* describing the duties of the abbot.[6] Occasionally a penitential canon inspired by the fifth chapter of the *Heavenly Ladder* is also included in this collection of texts.[7] The *Heavenly Ladder* itself is divided into 30 chapters (logoi), each discussing one of the 30 successive steps in the progress of a monk towards enlightenment, usually in

monograph remains the most comprehensive work on illustrated Byzantine manuscripts of the *Heavenly Ladder*.

4 Ševčenko, "Monastic challenges", pp. 40-1, with references to Martin's work.

5 In the following pairs the second codex depends on the first: Sinai, Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sin. gr. 417 and Patmos 121, Ševčenko, "Monastic challenges", pp. 42, 44; Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 394 and Athos, Stavronikita Monastery, cod. 50, Martin, *Heavenly Ladder*, 47-87; Patmos, Monastery of Saint John the Theologian, cod. 122 and Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1754, ibid., pp. 113-9.

6 The Greek text is published in *PG*, vol. 88, cols. 596-628 (introductory texts), 629-1161 (main text), 1165-1208 (advice to the abbot). John Klimakos, *The Ladder of Divine Ascent,* ed./trans. P.S. Trevisan, includes a Greek edition of the text, facing his Italian translation. John Klimakos, *The Ladder of Divine Ascent,* trans. C. Luibheid/N. Russell and id., trans. L. Moore are English translations of the *Heavenly Ladder* with fine introductions (the revised Moore translations also includes John's *To the Pastor*).

7 Martin, *Heavenly Ladder*, pp. 128-50.

the form of virtues or vices that he must possess or combat respectively on his path toward perfection.[8] The author uses the powerful symbol of a ladder that runs from earth to heaven, in order to give his work concrete form and a venerable biblical precedent with profound theological significance:[9] in Christian exegesis, Jacob's Ladder on which angels walk up and down between heaven and earth (Gen 28:10-21) is considered a prefiguration of the Incarnation of the Logos in Christ, the one who would reunite earth and heaven, humanity and divinity, in order to reverse the breech brought about by the Fall.[10] According to John Klimakos, the monastic life is a continuous effort towards this reunification with the divine: it is a struggle to lift oneself above the limitations and temptations of the physical realm and the human body and to attain the angelic life of the spirit that will ensure humanity's salvation and its return to paradise.

There are three main categories of images in the surviving illustrated Byzantine manuscripts of the *Heavenly Ladder*: the portrait of the author; the theme of the ladder; and miniatures that illustrate parts of the content of the book and range widely from a more or less close visualization of text passages (such as John of Raithu and John Klimakos exchanging letters, or monks performing tasks described in the text) to more symbolic and interpretative representations (such as personifications of virtues and vices or monks in activities that are not literally described in the text but illustrate the concepts mentioned in it).[11] Most manuscripts have just one or two images, rarely up to a handful. The commonest motifs are the ladder (occasionally shown more than once) and sometimes the author's portrait. Codices with miniatures throughout the text are rare, range from 40 to almost 100 scenes, and display a variety of layouts: the miniatures might appear either in the margins of the folios, or between chapters and parts of the text, or inserted in the headpiece of each chapter (sometimes with occasional miniatures of different types complementing the main images).[12] The earliest surviving illustrated manuscripts are dated to the

8 See the excellent discussion by Ware, "Introduction", pp. 10-6.

9 Ibid., pp. 11, 66.

10 Whether the interpretation of Jacob's ladder is Christological or Mariological, it always centers around the Incarnation as the bridge between earth and heaven. For a brief discussion see Brubaker, *Vision and Meaning*, pp. 208-9.

11 See below for some examples. In addition, manuscripts might have decorative motifs, like headpieces, bands or initials used to introduce the chapters, or to highlight specific parts of the text.

12 Ševčenko, "Monastic challenges", pp. 50-60, offers an overview of the three basic examples: Princeton, University Library, Garrett MS. 16 (43 marginal scenes, including those now cut-out); Vat. gr. 394 (99 scenes, mostly in pairs, between chapters); and Sin. gr. 418

10th century and usually include just representations of the ladder and rarely an author portrait or other introductory image.[13] Only from the 11th century onwards do we have evidence of cyclical illustrations accompanying several parts of the text throughout the book. According to Martin, such cycles of images were first created at that time and reflect the renewed prestige and prominence of monasticism in the Byzantine world of the 11th century.[14]

The author's portrait, the second most frequent illustration of Klimakos codices after the ladder theme, usually appears right at the beginning of the manuscript or after the introductory texts and before the first chapter of the *Heavenly Ladder* proper. In most cases John Klimakos is represented writing at his desk, after the iconography of the evangelists' portraits at the beginning of their respective gospels.[15] This type of image not only honors the author of the *Heavenly Ladder*, but it also acts as a visual reinforcement of the authenticity, authority and value of his text: the portrait suggests that the literary work it introduces is indeed by the pen of a venerable writer who is a worthy disciple of the evangelists, since through his words he also helps the readers see and walk the path of salvation and come closer to God.

The theme of the ladder is by far the most popular illustration of John Klimakos' work.[16] It is rarely omitted from illustrated manuscripts,[17] and it often appears more than once in the same manuscript: in addition to its usual representation at the beginning or the end of a codex,[18] it might appear in both locations, framing the text at its start and finish.[19] Occasionally it is depicted more than once at the beginning or the end of a manuscript, or in both places,[20] and in a few cases it is a recurring motif throughout the book.[21] Although there

(43 scenes, mostly inside the decorative headpiece of each chapter). Stavronikita 50 (14th century) is inspired by Vat. gr. 394 and includes 40 scenes, mostly between chapters. Also worthy of mention is Vat. gr. 1754 (12th-13th century), with 11 scenes for the *Heavenly Ladder* and 32 for the penitential canon inspired by chapter 5. All the above are catalogued by Martin, *Heavenly Ladder*, pp. 166-7, 175-83, 187-8.

13 E.g. Martin, *Heavenly Ladder*, no. 4 (p. 166), no. 12 (p. 170), no. 24 (p. 184), no. 26 (p. 186).

14 Ibid., pp. 121-7, 150-63.

15 Ibid., pp. 19-23, figs. 1 (medallion portrait), 14, 16, 18, 24, 25, 69, (evangelist-inspired portraits).

16 Discussed in detail in ibid., pp. 10-9.

17 Ibid., nos. 1 and 9 (pp. 164, 169): the author's portrait is depicted instead.

18 E.g. ibid., beginning of codex: nos. 6, 12, 14, 19, 27, 28, 32, 33; end of codex: nos. 4, 5, 7, 11, 13, 17, pp. 166-92.

19 E.g. ibid., nos. 10, 15, 16, 20, 21, 25, pp. 169-85.

20 E.g. ibid., nos. 11, 22, 25, 26, pp. 170, 181, 184, 186.

21 The most prominent cases being codices Vat. gr. 394 and Stavronikita 50 (based on the Vatican codex); ibid., pp. 47-88.

are a few basic types of ladder iconography that are employed in the surviving corpus, each individual representation is unique and the iconographic variety is often prominent even in images within the same codex.[22] The most common depiction is a schematic vertical ladder with 30 rungs that usually illustrates the table of content at the beginning or the end of the book, or both.[23] In addition or instead of this image some manuscripts include a narrative representation of the ladder (Fig. 148):[24] in its most basic version this iconography includes a diagonal ladder (sometimes but not always shown with 30 rungs) that reaches from earth to heaven. A varying number of monks climb the ladder, and Christ usually receives them at the top, reaching out from a segment of heaven. Numerous additional elements in diverse combinations might appear, creating compositions of varying complexity: often John Klimakos is depicted encouraging the monks on one side of the ladder, and a group of bystanders, usually brothers waiting to step on the ladder, might also be included. Occasionally angels help the monks in their ascent, while demons try to throw them off the ladder. Falling monks are sometimes depicted and in certain cases a dark dragon with an open mouth is shown ready to swallow them, next to the base of the ladder. Rarely Mary stands next to Christ, interceding for the ascending monks, and monastic saints also appear praying for them in heaven (Fig. 148).[25]

As Martin suggested, it is possible that this narrative iconography, particularly rich and complex in its fullest version, was first created as a monumental wall-painting or mosaic for a monastic church. Its main component of the heavenward ladder was inspired by Jacob's dream in Genesis 28, and additional details, such as Christ grabbing the hand of the monk on top of the ladder, or the dragon swallowing the fallen monks, were perhaps derived from images of the Anastasis and the Last Judgment respectively, especially since both of these scenes refer to salvation in terms that are also prominent in the text of the *Heavenly Ladder*.[26] In addition it should be noted that all the above icono-

22 Ibid., pp. 10-9.

23 Ibid., pp. 10-1. See Corrigan/Ševčenko, "Sinai ms. gr. 417" for a rare variation of the schematic ladder motif that includes both a vertical and a diagonal ladder on the same page, accompanied by erudite theological inscriptions.

24 What Martin calls the heavenly ladder, as opposed to the schematic, vertical ladder mentioned above. See Martin, *Heavenly Ladder*, pp. 11-2.

25 Fig. 148 is the only example with these two additional elements: a 14th-c. full-page miniature added to the 11th-c. Vat. gr. 394, probably to replace a lost original; ibid., pp. 15-6, fig. 67.

26 Ibid., pp. 14-7. For the latest reference to surviving Heavenly Ladder compositions in Byzantine monasteries and a detailed discussion of one of them see Schroeder, "The Ladder in the Vatopedi Katholikon".

graphic elements closely correspond to John Klimakos' work. Contrary to what Martin suggests,[27] not just the helping angels, but also the attacking demons and the falling monks visualize relevant references in the *Heavenly Ladder*: the author often mentions not only guarding angels who assist monks in their ascent, but also jealous demons who aim to destroy the brothers, and even unsuccessful monks who fall prey to those threatening spirits and to their own vices.[28]

A number of manuscripts include miniatures that combine elements from the schematic, vertical, table-of-content ladder iconography and the diagonal, narrative version, in order to create meaningful variations that emphasize the challenging and meritorious struggle of the monks in their ascent.[29] In addition to ladder images at the opening and the closing of the book, a few manuscripts also employ the motif of the ladder throughout the text, to illustrate almost every chapter: with[30] or without[31] a monk climbing on it, the ladder usually has as many rungs as the number of the relevant chapter it illustrates, starting with one and concluding with 30. This gradual progression vividly visualizes both the challenges and the accomplishments of monastic life, suggesting that through discipline and successive steps the dedicated practitioners can slowly but surely reach heaven.

Scholars have noted that the *concept* of the ladder in the literary work of John Klimakos provides a clearer structure to a text of admonitions that would otherwise lack organization, and also helps emphasize the potential of spiritual ascent and moral improvement.[32] In a similar manner, the *pictorial representation* of the ladder, so prominent in the illustration of this text, visually reinforces the same ideas of overall structure and accomplishment, enhancing the cohesion of the various chapters towards the climactic goal of illumination and salvation. The *visual* ladder becomes a mnemonic device that vividly reminds the reader of the ultimate goal of ascent and the feasibility of such spiritual fulfillment.[33] The Klimakos ladder motif clearly demonstrates that

27 Martin, *Heavenly Ladder*, p. 14.

28 For example, just in chapter 4 alone (on obedience, *PG*, vol. 88, cols. 677C-728D) John mentions at least 14 times either demons or the devil plotting to destroy monks, or struggling brothers who at least momentarily fail in their quest for virtue.

29 See for example the cases discussed by Martin, *Heavenly Ladder*, p. 12, figs. 217-8: p. 13, fig. 22; p. 45, fig. 66; pp. 113-9, figs. 236-7.

30 Vat. gr. 394 and Stavronikita 50; ibid., pp. 47-88.

31 *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Coislin 263; ibid., pp. 105-6.

32 Ware, "Introduction", pp. 11, 66; Ševčenko, "Monastic challenges", p. 60, note 36.

33 For a general discussion of the motif of heavenly ladders in Medieval art see Heck, *L'échelle céleste*, and Kaufmann, *Himmelsleiter*.

the illustration of Byzantine manuscripts is not simply a visual equivalent to the textual narrative, or a decorative embellishment; rather, it is a substantial component of the meaning of the book, highlighting, complementing or elaborating specific ideas that are more or less obvious in the text, or are introduced as additional comments by the images themselves. More examples of this synergy will be discussed below, through a sample of narrative miniatures that have been preserved in a number of manuscripts. All the examples chosen for analysis present a theme that is central not only in the *Heavenly Ladder* text, but in Byzantine monastic culture as a whole: the virtuous monk is an angel-like figure, leading an angelic life on earth that will ensure his association with angels when he finally enters heaven in the afterlife.[34]

The 11th-century Constantinopolitan codex Garrett MS. 16 in Princeton, dated by its colophon in 1081, includes vivid representations of monastic life in delicate marginal miniatures, throughout its pages.[35] It preserves two particularly eloquent visualizations of monks as worthy companions of angels, to illustrate chapter 8 on placidity and meekness and chapter 15 on chastity and temperance – all of which are virtues particularly befitting God's heavenly and earthly servants (Figs. 149-150).[36] In both images a monk stands next to his angelic protector who looks at him and embraces him with one arm. The two bodies seem to become one as the gold of their haloes merges between their faces and the angel's wings extend from behind his own shoulder to beyond the monk's back, as if they belonged to both. The painter clearly intended to visualize these monks' angelic nature, for in most of his other images he didn't depict haloed ascetics.[37] In both miniatures the angel-embraced monk raises his hands in prayer, but while the first one looks at his winged companion who clasps his right hand, as if about to lead him forward (Fig. 149), the second monk looks beyond the angel who stands in front of him, as if his heavenly guardian was invisible to his human eyes (Fig. 150). Yet their synergy remains obvious: the monk is so close to the angel that he steps with both his feet on the latter's right sandal, as if literally walking in his footsteps. In the first miniature, two almost identical, double-tiered trees flank the figures, further

34 For example, just in chapter 4 of the *Heavenly Ladder* the angelic identity of virtuous monks is mentioned at least three times (*PG*, vol. 88, cols. 688B, 689B). See John Klimakos, *The Ladder of Divine Ascent,* trans. C. Luibheid/N. Russell, pp. 96-8, and note 18 with further reference to this subject in Byzantine monasticism.

35 Discussed in detail in Martin, *Heavenly Ladder,* pp. 24-47, figs. 30-66; Kotzabassi/Patterson Ševčenko, *Greek manuscripts at Princeton*, pp. 112-25, figs. 126-69.

36 Fols. 76r, 94r; Martin, *Heavenly Ladder*, pp. 30, 32-3, figs. 38, 45.

37 For very few exceptions, mostly depicting John Klimakos and John of Raithu, see ibid., figs. 29-31, 36, 58 (and p. 39), 65-6.

reinforcing the visual reference of the image to angelic companionship through flourishing virtue (Fig. 149).[38]

The angelic accomplishments of monks are also illustrated in the 11th-century codex Patmos 122 and the 12th- or 13th-century cod. Vat. gr. 1754, which include an introductory ladder image with each of the 30 rungs visualized through an individual scene (Fig. 151).[39] Despite their minute dimensions, these vignettes contain important iconographic details. In both manuscripts, close to the top of the ladder (on the left) a monk turned in three quarter prays towards a frontal archangel who looks at him while holding a labarum. This image corresponds to chapter 25 on humility, which is described twice in the text as an angelic virtue.[40] The penultimate rung of the ladder, chapter 29 on tranquility or dispassion, described as a "celestial palace",[41] is illustrated with the same monk and archangel, now equally turned towards one another, each one holding a labarum: the virtuous monk is finally among the company of angels, and instead of asking the guidance of his winged protector, he stands next to him as another powerful embodiment of holiness and intercession for the reader to admire and beseech.[42]

An analogous message is visualized in the headpiece miniature of chapter 29 in the 12th-century codex Sin. gr. 418 (Fig. 152). Possibly of Constantinopolitan origin, this is one of the most richly illustrated *Heavenly Ladder* manuscripts to have survived, with the majority of its images included in the ornate headpieces that introduce each chapter.[43] On the left of the composition for chapter 29, we see a frontal monk with palms outwards in front of his chest in a gesture that can signify both prayer and intercession; he is crowned by an angel flying above him and is accompanied by another angel on the left, who turns towards the monk and raises his right hand in a gesture of speech while holding a scroll with the left. At a certain distance, on the right side of the composition, two male and two female lay figures in rich attire turn to each other and

38 For a few relevant examples of the symbolic meaning of plants in Byzantine manuscripts and for further literature see Evangelatou, "Sacra Parallela", pp. 126-8, note 70, fig. 7; Evangelatou, "The exegetical initials", pp. 107-8, fig. 5.

39 Martin, *Heavenly Ladder*, pp. 113-9, figs. 236-7. See also Ševčenko, "Patmos Ms. 122" for the hypothesis that the image of the Heavenly Ladder in the Patmos codex was a painter's guide. In both manuscripts the folios with the Heavenly Ladder were later additions (ibid., pp. 398-401 and note 17).

40 *PG*, vol. 88, cols. 993C, 1001B.

41 Ibid., col. 1149D.

42 See also Martin, *Heavenly Ladder*, p. 118, figs. 236-7.

43 Discussed in ibid., pp 87-104; Ševčenko, "Monastic challenges", pp. 50 forward; D'Aiuto, "Codici miniati", pp. 7-23.

lift their hands in gestures that can be identified as either of prayer, veneration or conversation, apparently contemplating the accomplishment of the monk who appears to be an inspiring model and powerful intercessor for their salvation.[44] This codex was probably produced for a lay patron with special reverence for the monastic life: lay figures appear prominently in several miniatures, including the introductory narrative ladder image; there three men dressed as officials walk towards the base of the ladder, probably with the intention to take up the monastic habit and imitate the monks who are already climbing heavenwards.[45]

A very striking visual equation of monks with angels is repeatedly employed in codex *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Ross. 251, a provincial manuscript of the 11th-12th century with unique and interesting iconographic features.[46] At the end of the introductory texts, before the *Heavenly Ladder* proper begins, the miniaturist has represented Jacob's Ladder, which was an influential model for John Klimakos, mentioned both by him and by the anonymous author of the prologue illustrated by this very miniature (Fig. 153).[47] In the middle of the scene Jacob sleeps, and right above he struggles with the angel according to Gen 32:22-32. The ladder of his dream (Gen 28:10-21) appears twice, on the left and right of the dreamer, with two angels on each ladder ascending towards a double segment of heaven and the bust of Christ emerging from the left one. Martin observes that the wrestling episode between Jacob and the angel could allude to the motif of continuous struggle that monks have to undertake on their path, although their opponents according to John Klimakos are usually demons. Martin also mentions the unusual duplication of the ladder and the fact that contrary to Jacob's dream, in this miniature angels only ascent and do not descent.[48] All these elements could easily be explained if we assume that the second ladder is actually the one described by John Klimakos and the angels on it are really monks, imitating the heavenward ascent of their biblical models. Indeed, the pairs of ladders depicted next to the list of content enumerating the 30 chapters of the book in this codex, both at the beginning and at the end of John's text (for a total of four ladders), are identical to the two ladders flanking the sleeping Jacob in the above miniature:

44 Fol. 279r. Martin, *Heavenly Ladder*, pp. 101-2, fig. 214, mentions that the demons flying above the women are a later addition.

45 See Ševčenko, "Monastic challenges", pp. 58-9.

46 Martin, *Heavenly Ladder*, pp. 107-13, 184-5. See also H. Kessler's discussion of the iconography of the spiritual tablets (an alternative title for the *Heavenly Ladder*): Kessler, "La *Scala celeste*".

47 Fol. 5r; Martin, *Heavenly Ladder*, pp. 108-9, fig. 227, *PG*, vol. 88, col. 628D.

48 Martin, *Heavenly Ladder*, p. 109.

each ladder appears with two angels on it and two segments of heaven above, one of which contains Christ.[49] Throughout the book there are no depictions of monks climbing a ladder. The fact that the angels in all the miniatures have black wings might also be explained as an allusion to the dark monastic habit, through which ascetics earn their angelic status. A final clue is provided by the figure of Jacob wrestling with the angel (Fig. 153): he no longer wears the short light blue tunic, brown leggings and white boots of his sleeping self at the lower part of the composition, but instead he is dressed in a long tunic and mantle of blue and violate colors like the ones donned by the angels. The way he wrestles with his opponent follows pre-existing iconographic motifs,[50] yet in the context of the Klimakos text the angel almost seems to support and raise Jacob by the thigh towards him, and the two appear to embrace each other.[51] This image was perhaps intended to suggest that in his extraordinary encounter Jacob struggled to merge with his true, angelic nature, like monks do. The broader implication of this image, in agreement with the relevant prologue it illustrates, might be that Jacob, the dreamer of the ladder, is a monastic model; and in his dream he envisions himself climbing the heavenly path in his enlightened, spiritual, angel-like self.

The last manuscript to be mentioned here is one of the most important surviving examples: Vat. gr. 394 was produced in the Byzantine capital towards the end of the 11th century, probably for Nicon, the abbot of the monastery of Louphadion, who perhaps succeeded the founder Nicholas when the latter became patriarch of Constantinople as Nicholas III Grammatikos (1084-1111). Both these individuals and the monastery are mentioned in the text and images of the manuscript in addition to a few other monks.[52] Constantine, the scribe and illustrator, devised an extensive cycle of miniatures, the majority of which appear between chapters and consist of two parts: on the left a monk stands at the top of a ladder with as many rungs as the number of the preceding chapter, and on the right John Klimakos is shown teaching the subject of the following chapter. Other figures, especially monks and personifica-

49 Fols. 5v-6r, 256v-257r; ibid., pp. 110, 112, figs. 228-9, 233-4.

50 Comparable elements in diverse combinations appear in the relevant miniatures of the Middle Byzantine Octateuchs (Weitzmann/Bernabò, *The Byzantine Octateuchs*, figs. 435-7) and the 9th-century *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 510 (Brubaker, *Vision and Meaning*, fig. 23).

51 Likewise, in the Byzantine Octateuchs the encounter of Jacob and the angel is very similar to the embrace of Jacob and his brother Esau (Weitzmann/Bernabò, *The Byzantine Octateuchs*, figs. 436-40).

52 Corrigan, "Constantine's problems", pp. 64, 69.

tions of virtues and vices, complement the scenes.[53] The repetition of the teaching scene next to a monk who is steadily climbing the ladder throughout the codex places particular emphasis on the beneficial influence of a wise mentor and provides a venerable model for the abbot Nicon, who perhaps shared his manuscript with his flock and presented himself as a worthy successor of the author of the *Heavenly Ladder*.[54] Although monks are not explicitly represented as angel-like in this codex, they are occasionally accompanied by angels who assist them in their struggle. For example, at the end of chapter 15, on chastity, a monk prays towards heaven, standing on top of a golden ladder with 15 rungs (Fig. 154).[55] Next to him a brother looks up for inspiration, while under the ladder lies bound the dark-skinned personification of Nature, who according to the text is defeated by a resilient and virtuous soul. The angel who flies above with a staff in his hand, guiding the monk in his ascent, visualizes the passages "he that has overcome Nature... is but a little lower... than the angels".[56] The scene to the right introduces chapter 16, on avarice: John Klimakos teaches two monks while pointing at the personification of Charity driving away Avarice and Unbelief.

The above brief overview could not make justice to the richness of the surviving Byzantine Klimakos codices, offering just a glimpse of their variety and sophistication. Still, even this limited selection bespeaks the deep fascination that the *Heavenly Ladder* exerted on Byzantine readers, triggering their creative imagination and intellectual understanding towards the production of dynamic visual commentaries that further reinforced the influence and significance of this important text.

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53 Corrigan, "Constantine's problems", offers the most insightful discussion of the cycle devised by Constantine. See also Martin, *Heavenly Ladder*, pp. 47-88; D'Aiuto, "Codici miniati", pp. 25-34, esp. 27-9.

54 See also Ševčenko, "Monastic challenges", pp. 53, 57-8.

55 Fol. 89v. The following description is found in Martin, *Heavenly Ladder*, pp. 71-2.

56 *PG*, vol. 88, cols. 896C.

CHAPTER 29

Sacra Parallela (*Par. gr. 923)[1]

Maria Evangelatou

As products of manual work, created in a pre-print culture, all Byzantine illustrated manuscripts are unique, even when they belong to the most commonly produced types of codices, or they programmatically copy specific models:[2] the particularities of their production in terms of resources, scribe and illustrator input and commissioner requests generate special circumstances that ensure such uniqueness. This is clearly exemplified by the only two illustrated Byzantine florilegia that survive today, both held among the Greek manuscripts of the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris, numbered gr. 922 and gr. 923 respectively. Although both include the word "parallels" (παράλληλα) in their title,[3] and they are didactic compilations of biblical and patristic texts, their textual and visual content and intended audience are entirely different: the 9th-century codex *Par. gr. 923 actually belongs to the family of florilegia that are abbreviated versions of the so called *Sacra Parallela* anthology attributed to John of Damascus, a work that no longer survives in its original form (8th century).[4] This codex is richly illustrated with hundreds of miniatures throughout its pages, and was probably created by and for a monastic community, as argued below.[5] On the contrary, the 11th-century codex *Par. gr. 922, created shortly after 1060 for the empress Eudokia Makrembolitissa (explicitly mentioned as the owner), contains a totally different collection of texts, sometimes identified as *Soterios* in other surviving manuscripts.[6] It is illustrated with only one miniature at the beginning, depicting the empress, her husband Constantine X Doukas (r. 1059-1067) and two of their sons, surrounded by por-

1 Part of the illustration expenses for this article have been covered by a grant from the Arts Research Institute of the University of California, Santa Cruz.

2 Consider, for example, the variations in the illustration of the Four Gospels (chapters 17 and 18 in this volume), and of the Middle Byzantine Octateuchs (chapter 13) and the 12th-century Kokkinobaphos homiliaries (chapter 26).

3 Weitzmann, *Sacra Parallela*, p. 6; Anderson, "Cod. Gr. 922", pp. 17, 19.

4 For a detailed discussion of this issue and relevant literature, see Evangelatou, "Sacra Parallela", p. 113, note 1.

5 For an overview of the literature (concerning also dating and provenance), see Brubaker/Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era*, pp. 49-50, and note 57 below.

6 Anderson, "Cod. gr. 922", pp. 18-20.

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traits of Christ and the authors of the excerpted passages: a composition that "implicitly draws a relationship between the assembled texts and Orthodox rule",[7] as Eudokia should exercise it in her official role as wife of the emperor and mother of his heirs.[8] Typologically then the illustration of this codex is similar to several others that belonged to elite members of the Byzantine society, most frequently members of the imperial family: they appear in portraits at the beginning of manuscripts, represented as patrons of venerable texts in various capacities (as commissioners, recipients, owners, or dedicators), and are often accompanied by holy figures who offer them protection, grant them authority and receive their thankful veneration.[9] In this chapter discussion will focus on codex *Par. gr. 923 instead: a book that is not only unique as any other Byzantine manuscript, but truly exceptional indeed, due to its unparalleled rarity and unmatched characteristics.

Also called the *Sacra Parallela* of Paris, this manuscript is the earliest known codex that derives from the homonymous florilegium attributed to John of Damascus, the legacy of which inspired several other codices of various dates that belong to two main recensions.[10] Other similar florilegia with diverse didactic content also circulated in Byzantium and survive today in various recensions.[11] Our codex is not only the earliest surviving *Sacra Parallela* text and the only one to bear miniatures, but is in fact the only preserved Byzantine florilegium of any kind whose illustration pertains directly to the text itself (contrary to the dedicatory portrait that appears at the beginning of Eudokia's codex).[12] In addition, at 35.6x26.5 cm it is among the largest illustrated Byzantine manuscripts known today, but originally it was even larger: its pages are now trimmed and of the more than 420 original folios only 394 still survive.[13] Moreover, the corpus of miniatures hosted in the pages of this codex is exceptionally rich, currently amounting to 1658 images that originally could have been as many as 1830.[14] Although the majority are authors' portraits, narrative illustrations are also numerous, and the subject matter of some is unique in the surviving cor-

7 Ibid., p. 21. Miniature discussed by Spatharakis, *Portrait*, p. 103, fig. 68 (fol. 6r).

8 Anderson, "Cod. gr. 922", pp. 20-2.

9 Spatharakis, *Portrait*.

10 For more information, see Evangelatou, "Sacra Parallela", p. 113, note 1.

11 These were called by M. Richard spiritual florilegia, in distinction from the ones he called dogmatic florilegia. See Richard, "Florilèges spirituels grecs", pp. 475-511. Also *ODB*, vol. 2. pp. 793-4.

12 Weitzmann, *Sacra Parallela*, p. 10.

13 Ibid., pp. 3, 6. See also Evangelatou, "Sacra Parallela", p. 114, note 4 for a more detailed discussion of the size.

14 Weitzmann, *Sacra Parallela*, pp. 6, 11. Evangelatou, , "Sacra Parallela", p. 114, note 6.

pus of Byzantine art.[15] On top of that, this large and richly illustrated codex makes lavish and extensive use of gold leaf, for most parts of the miniatures as well as most of the titles and excerpt identifications within titles.[16] This technical characteristic is very rare among surviving Byzantine manuscripts.[17]

The codex is divided into 24 chapters, called *stoicheia*, each corresponding to one of the 24 letters of the Greek alphabet. Under each *stoicheion* appear *titloi* (*tituli*/titles), in other words sub-chapters that treat themes starting with the same letter. In general, the subjects presented in this, as in other similar florilegia, are of theological, moral and social import: the titles concern the relationship of God and humankind, the virtues and vices of human nature, the proper conduct of Christians towards their fellow human beings, the state and religious authorities. Under each title, relevant biblical and patristic passages are compiled according to a fixed order: first come excerpts from the Old and New Testaments according to the sequence of books within the Bible, then follow excerpts from the works of patristic authors and finally quotations of the only two non-Christian authors included in this florilegium, the Jewish writers Philo and Flavius Josephus.[18] The text is written with brown ink in two columns of sloping uncial script.[19] Each one of the 24 chapters is introduced by a large golden initial with linear or interlaced decoration. In six cases the initial is combined with an author portrait which probably was meant to represent the compiler of the florilegium (Fig. 155).[20] The subject of each of the various titles under every chapter, and the names of authors and works introducing excerpts under each title are written on gold background. According to Weitzmann's estimation, based on text lacunae, original gathering marks and a note at the end of the manuscript that mentions 424 folios, originally the codex must have had 55 gatherings of mostly regular quaternions.[21] Currently the 394 surviving folios are in very good condition, with losses of leaves interspersed here and there.[22] The original title page that might have existed at the beginning of the manuscript is no longer preserved. The first quaternion con-

15 Weitzmann, *Sacra Parallela*, p. 11.

16 Ibid., pp. 14-5, on the use of gold.

17 See Evangelatou, "Sacra Parallela", p. 114, note 9, for detailed references.

18 The patristic and historical passages are not always organized in strict alphabetical order by author name; Weitzmann, *Sacra Parallela*, pp. 7-8.

19 The letters are about 3 mm in height. Ibid., p. 3.

20 Discussed below and in more detail in Evangelatou, "Sacra Parallela", pp. 119-26, figs. 1-6. The author portrait for *stoicheion* Iota (Fig. 155) actually forms part of the initial letter I (see ibid., pp. 121-2).

21 Weitzmann, *Sacra Parallela*, p. 3.

22 For a more detailed description, including later additions, see ibid., pp. 3-7.

tains a complete table of contents that in most part corresponds to the actual text of the codex.[23] It is introduced by a rectangular golden headpiece containing the words ΤΑΔΕ Ε[CΤ]ΙΝ ΕΝ ΤΗΔΕ ΤѠΝ ΠΑΡΑΛΛΗΛѠΝ ΒΙΒΛѠ ("These are in this book of parallels") and the first title of *stoicheion* Α, ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗC ΤΟV ΑΝ[ΘΡѠΠ]ΟV ΠΛΑCΕѠC ("On the creation of the human being"). The headpiece is outlined with a twisted-rope motif and lily-like flowers in the four corners and lateral sides.[24]

The miniatures that illustrate the text appear in the margins of the folios, and due to the trimming of the manuscript they have suffered some minimal losses.[25] According to Weitmann, 1,256 miniatures are author portraits and 402 are scenic illustrations, mostly of biblical subjects.[26] Wherever possible, the illustrator made the effort to paint the miniatures next to the passages they illustrate, or at least at approximately the same height on the page (when the relevant passage appears in the interior column of text, away from the illustrate margin). This spatial relationship helps the reader correlate word and image and appreciate the combined message of the two. Very often the authors look, turn or even gesture towards their respective texts, with palm outstretched or with the fingers configured in the so-called blessing gesture which is actually a sign of speech (Fig. 155). Such visual elements closely relate the authors with their texts, and therefore seem intended to emphasize their authorship and confirm the authenticity and validity of their quotations -an issue that must have been particularly important for the producers and users of this florilegium.[27] At the same time these portraits were probably intended as a gesture of honor and recognition towards the authors whose texts were deemed worthy enough to be included in this edifying compilation.

The rapid succession of excerpts from various textual sources within any single opening of the *Sacra Parallela* florilegium has resulted in the great variety of corresponding images: usually numerous author portraits next to their respective passages, interspersed with narrative miniatures wherever the

23 For a more detailed description, see ibid., pp. 3-7.

24 Ibid., p. 6.

25 Described in detail by ibid., p. 7. The style of the miniatures appears rather homogeneous and could be the work of one and the same individual.

26 Ibid., p. 11. See Evangelatou, "Sacra Parallela", pp. 180-1, investigating why the majority of narrative images related to non-biblical texts illustrate predominantly passages by John Chrysostom, Gregory of Nazianzus and Basil the Great. In fact, many of these images are also biblical in subject, due to themes discussed by the authors. Only five passages by other authors are illustrated with scenic images (Weitzmann, *Sacra Parallela*, p. 220, fig. 593; pp. 246-7, figs. 714-6; pp. 251-2, figs. 1, 730-1).

27 See Brubaker, *Vision and Meaning*, pp. 49-57.

excerpts refer to events or concepts that lend themselves to such visualization. Currently it is possible to appreciate the variety of the illustration and the brilliance of the gold leaf lavished on miniatures and titles by accessing the online digital reproduction of the entire codex (in full-page colour version) on the gallica site of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.[28] However, if one wants information on the content of the miniatures, the main available source proves rather hard to use: Kurt Weitzmann's 1979 monograph on the *Sacra Parallela* is the only comprehensive study of the manuscript up to now, but unfortunately doesn't discuss the miniatures in the order and the context they appear in the manuscript, but in the order Weitzmann thought they would have appeared in the numerous codices of biblical and patristic texts that in his opinion were used as models by the illustrator of the *Sacra Parallela*. In other words, Weitzmann undertook the extremely laborious task of identifying all the miniatures, but he also extracted them from their actual florilegium context and rearranged them so as to recreate the illustration of imaginary codices of an Octateuch, Kings and Chronicles, Psalter and Odes, Books of Wisdom, Prophets, Four Gospels, Acts of the Apostles, Epistles, as well as homiliaries and other books by various authors, which he believed were used to compile the illustration of the *Sacra Parallela*, very much in the way the relevant text excerpts were also compiled from such sources.[29]

In later years Weitzmann's approach was repeatedly questioned and recently a systematic study has proven that the Paris *Sacra Parallela* is an original creation in which the use of biblical and patristic illustrated codices as models seems to have been rather limited.[30] On the contrary, the majority of miniatures were created *ad hoc*, based on a careful reading of the corresponding textual excerpts and a clear intention to enhance their didactic function in the context of the florilegium titles under which they appear. Indeed, besides the fact that the availability of numerous richly illustrated codices of various texts to the miniaturist of the *Sacra Parallela* is highly unlikely,[31] the nature of the codex itself encourages such an *ad hoc* illustration, with only limited use of pre-existing models: firstly, the rapid succession of textual excerpts from nu-

28 <http://www.gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b525013124>.

29 For a discussion of Weitzmann's methodology in the cultural context of his time, especially in connection to literary criticism, see Dolezal, "Manuscript studies".

30 Evangelatou, "Sacra Parallela". See pp. 115-7 for a review of Weitzmann's methodology and the reception of his work, and pp. 151-90 for the possible limited use of biblical models by the *Sacra Parallela* miniaturist.

31 The point about the rarity and great variety of illustration of early biblical manuscripts, produced as special commissions for very few wealthy patrons of the time, is made clear by Lowden, "Beginnings of Biblical Illustration", esp. pp. 49-60.

merous sources on most pages of the florilegium means it is much easier to illustrate most passages directly on the basis of their content, visualizing the text through the use of a few basic stock iconographic types, rather than to search through numerous illustrated manuscripts of various sorts in order to find appropriate models. Secondly, many excerpted passages have a specific and incisive significance in the context of this florilegium, highlighting the message of the respective titles under which they appear, and therefore they inspire miniatures of equal specificity and poignancy in the *Sacra Parallela* context; on the contrary, in their original textual context the significance of such passages might have been limited or different and therefore might have inspired no illustration, or might have been rendered in miniatures of different character and iconographic details. For example, David's reaction after the death of his youngest son (bathing, worshipping God and eating, according to II Kings 12:20-23) is not particularly significant in the context of this biblical book, and was probably never illustrated in such a manuscript; but it is particularly powerful and evocative under the *Sacra Parallela* title "On the dead and on the bereaved, and that we must not grieve for those who have died", and this is why the miniaturist of *Par. gr. 923 chose to illustrate it.[32] Many more such cases have been noted in the scholarly literature.[33] In other instances the miniaturist emphasized the moral message of anthologized biblical episodes by depicting the most dramatic moments of those stories; thus he visually complemented excerpted passages which on their own do not directly refer to the most critical and well-known aspects of the narrative.[34]

In some cases the miniaturist further elaborated his creations in order to produce a subtle visual commentary that not simply highlights, but further amplifies and enhances the message of the illustrate text. Thus he provided veritable exegetical insights into the deeper moral meaning of the excerpted passages, or he visualized possible interpretations of the text that could have remained silent without the voice of the images.[35] An example of this kind will be discussed below in connection to monastic references.

A number of miniatures in the Paris *Sacra Parallela* demonstrate a particular interest in the values of monastic life and honour its practitioners. For example, the fifth most frequently represented author after Basil the Great, Gregory of Nazianzus, John Chrysostom and Philo is Nilus the Ascetic, who is

32 Fol. 203r. Weitzmann, *Sacra Parallela*, p. 85, figs. 134-6; Evangelatou, "Sacra Parallela", pp. 186-8.

33 See Evangelatou, "Sacra Parallela", e.g. pp. 134-8.

34 See ibid., pp. 139-43.

35 See Ibid., pp. 143-51, for a more detailed discussion of this issue.

depicted in 30 portraits as a monk, including one of him as an author writing at his desk (a rare occurrence among author portraits, it actually carries the vividness of a narrative scene).[36] Moreover, our *Sacra Parallela* contains the only Byzantine miniature known to illustrate one of the sayings of the desert fathers, that of Father Moses to Father Poimen concerning monastic virtues.[37] In addition, the portrait of the author of the *Sacra Parallela* florilegium, usually depicted in monastic attire, is represented next to the beginning of only six chapters (*stoicheia*), drawing attention to the first title that appears in each chapter. A probable explanation for this emphasis is that those specific titles held a particular importance for monks: they highlighted the significance of hard labour (a prominent feature of monastic life); obedience to God's will and dedication of one's life to him (two separate titles, that encapsulate the essence of monastic devotion); equality as the mother of brotherly love (an important value for the harmonious function of a monastic brotherhood); proper behaviour among young people (relevant to the integration of new monks into the community); and death as a result of sinful disobedience (relating to the contemplation of and preparation for death as a basic feature of monastic life).[38] The only author portrait in which the compiler is specifically identified as an abbot rather than just a monk (Fig. 155), appears next to the title on equality, and seems intended to underline fundamental concepts for the success of a monastic community, that are mentioned in the relevant excerpted passages: obeying the authorities, recognizing and rewarding virtue, striving to be just and equitable are values that both a shepherd and the members of his flock should uphold in order to achieve peaceful coexistence and moral growth. In addition the title introduces the value of *brotherly* love, a basic element of coenobitic monastic life.[39]

A similar reference to equality and harmonious co-existence in a monastic community, as well as to perpetual prayer (another basic feature of monastic life), are rather unexpectedly introduced through the visual representation of monks in the illustration of the title "on day and night", under which no excerpted texts make an actual references to monastic life (fol. 25r, Fig. 156).[40] Four almost identical monks pray under the moon and the sun (the latter now

36 According to Weitzmann's count, there are 123 portraits of Basil the Great, 110 of Gregory of Nazianzus, 74 of John Chrysostom, 70 of Philo, 30 of Nilus (even more than the 27 portraits of Gregory of Nyssa); see Weitzmann, *Sacra Parallela*, pp. 214-7, 231-4, 241-4, 252-4, 251-2, 236-7.

37 Fol. 237v. Ibid., p. 250, fig. 1; Martin, "Sayings of the Fathers", p. 293.

38 For a detailed discussion, see Evangelatou, "Sacra Parallela", pp. 119-25, figs. 1-6.

39 Fol. 208r. See also Ibid., pp. 121-2, fig. 4.

40 See ibid., p. 147, note 152.

flaked off), while below them a human couple mates in bed, wild animals hunt in the open and rest in a cave, and two farmers labour, oblivious of each other.[41] All the features of this composition, with the exception of the monks, illustrate the adjacent florilegium passages on the alternation of day and night and the relevant habits of humans and beasts. Contrary to their transient activities, the monks seem perpetually dedicated to prayer, and in their almost identical pose and clothing they form a holy community of friendship and brotherhood that is unlike the sensual embrace of the couple, the wild and unruly coexistence of predators in a pack, or the solitary labour of the farmers. It is most probable that the depiction of the monks was inspired by the reference of the adjacent passage to the "law of friendship and brotherhood" that the day and the night honour in the way God arranged for them to follow each other in regular intervals. The arrangement of the scenes below the monks might make further comments on human activities, from a specifically monastic perspective: the bed on which the amorous couple lies is literally attached to the space in which wild animals hunt and rest, possibly suggesting that sexual intercourse is an animalistic activity that monks should reject. On the contrary, the two farmers in the lower part of the page, juxtaposed to the monks on the top of the page, are clearly separated from the images in the middle, perhaps because they also exercise the virtue of hard labour that members of a monastic community should always practice.[42]

It is therefore possible that the abbot of a monastery commissioned this manuscript for the edification of his flock. Perhaps he even envisioned himself as a spiritual disciple of the venerable compiler of the florilegium, who was also depicted as an abbot extolling the values of equality and brotherly love (Fig. 155). It is probable that the codex was actually produced in that same or another monastery, illustrated by a miniaturist who was inspired by the spirit of his community and the interests of the commissioner and the intended audience.

Indeed, the creation of the Paris *Sacra Parallela* in a monastic setting has been already proposed in past scholarship,[43] but the specific provenance of the manuscript remains elusive.[44] If this codex was indeed created in Con-

41 Fol. 25r. Discussed in more detail in ibid., pp. 146-7.

42 Admonitions similar to this composition's (such as the importance of continuous prayer and the danger of carnal temptation) are also visualized in the miniature that illustrates the saying of Father Moses, mentioned above.

43 See, for example, Carr, "Review of *Sacra Parallela*", p. 148. For the major role of monasteries in the production of Byzantine codices see Wilson, "Books and Readers", p. 9.

44 See the references in note 57 below.

stantinople after 843, as some have suggested,[45] then an obvious candidate for its production seems to be the Studios monastery,[46] which housed a renowned scriptorium.[47] However, specific features of our manuscript's illustration make this attribution rather improbable. Firstly, nudity, including voluptuous female bodies and explicit depictions of sexual intercourse and female genitalia, appear in a number of miniatures, even though the relevant text doesn't necessarily require them.[48] This renders them incompatible with the very strict standards of monastic life established by Theodore the Studite (such as prohibition of any female presence and association, including that of female animals, within and without the walls of the monastery).[49]

Secondly, and more importantly, there are two conspicuous elements in the *Sacra Parallela* illustration that totally disregard basic arguments of iconophile theology and would have been rather unlikely features in the visual production of a stronghold of iconophile Orthodoxy like the Studios monastery: the first element is the almost complete lack of inscriptions for the hundreds of holy figures, many of which are often hard to identify, either because they don't always appear next to the relevant excerpted passages, or they don't have a consistent iconographic type.[50] This would have been considered highly problematic by militant iconophiles who often mentioned inscriptions as a basic tool in the correct identification of saints, so that their images can function as an appropriate vehicle for their veneration.[51] Even more unorthodox is the depiction of God the Father next to God the Son in the representation of a

45 For example, Cormack and Brubaker (see the specific references in Brubaker/Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era*, p. 49, notes 68-9). Also Corrigan, *Visual Polemics*, p. 110, n. 35.

46 This seems to be implied in Bernabò, "L'illustrazione del salmo 105 [106] a Bisanzio", pp. 108-9, note. 65. Later, in Bernabò, *Libro di Giobbe*, pp. 154-5, the author considers a Roman attribution for *Par. gr. 923 a possibility.

47 On which, see Hutter, "Theodoros βιβλιογράφος", pp. 177-209 with references to previous literature.

48 See Weitzmann, *Sacra Parallela*, figs. 78, 131, 134, 393. On fol. 25r discussed above, the text mentions humans resting but the miniature shows a couple mating, with the woman's lower body exposed and her genitalia in full view (Fig. 156).

49 See Thomas/Constantinides Hero, *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, vol. 1, pp. 77-8, canons 5, 9, 15-7.

50 Portraits of different people often look alike (e.g. Isaiah and Jeremiah), and portraits of the same people often look different (e.g. two different portrait types for Clement of Alexandria and Evagrios; Weitzmann, *Sacra Parallela*, figs 356-67, 594-9, 633-8). See also Lowden, *Illuminated Prophet Books*, pp. 57-8, figs. 101-6 (three different portrait types for Hosea and at least two for Obadiah).

51 See Parry, *Depicting the Word*, pp. 22-33; Corrigan, *Visual Polemics*, pp. 117-8.

divine vision witnessed by a man (Fig. 157).[52] This contradicts one of the most basic iconophile arguments according to which only the Logos incarnate can be depicted in images (exactly because he assumed human flesh), but God the Father remains invisible to human eyes.[53] The above features seem rather incompatible with the hypothesis that such an expensive illustrated codex would have been produced in Constantinople, the centre of iconophile resistance. In the aftermath of the iconoclast crisis, any producer of a major illustrated manuscript in the Byzantine capital would have been at least mindful of main iconophile arguments, if not programmatically promoting them.[54]

In addition, the iconographic and stylistic arguments put forward in support of a Constantinopolitan origin for the *Sacra Parallela* are not compelling. As far as iconography is concerned, there are in fact important differences in miniatures that appear both in the *Sacra Parallela* and in *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 510;[55] and any similarities can be usually explained as iconographic topoi or features easily inspired by the illustrated text, without the need to resort to common visual models.[56] Moreover, the stylistic comparisons between the *Sacra Parallela* and the visual production of Rome are more convincing than those relating to the Constantinopolitan *Par. gr. 510, not only in terms of stronger visual analogies, but also because the Roman evidence includes monumental paintings that provide a safe argument in the localization of the style.[57] Finally, the low quality of parchment used for an expensive

52 Fol. 40r (Weitzmann, *Sacra Parallela*, p. 190; Evangelatou, "Sacra Parallela", pp. 195-6, note 353 for further literature): a man looks up towards a mandorla enclosing an enthroned God the Father (old white hair and beard, plain halo), next to whom stands Christ with his typical cruciform halo. The image corresponds to two compiled passages, the vision of Stephen the Protomartyr (Acts 7:55-6) and an excerpt of St. Basil's homily *On Faith* on the differences and similarities between the Father and the Son. See Tsuji, "Paris gr. 74", pp. 83-4: this miniature depicts the two different persons of the Trinity, and not Christ as Pantokrator and as Ancient of Days (the pre-eternal Logos who has a cruciform halo, unlike the white-haired figure in our miniature).

53 See, for example, Parry, *Depicting the Word*, pp. 70-80. Even if the miniaturist didn't intend to represent the Father, but the Ancient of Days as pre-eternal Logos, one would expect that in a militant iconophile setting he would have made sure to emphasize the orthodoxy of his image by using a cruciform halo on this figure, in order not to leave any doubts about its identity.

54 Like the makers of the marginal psalters (Corrigan, *Visual Polemics*) or of *Par. gr. 510 attributed to the patronage of Photios (Brubaker, *Vision and Meaning*, pp. 281-307).

55 On this manuscript, see chapter 24.

56 See Evangelatou, "Sacra Parallela", pp. 165, 167, 181-3.

57 For a systematic and convincing stylistic comparison with Roman monuments, see Oretskaia, "A Stylistic Tendency", esp. pp. 11-4. For a less convincing comparison between the

manuscript such as the *Sacra Parallela* also points away from Constantinople, where higher meat consumption and commercial activity resulted in higher availability of top quality parchment for costly productions.[58]

In conclusion, perhaps the most probable location for the production of our codex was a Greek monastery in Italy, possibly Rome, in the first half or around the middle of the 9th century:[59] a cultural environment that was orthodox and iconophile in the sense that images were revered, but was distant from the heat of the iconoclastic crisis and therefore was not militantly and polemically iconophile and with extensive and in-depth interest in relevant theological arguments, as one would expect in a Constantinopolitan setting.

The Paris *Sacra Parallela* is an exceptional codex in which the profusion, content and precious material of the miniatures aim to honour the excerpted venerable texts and their authors and to highlight their important moral messages, a goal that would have been relevant in any Christian context. But perhaps it is not a coincidence that such a textual and visual thesaurus of Greek sources anthologized in order to offer a major contribution to Christian devotion might have been produced in a Greek monastery located in a non-Greek territory of the Christian world: in addition to creating a highly edifying book valuable to any Christian who could read Greek, this codex could have been a testament and statement of cultural affiliations, fundamental in the construction and promotion of cultural identity and pride among the Greek-speaking monks of a Roman monastery. Its texts and images preserved, honored and advanced the rich tradition of theological and didactic works that were written in Greek and had a fundamental role in the development and practice of Christianity (from the Septuagint translation of the Old Testament to the original word of the New Testament, and from the Greek texts produced by Jewish

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Sacra Parallela and three miniatures of the Constantinopolitan *Par. gr. 510 (fols. 32v, 69v, 440r), see Brubaker, *Vision and Meaning*, pp. 112-3. Further literature on the provenance of the *Sacra Parallela*: On paleographic grounds: Jaeger, "Greek Uncial Fragments", pp. 101-2, attributes *Par. gr. 923 to Constantinople; Cavallo, "Funzione e strutture", pp. 101-2, and id., "La cultura italo-greca", pp. 506-8, attributes it to Italy, probably a scriptorium in Rome. On stylistic grounds: Grabar, *Les manuscrits grecs enluminés*, pp. 22-4, attributes it to Italy; and Weitzmann, *Sacra Parallela*, pp. 15-20, attributes it to Palestine (Carr, "Review of *Sacra Parallela*", p. 151, supports Grabar). Bernabò, *Libro di Giobbe,* pp. 154-5, considers the question of provenance open.

58 The low quality of the *Sacra Parallela* parchment has been often mentioned as an indication of "provincial" production, Carr, "Review of *Sacra Parallela*", p. 150. See Wilson, "Books and Readers", pp. 2-4, for the high cost of parchment and other information, including problems of shortage.

59 On the Greek monks of Rome, see Sansterre, *Les moines grecs et orientaux à Rome*.

authors like Philo and Josephus to the treasures of patristic literature composed in the Eastern Mediterranean). Certainly the main inspiration behind the sophisticated relationship of word and image in the Paris *Sacra Parallela* was the production of a powerful didactic tool that could be used both for personal study and for spiritual guidance within a community; but a powerful reference to cultural identity should not be overlooked. Both these functions (didactic and cultural) would have been activated in a personal reading of the codex by individual monks, but we can imagine that their impact would have been significantly amplified if the manuscript was read to the entire congregation, for example during meals in the refectory. There the monks would have experienced the values of brotherly love, equality and virtuous community (clearly emphasized in the illustration of the codex), in terms of both the activity of communal eating and the content of the reading: namely, the moral message *and* the Greek language of the excerpted passages, produced by authors who in themselves formed an ideal community of Christian and Greek-speaking luminaries. And even if from the distance of their tables the monks could not appreciate the edifying role of the miniatures that in other times they could explore in person, perhaps they could still catch glimpses of the shinning gold leaf lavished on its images and titles: a vivid visualization of the high literal and spiritual value of this treasury of Greek texts anthologized to serve Christian faith.

CHAPTER 30

The *Dogmatic Panoply*

Georgi R. Parpulov

The *Dogmatic Panoply* (Πανοπλία δογματική) is a compilation of anti-heretical texts put together by the monk Euthymios Zigabenos at the behest (ἐξ ἐπιταγῆς)[1] of Emperor Alexios I (r. 1081-1118).[2] Its exact date of composition is unknown but must fall shortly after 1099.[3]

Over 70 manuscript copies of the work survive.[4] In two (designated here *M* and *V*), the text is preceded by figural miniatures.[5]

The two sets of images differ in manner of execution (and are therefore not the work of one and the same painter), but in each case depict, on three consecutive pages, the same figures.[6] First a group of Church fathers stand slightly turned to the side, each holding a scroll. Then Alexios I, also standing, faces them and waits with covered hands to receive the scrolls, while Christ blesses him from heaven (Fig. 158). Finally the emperor presents to an enthroned Christ an open volume – evidently the *Dogmatic Panoply* compiled from the fathers' writings. The *Panoply*'s text begins on the opposite page.

The first of these pictures is a collective author portrait, where each of the figures is identified by name: SS. John of Damascus, Maximos the Confessor, John Chrysostom, Cyril of Alexandria, Gregory of Nazianzus, Gregory of Nyssa, Basil the Great, Athanasios of Alexandria, and Dionysios the Areopagite (arranged in chronological order, with those who lived earlier standing closer to the right). The second and third images are donor portraits of the *Panoply*'s commissioner (Euthymios, its editor, remains behind the scene).

All three images are accompanied by versified captions: the first spoken (as if) by the portrayed church fathers, the second, by the emperor, the third, by

1 Anna Comnena, *Alexias,* XV.9,1.

2 Greek text: *PG*, vol. 130. English summary: Miladinova*, The* Panoplia Dogmatike, pp. 22-8. Commentary: Rigo, "Panoplie dogmatique".

3 Parpulov, "*Panoplia Dogmatica*", pp. 124-5.

4 Partially listed in Papabasileiou, *Εὐθύμιος-Ἰωάννης Ζυγαδηνός*, pp. 59-76.

5 Moscow, State Historical Museum, Synod. gr. 387 (*M*), fols. 5v-6v; *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 666 (*V*), fols. 1v-2v.

6 Colour photographs: Fonkič/Popov/Evseeva, *Mount Athos Treasures in Russia*, cat. ii.13; Gentile, *Oriente cristiano e santità*, cat. 24. Description of the miniatures: Spatharakis, *Portrait*, pp. 122-9.

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Christ.[7] The same poems are repeated in both *M* and *V*; marginal headings in *M* identify their author as "Pamphilos".[8] He is doubtless George Pamphilos, a scribe who signed his name at the end of *M*[9] and of yet another copy of the *Dogmatic Panoply*.[10] Ironically, a man of this name was investigated for heresy in 1140.[11] He may be identical with the *proedros* (imperial official) George Pamphilos named on a middle-Byzantine lead seal.[12] The handwriting in *v* (which contains no scribal colophon) is certainly not his.[13]

In the verses accompanying the third miniature in *M* and *V*, Christ urges Alexios I with the words: "My all-mighty hand sustains you. Strive on [and] reign, living forever!"[14] Since such encouragement can only be addressed to a living monarch, both manuscripts must date from the emperor's lifetime. They are very unlikely to have been made for his personal use: he would not have needed two identical copies of a single work, and the frontispiece miniatures represent him not as the owner of the book (which he is handing over to Christ) but as patron of the text that it contains. *M* and *V*, therefore, must have been "first-edition" copies of the *Dogmatic Panoply*, produced, like the *Panoply* itself, under imperial auspices. They may well be the surviving remains from a larger group of identically illustrated manuscripts commissioned all at the same time as an official publication of Zigabenos's work.

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7 Greek text and English translation: Spatharakis, *Portrait*, pp. 123, 125-6. Commentary: Hörandner, "Zur Topik", pp. 319-36, esp. 325-7.

8 Moscow, Synod. gr. 387, fol. 5r, in margin: τοῦ Παμφίλου. Ibid., fol. 6r, in margin: τοῦ αὐτοῦ.

9 Moscow, Synod. gr. 387, fol. 429r: Χειρῶν πόνημα Παμφίλου Γεωργίου.

10 Athos, Vatopedi Monastery, cod. 162, fol. 444r: Τῷ συντελεστῇ τῶν καλῶν Θεῷ χάρις. Πόνημα χειρῶν Παμφίλου Γεωργίου. This manuscript is now defective at the beginning; it may once have contained frontispiece miniatures like those in *M* and *V*.

11 Gouillard, "Quatre procès de mystiques", 29, 58-9, 66-7.

12 Jeffreys, *Prosopography of the Byzantine World*, no. 159544.

13 Sample of the handwriting: Anderson, "The Illustrated Sermons", fig. 13.

14 Moscow, Synod. gr. 387, fol. 6v and *Vat. gr. 666, fol. 2v: Ἡ παγκρατής μου δεξία σε κρατύνει. Ἔντεινε, βασίλευε, ζῶν αἰωνίως.

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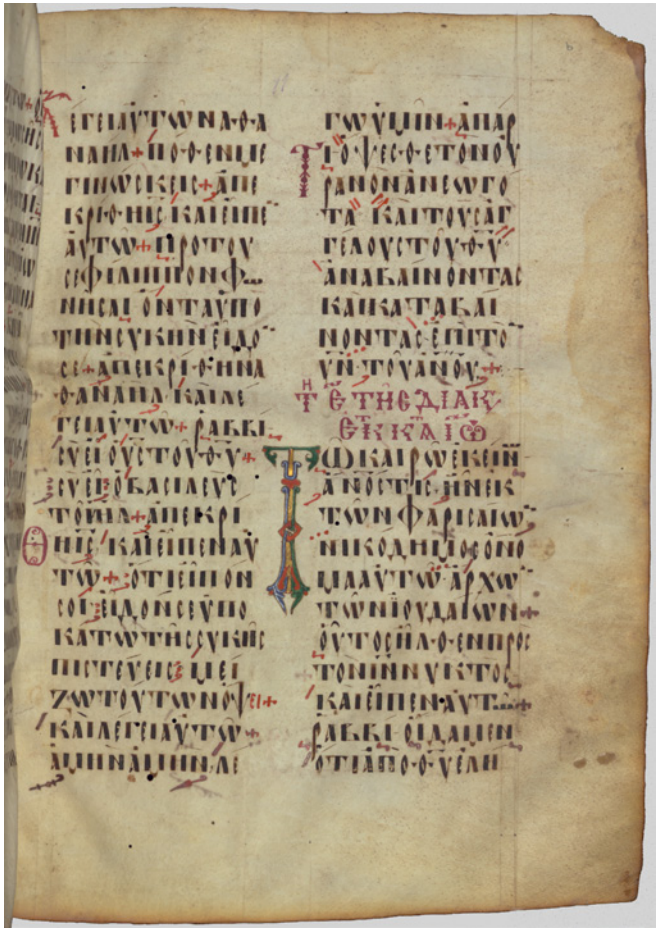

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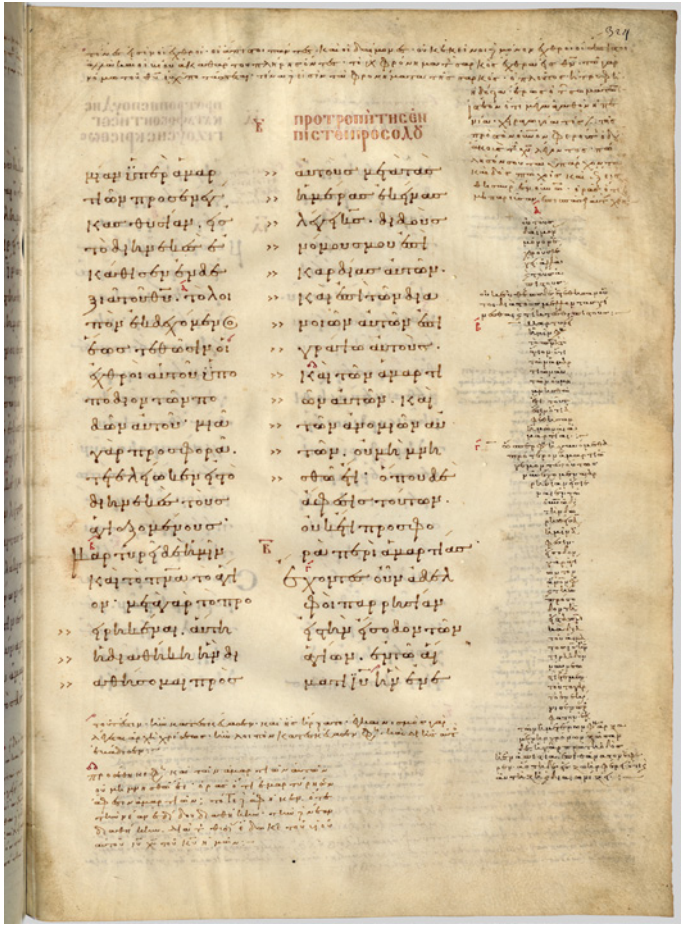

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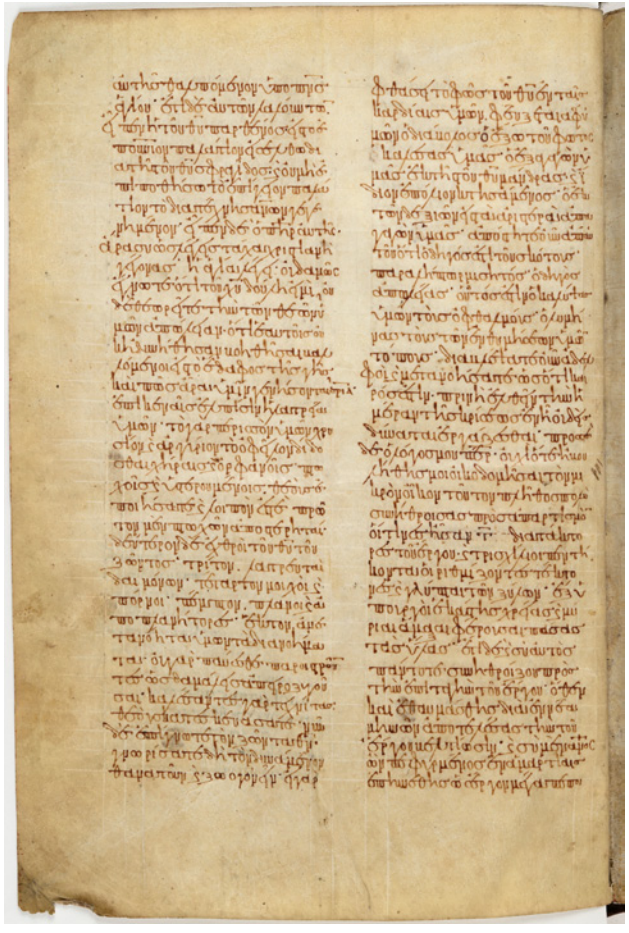

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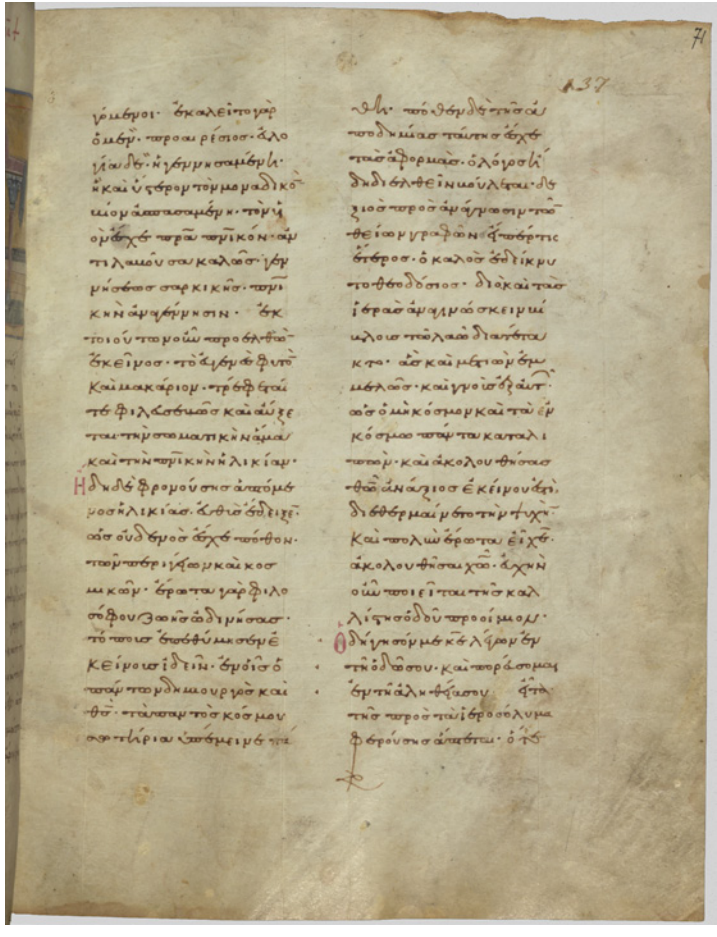

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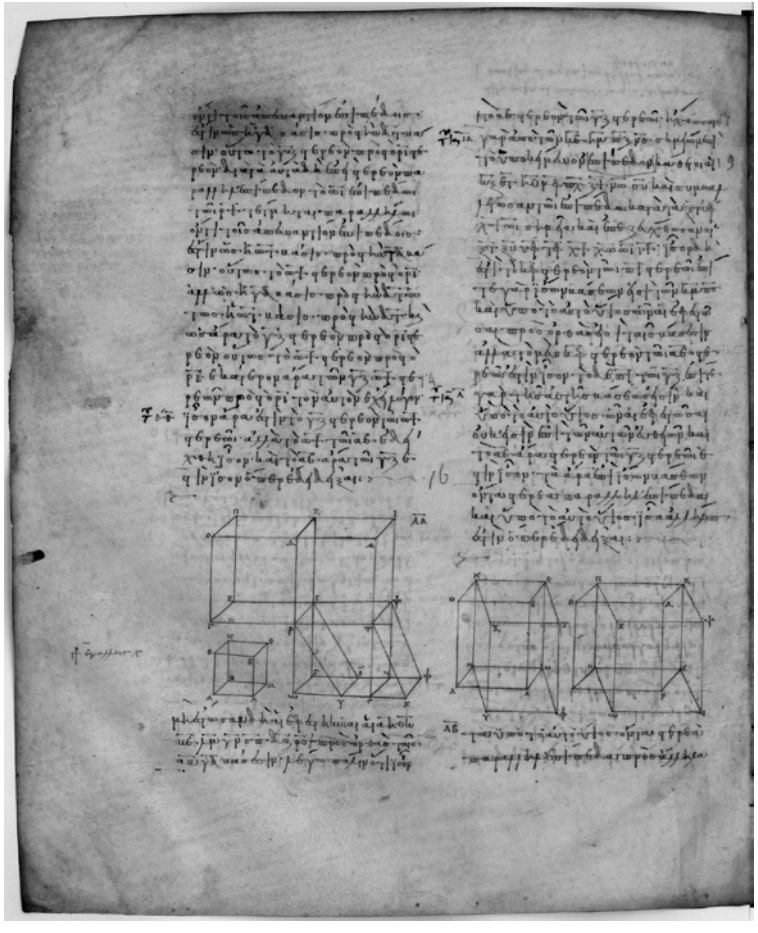

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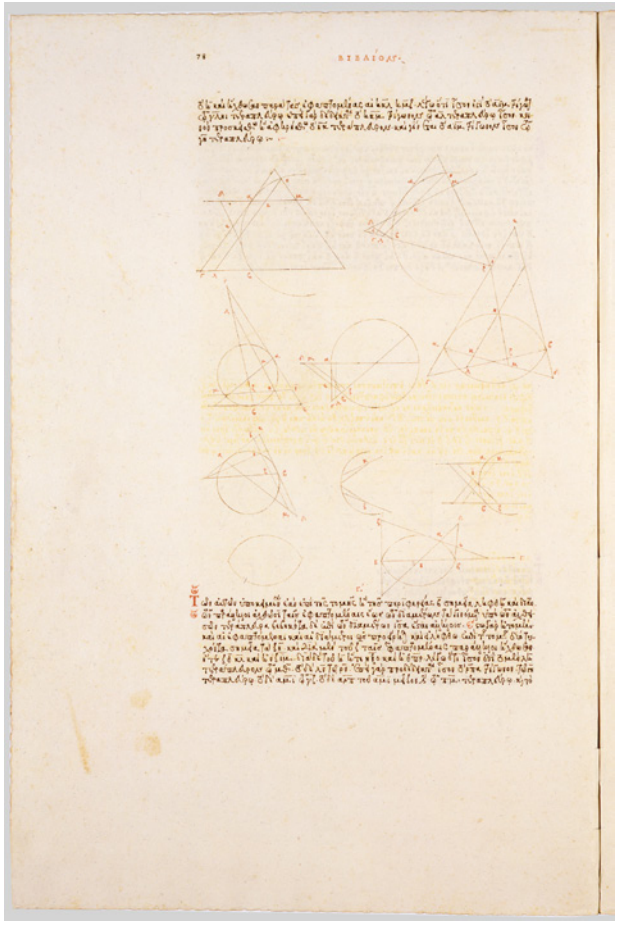

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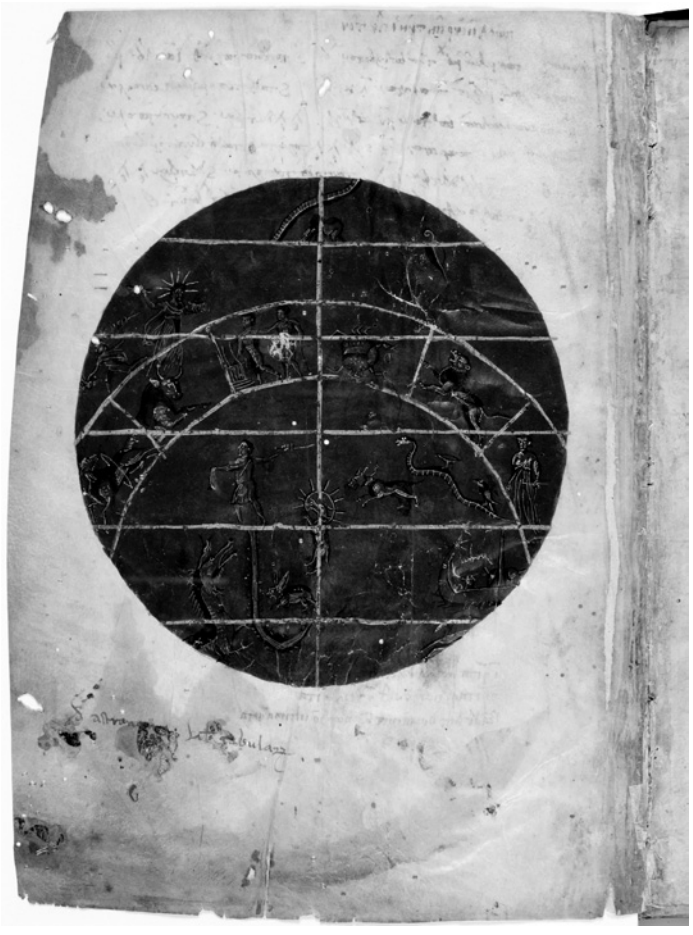

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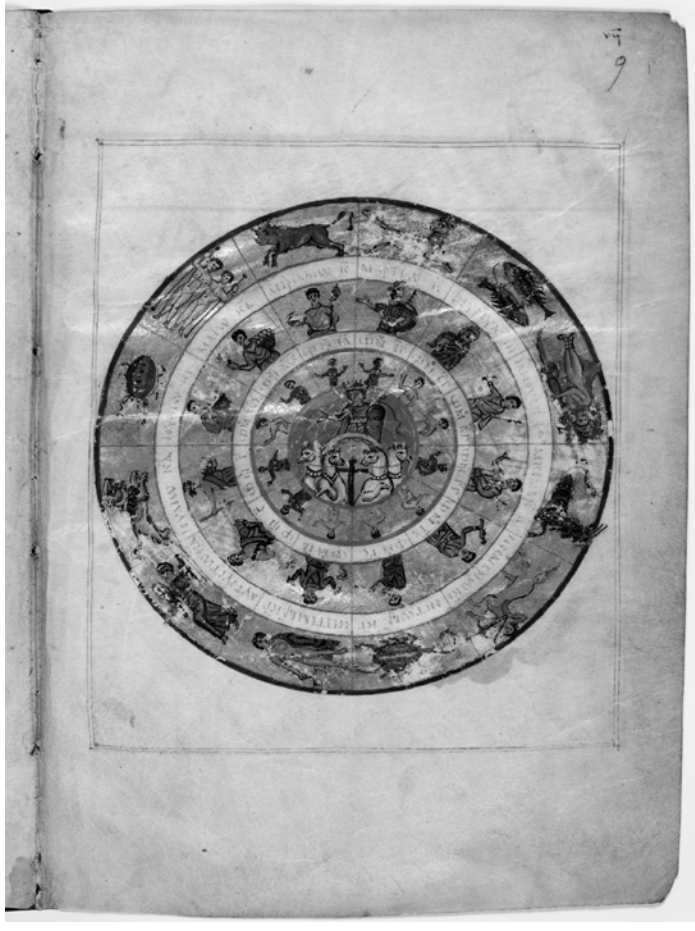

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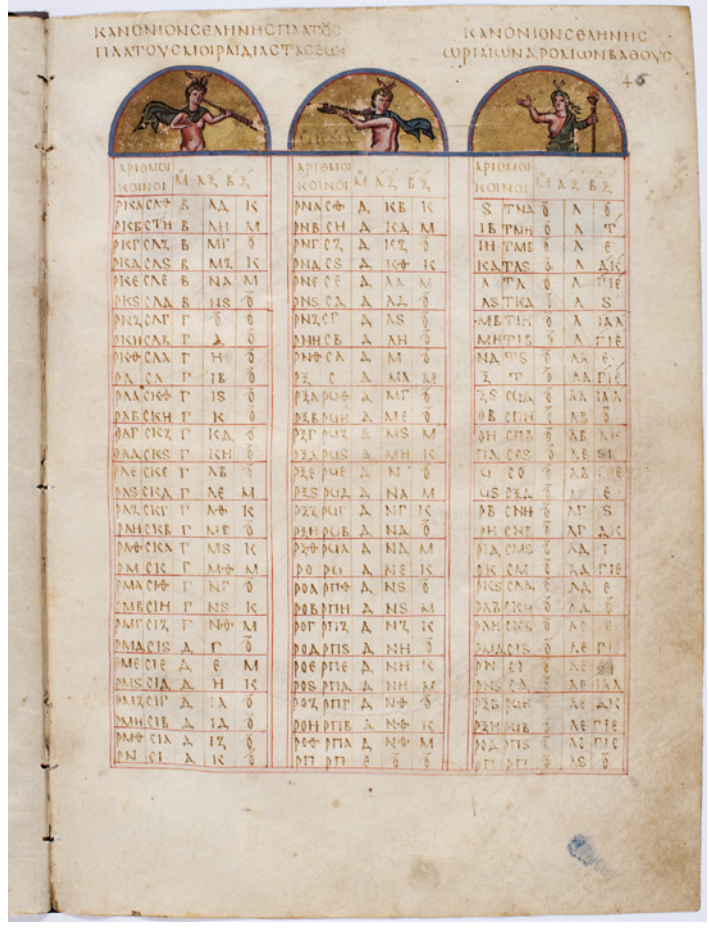

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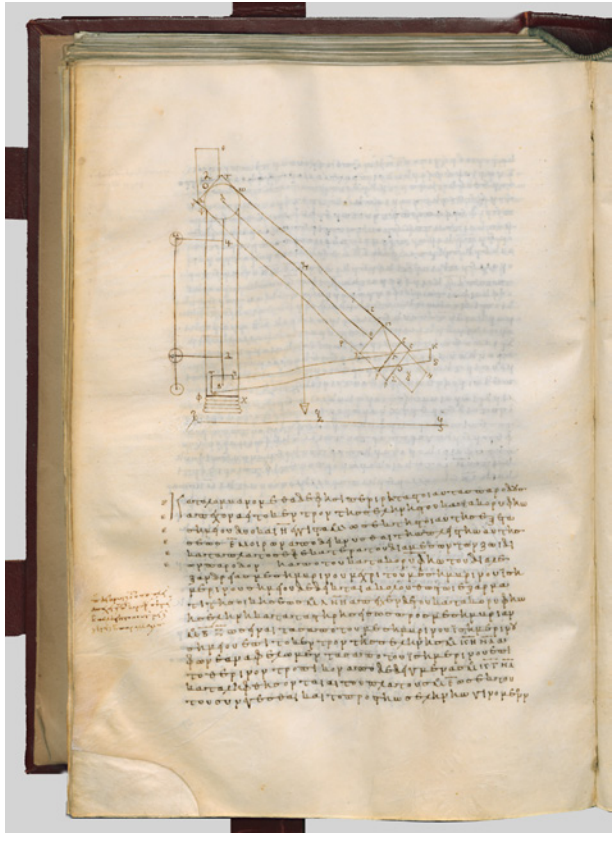

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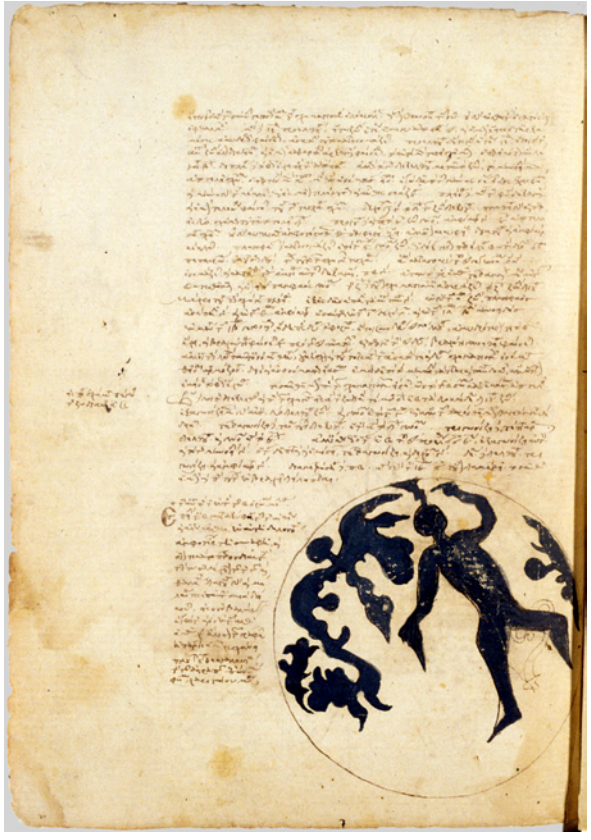

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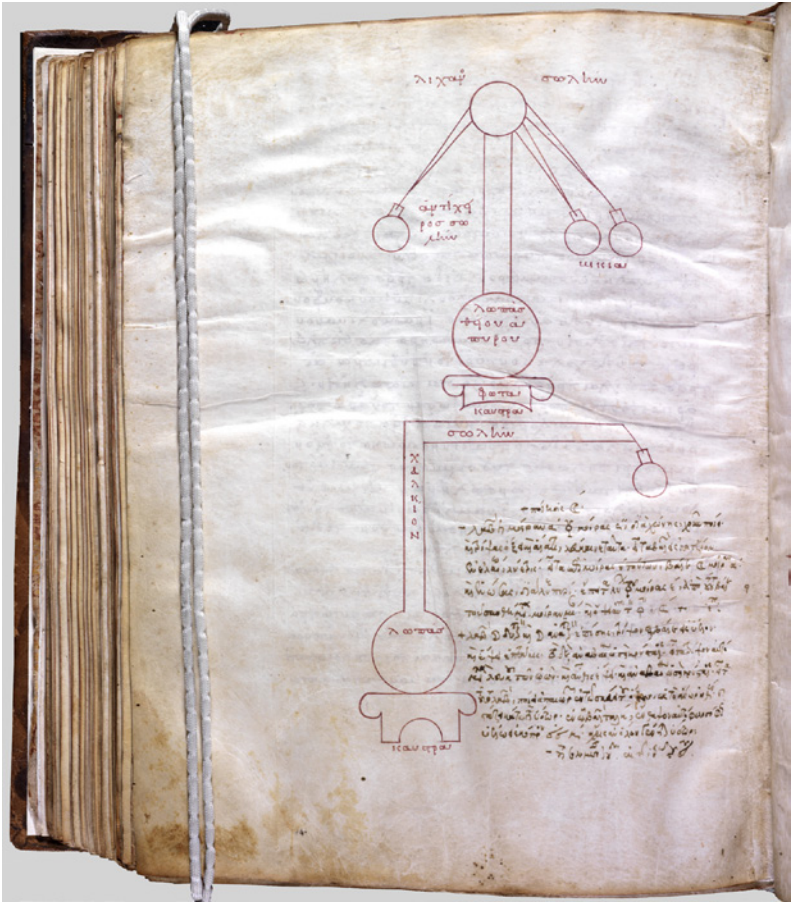

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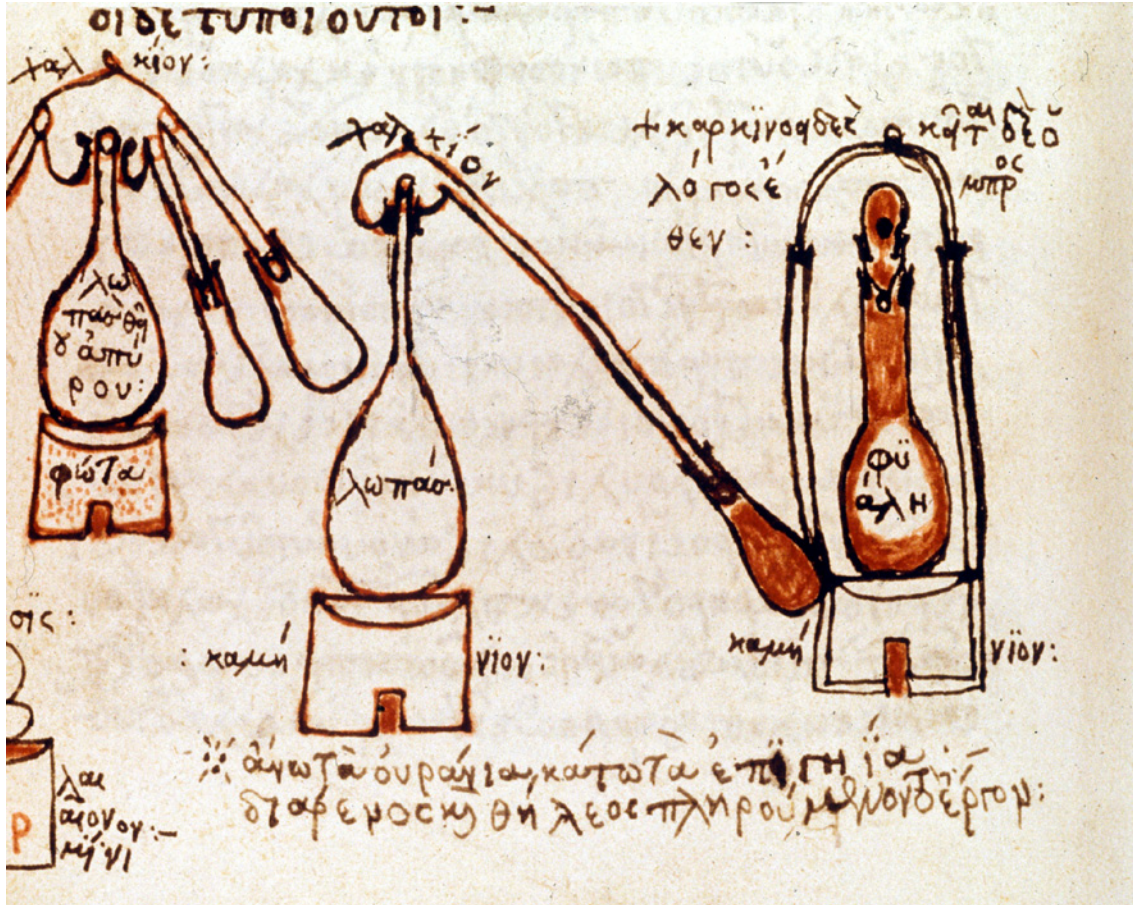

FIGURE 19 **Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 2327, fol. 8rv.* PHOTO: BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE, PARIS, BY PERMISSION.

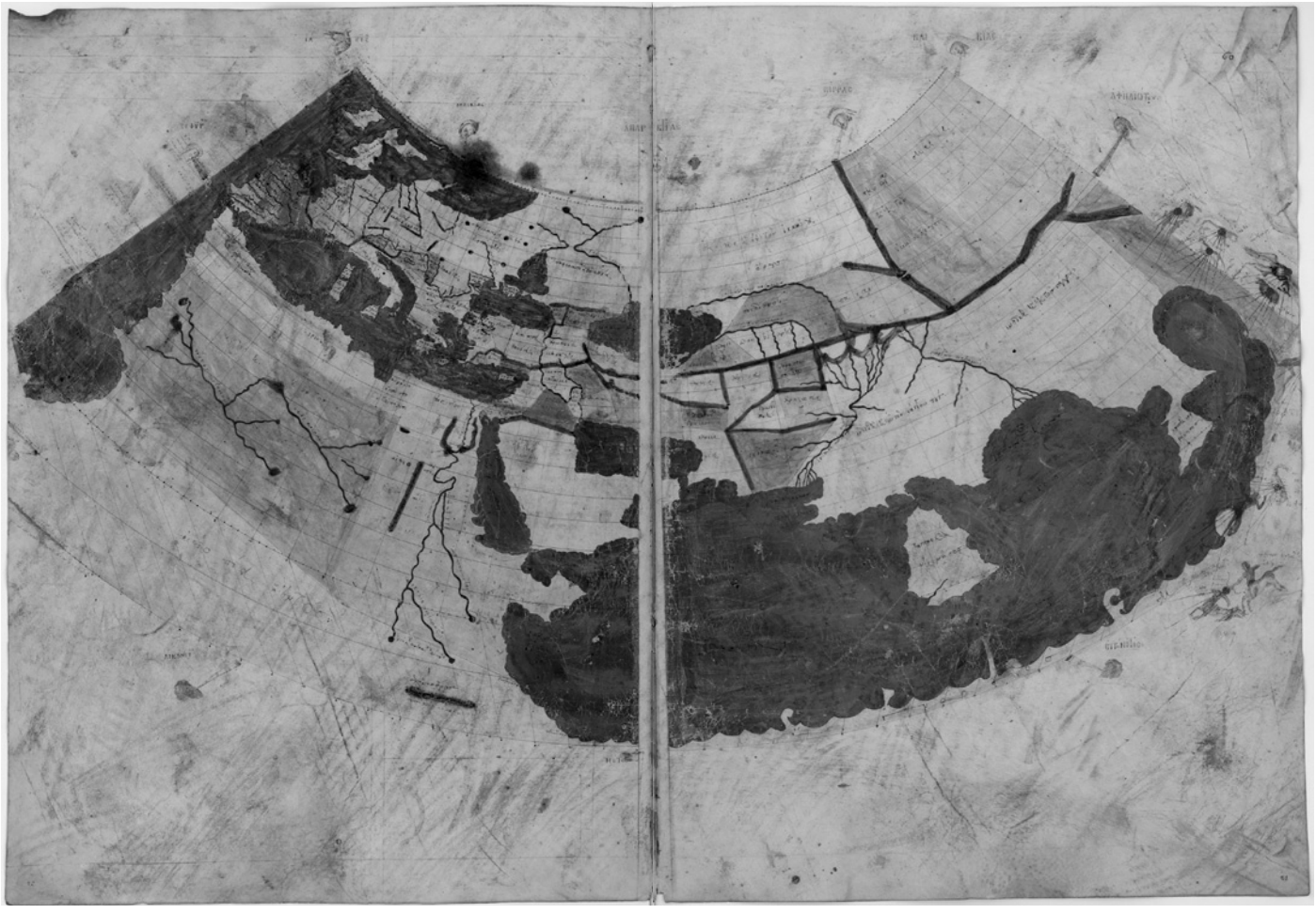

FIGURE 20 **Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Urb. gr. 82, fols. 6ov-6ır.* PHOTO: © [2016] BIBLIOTECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA, BY PERMISSION, WITH ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.

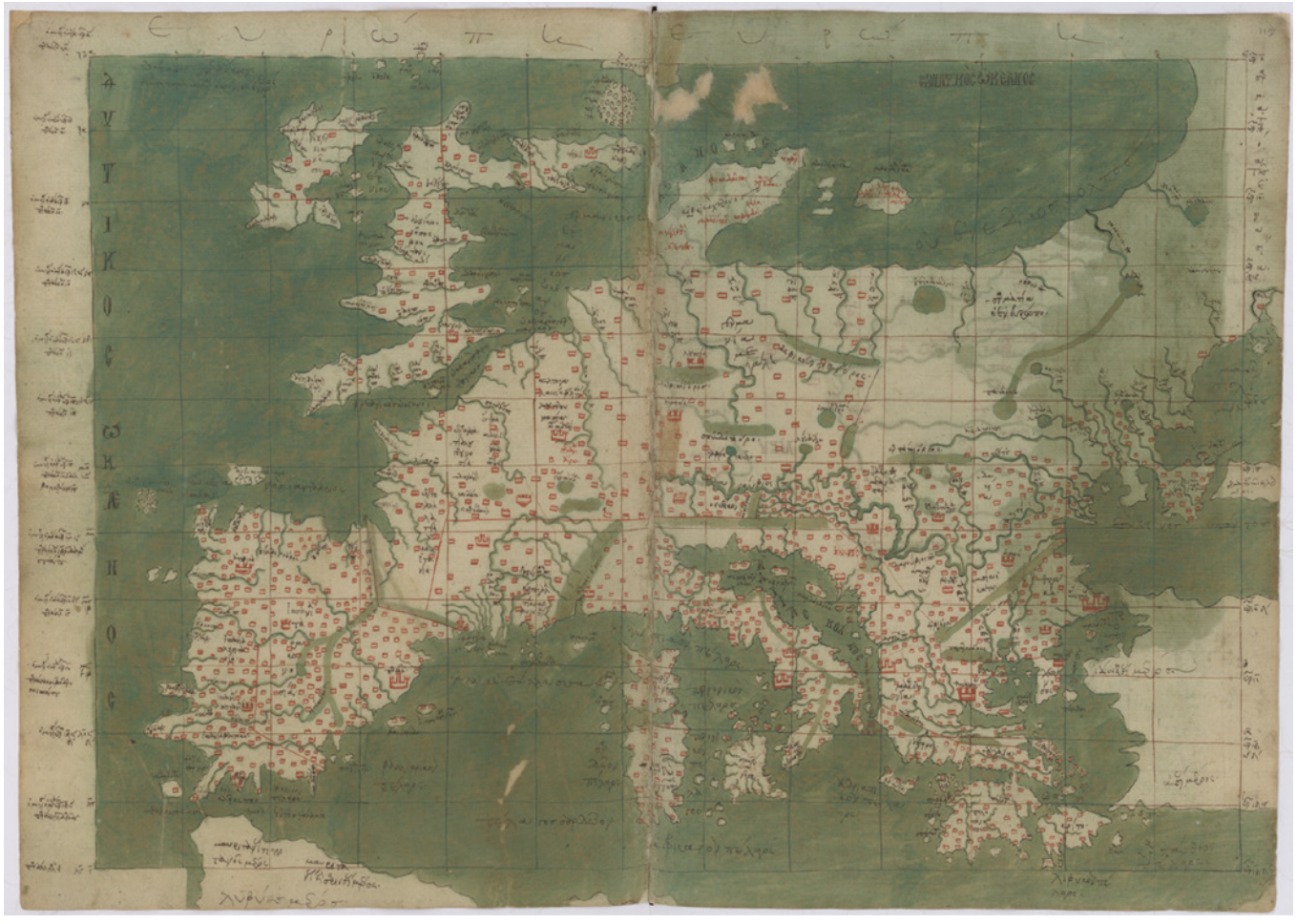

FIGURE 21 **Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Urb. gr. 83, fols. 112v-113r.* PHOTO: © [2016] BIBLIOTECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA, BY PERMISSION, WITH ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.

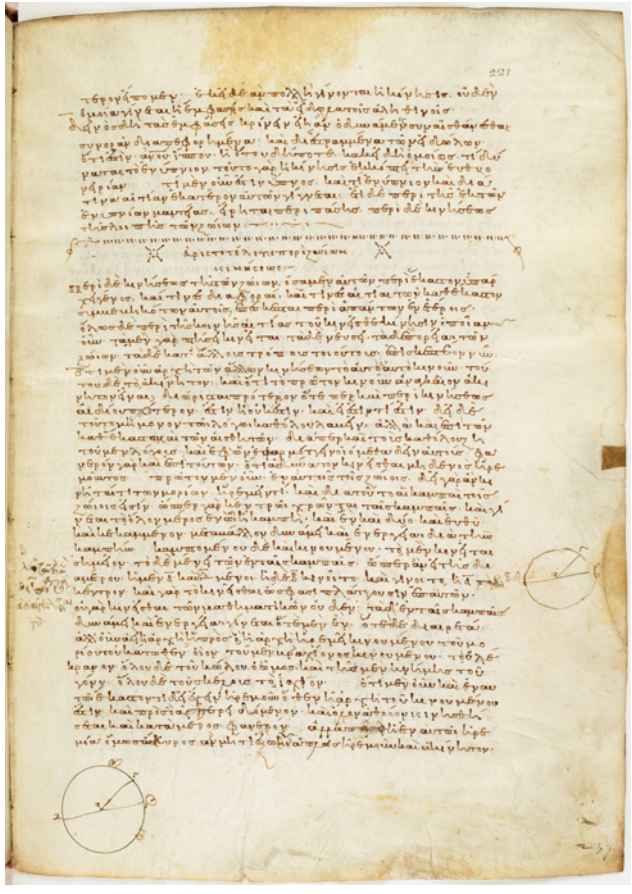

FIGURE 22 *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par.gr. 1853, fol. 221r.* PHOTO: BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE, PARIS, BY PERMISSION.

FIGURE 23 *Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vind. med. gr. 1, fol. 483v.* PHOTO: ÖSTERREICHISCHE NATIONALBIBLIOTHEK, VIENNA, BY PERMISSION.

FIGURE 24 *Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Marc. gr. Z. 479, fol. 2r.* PHOTO: BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE MARCIANA, SU CONCESSIONE DEL MINISTERO DEI BENI E DELLE ATTIVITÀ CULTURALI E DEL TURISMO – BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE MARCIANA. DIVIETO DI RIPRODUZIONE.

FIGURE 25 **Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Laur. Plut. 74.7, fol. 211v.* PHOTO: FLORENCE, THE BIBLIOTECA MEDICEA LAURENZIANA, MS. PLUT. 74.7, FOL. 211V. REPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION OF MIBACT. FURTHER REPRODUCTION BY ANY MEANS IS PROHIBITED.

FIGURE 26 *Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, BU gr. 3632, fol. 385r.* PHOTO: BIBLIOTECA UNIVERSITARIA, SU CONCESSIONE DEL MINISTERO DEI BENI E DELLE ATTIVITÀ CULTURALI E DEL TURISMO.

FIGURE 27 *a-b. *London, Wellcome Library, MS 5753, recto & verso.* PHOTO: WELLCOME LIBRARY, LONDON, PUBLIC DOMAIN.

FIGURE 28 *Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vind. med. gr. 1, fol. 148v.* PHOTO: ÖSTERREICHISCHE NATIONALBIBLIOTHEK, VIENNA, BY PERMISSION.

FIGURE 29 **Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. suppl. gr. 247, fol. 2v.* PHOTO: BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE, PARIS, BY PERMISSION.

FIGURE 30 *Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vind. med. gr. 1, fol. 41r.* PHOTO: ÖSTERREICHISCHE NATIONALBIBLIOTHEK, VIENNA, BY PERMISSION.

FIGURE 31 *Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vind. med. gr. 1, fol. 39tv.* PHOTO: ÖSTERREICHISCHE NATIONALBIBLIOTHEK, VIENNA, BY PERMISSION.

FIGURE 32 *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 2243, fol. 10v.* PHOTO: BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE, PARIS, BY PERMISSION.

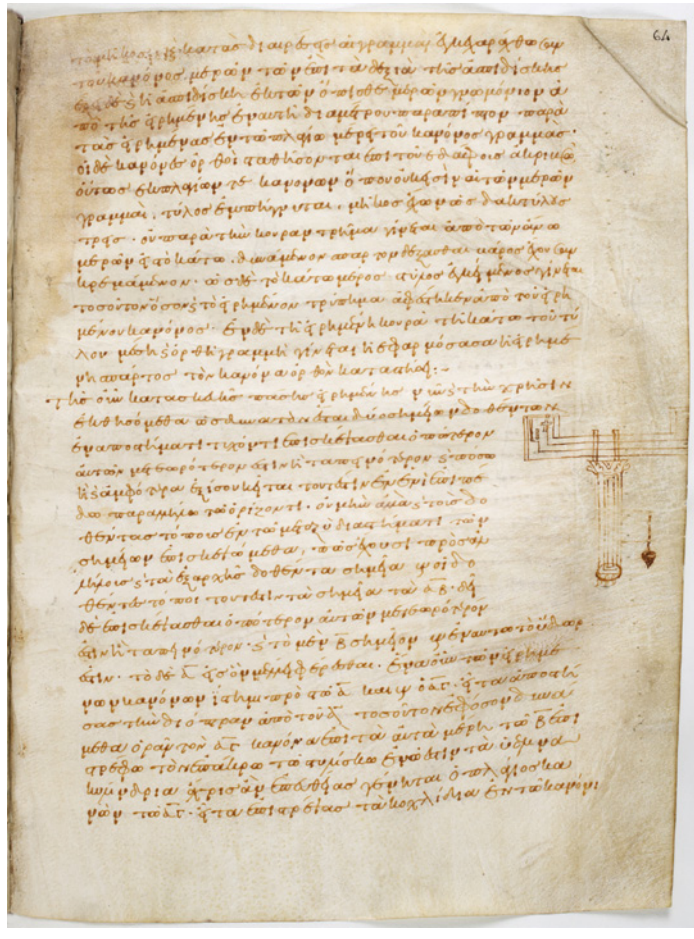

FIGURE 33 **Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. suppl. gr. 607, fol. 64r.* PHOTO: BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE, PARIS, BY PERMISSION.

FIGURE 34 *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 2428, fol. 16v.* PHOTO: BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE, PARIS, BY PERMISSION.

FIGURE 35 **Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1605, fol. 8r.* PHOTO: © [2016] BIBLIOTECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA, BY PERMISSION, WITH ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.

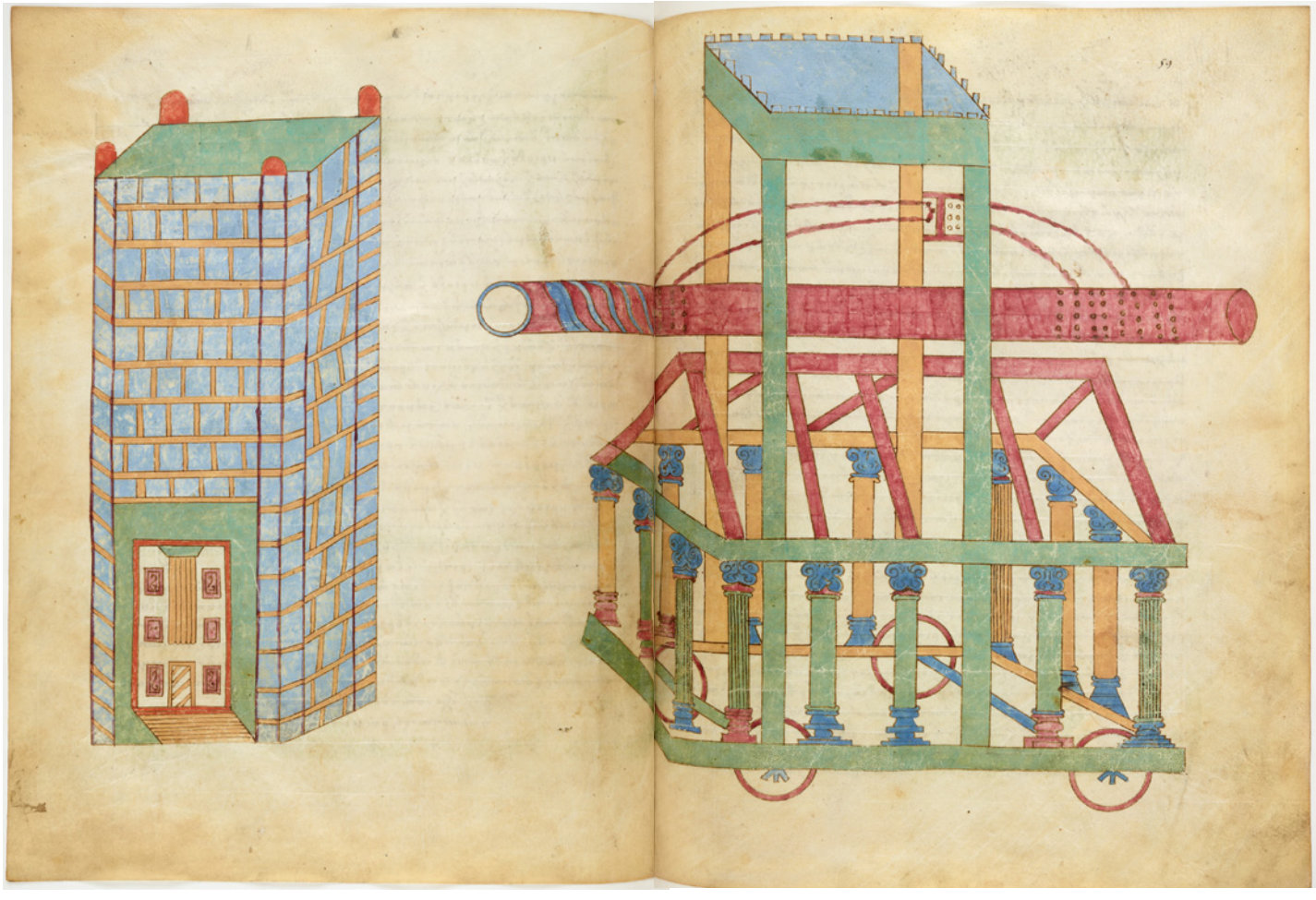

FIGURE 36 *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 2442, fols. 58v-59r.* PHOTO: BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE, PARIS, BY PERMISSION.

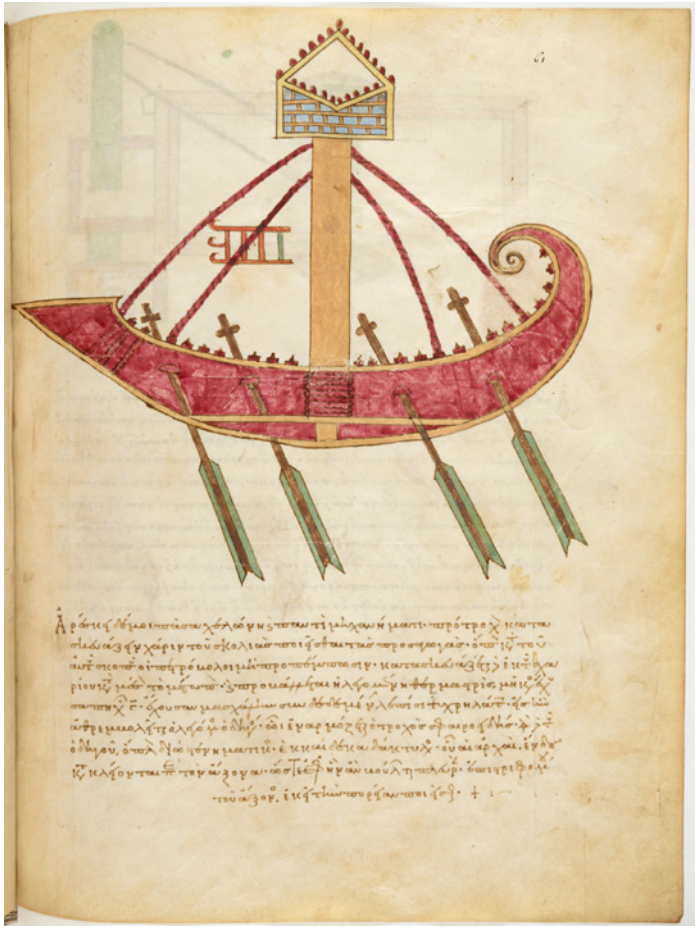

FIGURE 37 *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 2442, fol. 61r.* PHOTO: BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE, PARIS, BY PERMISSION.

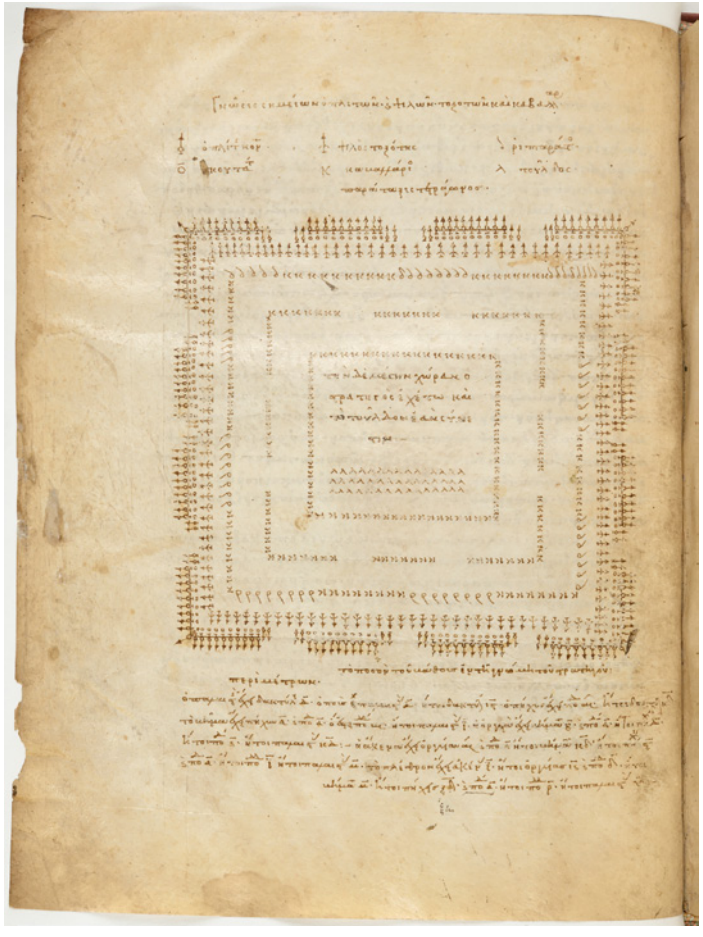

FIGURE 38 *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 2442, fol. 23v.* PHOTO: BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE, PARIS, BY PERMISSION.

FIGURE 39 **Moscow, The Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, inv. Goleniščev 310, fol. VI.* PHOTO: THE PUSHKIN STATE MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, MOSCOW, BY PERMISSION.

FIGURE 40 **Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Vitr. 26-2, fol. 131r.* PHOTO: BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE ESPAÑA, MADRID, BY PERMISSION.

FIGURE 41 *Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vind. hist. gr. 53, fol. Iv.*
PHOTO: ÖSTERREICHISCHE NATIONALBIBLIOTHEK, VIENNA, BY PERMISSION.

FIGURE 42 *Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, gr. 442, fols. 6v-7r.* PHOTO: BAYERISCHE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK MÜNCHEN, BY PERMISSION.

FIGURE 43 *Moscow, Russian State Library, F. 173 I, no. 100, fol. 253v.* PHOTO: RUSSIAN STATE LIBRARY, MOSCOW, BY PERMISSION.

FIGURE 44 *Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, α. S. 5. 05, fol. 59v.* PHOTO: BIBLIOTECA ESTENSE UNIVERSITARIA. SU CONCESSIONE DEL MINISTERO DEI BENI E DELLE ATTIVITÀ CULTURALI E DEL TURISMO.

FIGURE 45 *Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, F 205 inf., Miniatures VI-VII.* PHOTO: © VENERANDA BIBLIOTECA AMBROSIANA – MILANO/DE AGOSTINI PICTURE LIBRARY.

FIGURE 46 *Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, F. 205 inf., Miniature XXVIII.* PHOTO: © VENERANDA BIBLIOTECA AMBROSIANA – MILANO/DE AGOSTINI PICTURE LIBRARY.

FIGURE 47 *Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Marc. gr. Z. 454, fol. 1v.* PHOTO: BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE MARCIANA, SU CONCESSIONE DEL MINISTERO DEI BENI E DELLE ATTIVITÀ CULTURALI E DEL TURISMO –BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE MARCIANA. DIVIETO DI RIPRODUZIONE.

FIGURE 48 *Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Marc. gr. Z. 454, fol. 4v.* PHOTO: BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE MARCIANA, SU CONCESSIONE DEL MINISTERO DEI BENI E DELLE ATTIVITÀ CULTURALI E DEL TURISMO –BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE MARCIANA. DIVIETO DI RIPRODUZIONE.

FIGURE 49 *Wroclaw, University Library, Rehdigeranus 26, fol. 1r.* PHOTO: WROCLAW, BIBLIOTEKA UNIWERSYTECKA, BY PERMISSION.

FIGURE 50 *Wroclaw, University Library, Rehdigeranus 26, fol. 2r.* PHOTO: WROCLAW, BIBLIOTEKA UNIWERSYTECKA, BY PERMISSION.

FIGURE 51 *Athos, Iviron Monastery, cod. 463, fol. 1v.* PHOTO: COURTESY IVIRON MONASTERY, ATHOS.

FIGURE 52 *Athos, Iviron Monastery, cod. 463, fol. 26v.* PHOTO: COURTESY IVIRON MONASTERY, ATHOS.

FIGURE 53 *Jerusalem, Greek Patriarchal Library, Stavrou 42, fol. 114v.*
PHOTO: GREEK PATRIARCHAL LIBRARY, JERUSALEM, BY PERMISSION.

FIGURE 54 **Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 1128, fol. 99v.*
PHOTO: BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE, PARIS, BY PERMISSION.

FIGURE 55 **Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 1128, fols. 33v-34r.* PHOTO: BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE, PARIS, BY PERMISSION.

FIGURE 56 **Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 1128, fols. 34v-35r.* PHOTO: BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE, PARIS, BY PERMISSION.

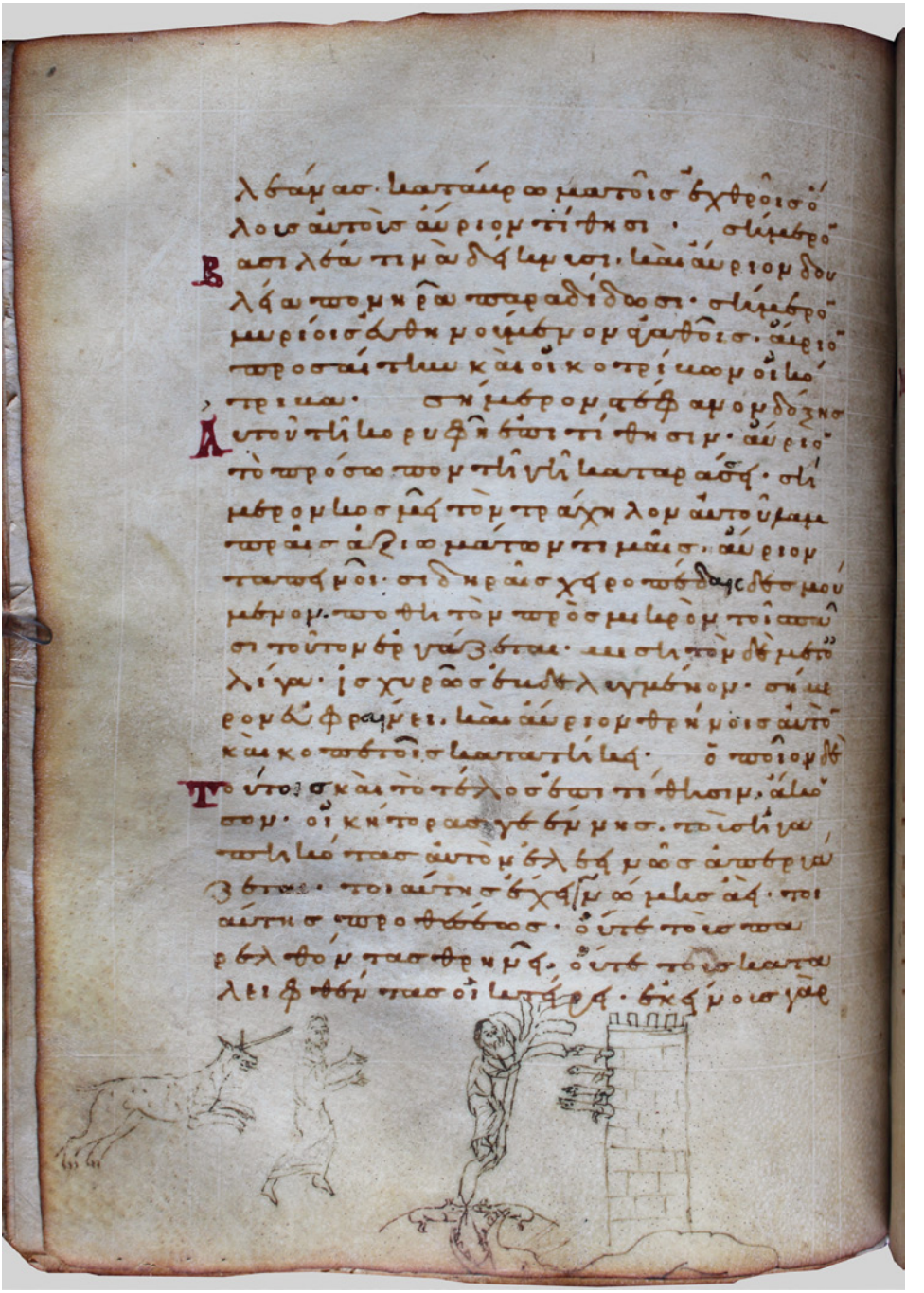

FIGURE 57 *Cambridge, King's College Library, cod. 45, fol. 41v.* PHOTO: KING'S COLLEGE LIBRARY, CAMBRIDGE, BY PERMISSION.

FIGURE 58 *Venice, Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Postbizantini, cod. 5, fol. 1r.* PHOTO: COURTESY ISTITUTO ELLENICO DI STUDI BIZANTINI E POSTBIZANTINI, VENICE.

FIGURE 59 *Venice, Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Postbizantini, cod. 5, fol. 140r.* PHOTO: COURTESY ISTITUTO ELLENICO DI STUDI BIZANTINI E POSTBIZANTINI, VENICE.

FIGURE 60 *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1851, fol. 6r.* PHOTO: © [2016] BIBLIOTECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA, BY PERMISSION, WITH ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.

FIGURE 61 *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1851, fol. 3v.* PHOTO: © [2016] BIBLIOTECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA, BY PERMISSION, WITH ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.

FIGURE 62 *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. syr. 341, fol. 118r.* PHOTO: BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE, PARIS, BY PERMISSION.

FIGURE 63 *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Reg. gr. 1, fol. 2v.* PHOTO: © [2016] BIBLIOTECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA, BY PERMISSION, WITH ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.

FIGURE 64 **Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Reg. gr. 1, fol. 85v.* PHOTO: © [2016] BIBLIOTECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA, BY PERMISSION, WITH ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.

FIGURE 65 *Copenhagen, Royal Library, Cod. Haun. GKS 6 2°, fol. 83v.* PHOTO: ROYAL LIBRARY, COPENHAGEN, BY PERMISSION.

FIGURE 66 (*left*) *London, British Library, Cod. Cotton Otho B. VI, fol. 1r* [PHOTO: © THE BRITISH LIBRARY BOARD (COD. COTTON OTHO B. VI)]; (*middle*) *PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE, PAR. FR. 9530, FOL. 32R (BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE, PARIS, BY PERMISSION); (*right*) VENICE, SAN MARCO, ATRIUM. PHOTO: © DEPARTMENT OF IMAGE COLLECTIONS, NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART LIBRARY, WASHINGTON DC.

FIGURE 67 *Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vind. theol. gr. 31, fol. 12r.* PHOTO: ÖSTERREICHISCHE NATIONALBIBLIOTHEK, VIENNA, BY PERMISSION.

FIGURE 68 *Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vind. theol. gr. 31, fol. 17r.* PHOTO: ÖSTERREICHISCHE NATIONALBIBLIOTHEK,VIENNA, BY PERMISSION.

FIGURE 69 **Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Pal. gr. 431, sheet IV.* PHOTO: © [2016] BIBLIOTECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA, BY PERMISSION, WITH ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.

FIGURE 70 **Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 746, fol. 192v.* PHOTO: © [2016] BIBLIOTECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA, BY PERMISSION, WITH ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.

FIGURE 71 *Athos, Vatopedi Monastery, cod. 602, fols. 168v-169r.* PHOTO: COURTESY VATOPEDI MONASTERY, ATHOS.

FIGURE 72 *Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Laur. Plut. 5.38, fol. 1v.* PHOTO: FLORENCE, THE BIBLIOTECA MEDICEA LAURENZIANA, MS. PLUT. 5.38, FOL. 1V. REPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION OF MIBACT. FURTHER REPRODUCTION BY ANY MEANS IS PROHIBITED.

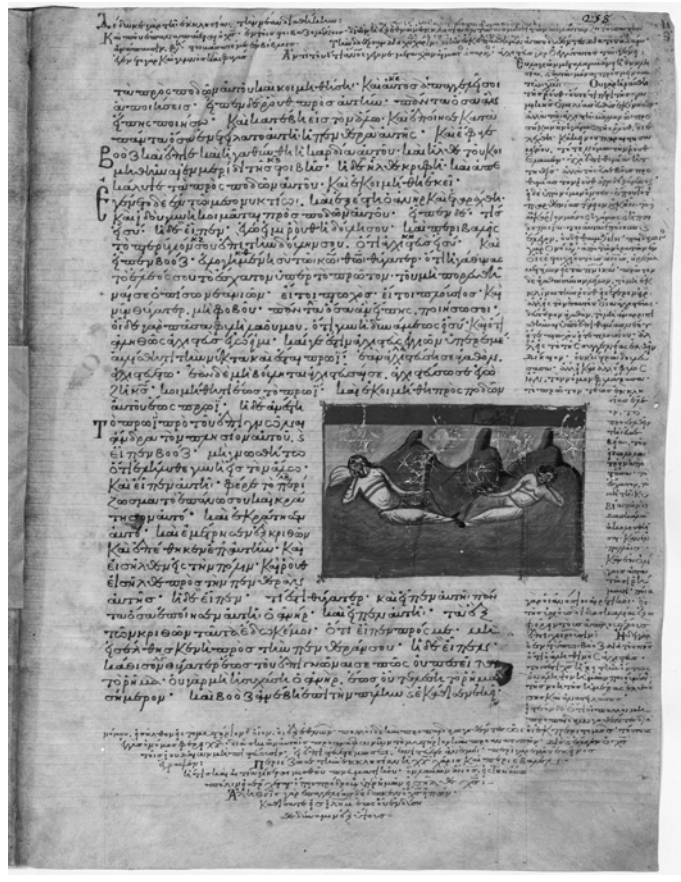

FIGURE 73 *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 747, fol. 258r.* PHOTO: © [2016] BIBLIOTECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA, BY PERMISSION, WITH ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.

FIGURE 74 *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 333, fol. 42v.* PHOTO: © [2016] BIBLIOTECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA, BY PERMISSION, WITH ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.

FIGURE 75 *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 333, fol. 38r.* PHOTO: © [2016] BIBLIOTECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA, BY PERMISSION, WITH ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.

FIGURE 76 *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 749, fol. 29v.* PHOTO: © [2016] BIBLIOTECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA, BY PERMISSION, WITH ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.

FIGURE 77 *Patmos, Monastery of Saint John the Theologian, cod. 171, p. 25.* PHOTO: COURTESY MONASTERY OF SAINT JOHN THE THEOLOGIAN, PATMOS.

FIGURE 78 *Venice, Biblioteca Marciana Nazionale, Marc. gr. Z. 538, fol. 7v.* PHOTO: BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE MARCIANA, SU CONCESSIONE DEL MINISTERO DEI BENI E DELLE ATTIVITÀ CULTURALI E DEL TURISMO – BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE MARCIANA. DIVIETO DI RIPRODUZIONE.

FIGURE 79 *Sinai, Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sin. gr. 3, fol. 7r.* PHOTO: COURTESY MONASTERY OF SAINT CATHERINE, SINAI.

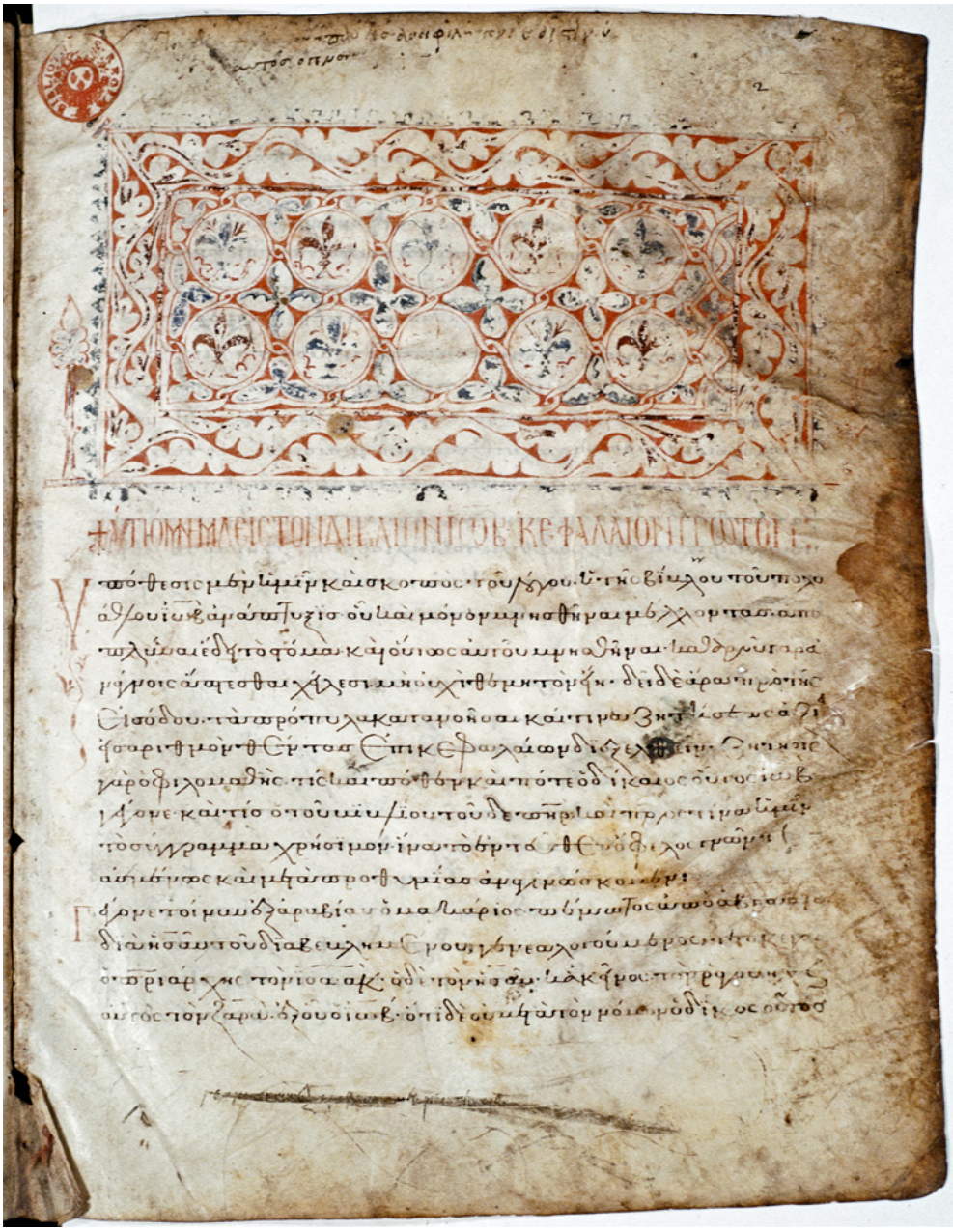

FIGURE 80 *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 134, fol. 2r.* PHOTO: BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE, PARIS, BY PERMISSION.

FIGURE 81 *Jerusalem, Greek Patriarchal Library, Taphou 5, fol. 249v.* PHOTO: GREEK PATRIARCHAL LIBRARY, JERUSALEM, BY PERMISSION.

FIGURE 82 *Jerusalem, Greek Patriarchal Library, Taphou 5, fol. 257v.* PHOTO: GREEK PATRIARCHAL LIBRARY, JERUSALEM, BY PERMISSION.

FIGURE 83 *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 135, fol. 7v.* PHOTO: BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE, PARIS, BY PERMISSION.

FIGURE 84 **Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Laur. Plut. 5.9, fol. 128v.* PHOTO: FLORENCE, THE BIBLIOTECA MEDICEA LAURENZIANA, MS. PLUT. 5.9, FOL. 128V. REPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION OF MIBACT. FURTHER REPRODUCTION BY ANY MEANS IS PROHIBITED.

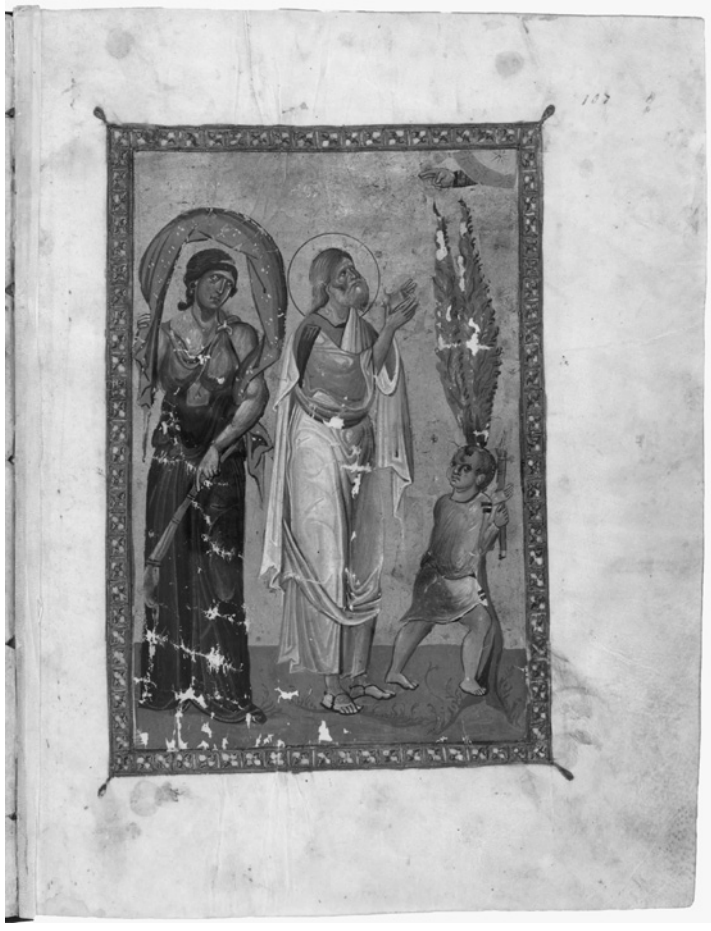

FIGURE 85 *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 755, fol. 107r.* PHOTO: © [2016] BIBLIOTECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA, BY PERMISSION, WITH ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.

FIGURE 86 *Oxford, New College Library, cod. 44, fol. 108v.* PHOTO: NEW COLLEGE LIBRARY, OXFORD, BY PERMISSION.

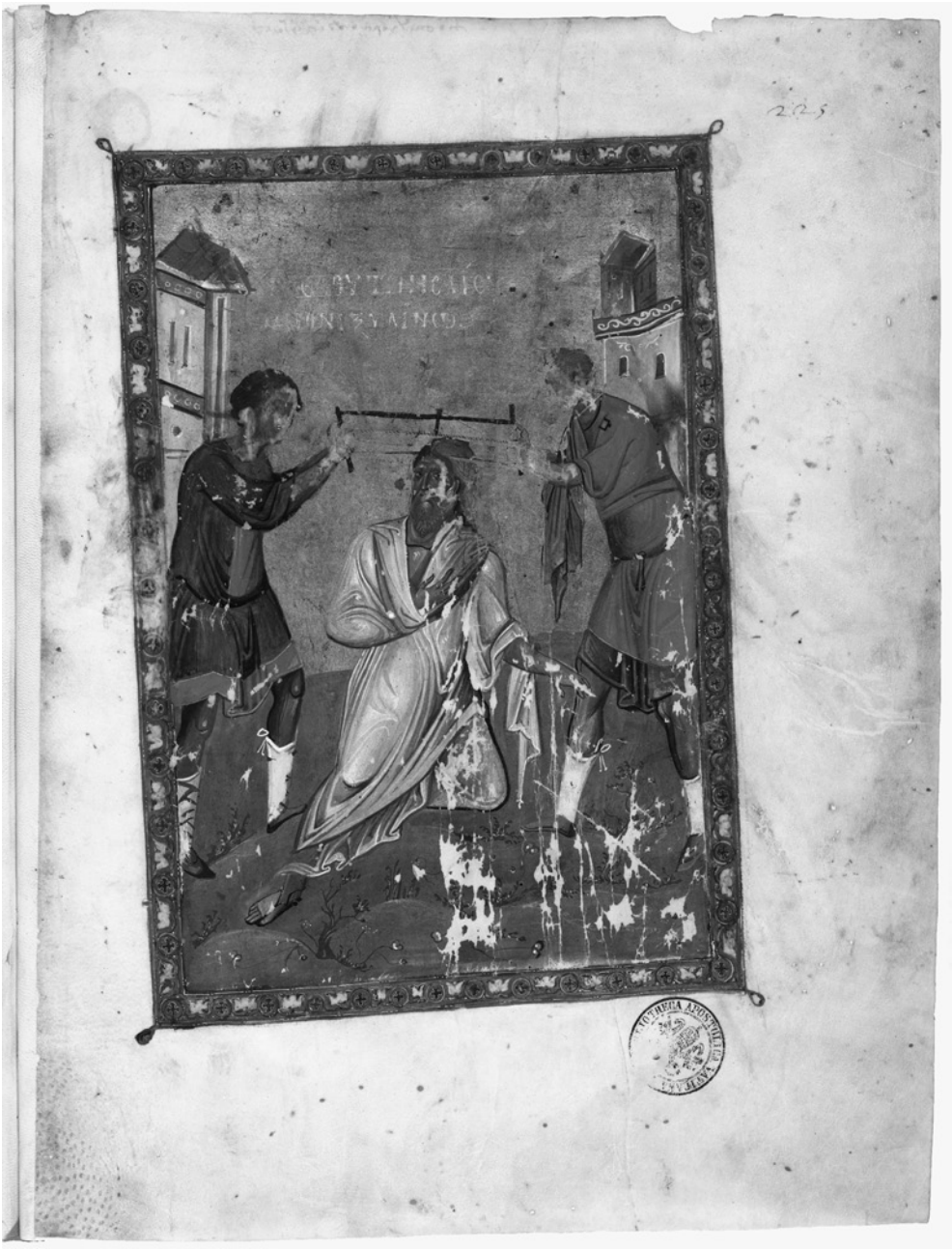

FIGURE 87 *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 755, fol. 225r.* PHOTO: © [2016] BIBLIOTECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA, BY PERMISSION, WITH ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.

FIGURE 88 **Chicago, University of Chicago Library, Ms. 965, fols. 114-115r.* PHOTO: GOODSPEED MANUSCRIPT COLLECTION, [MS. 965, 114V-232 - 115R-233], SPECIAL COLLECTIONS RESEARCH CENTER, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO LIBRARY.

FIGURE 89 **Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, ms. W. 524, 186r.* PHOTO: COURTESY THE WALTERS ART MUSEUM, BALTIMORE.

FIGURE 90 *Escorial, Real Biblioteca, Chi. IV. 17, fols. 196v-197r.* PHOTO: © PATRIMONIO NACIONAL, BY PERMISSION.

FIGURE 91 *Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. T. inf. 1.10, fols. 302v-303r.* PHOTO: BODLEIAN LIBRARY, BY PERMISSION.

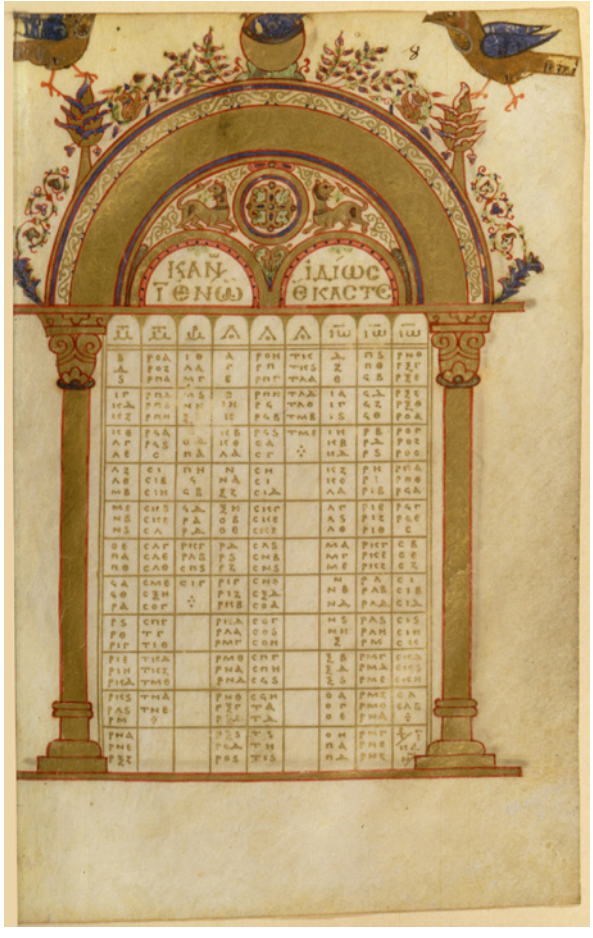

FIGURE 92 *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 70, fol. 8r.* PHOTO: BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE, PARIS, BY PERMISSION.

FIGURE 93 *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 70, fol. 4v.* PHOTO: BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE, PARIS, BY PERMISSION.

FIGURE 94 *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 74, fol. 4r.*
PHOTO: BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE, PARIS, BY PERMISSION.

FIGURE 95 *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 64, fol. 3v.*
PHOTO: BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE, PARIS, BY PERMISSION.

FIGURE 96 **Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Urb. gr. 2, fols. 167v-168r.* PHOTO: © [2014] BIBLIOTECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA, BY PERMISSION, WITH ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.

FIGURE 97 *Chicago, University of Chicago Library, Ms. 965, fol. 15v.
PHOTO: SPECIAL COLLECTIONS RESEARCH CENTER, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO LIBRARY, BY PERMISSION.

FIGURE 98 *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 54, fol. 55r.*
PHOTO: BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE, PARIS, BY PERMISSION.

FIGURE 99 *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1158, fol. 9r.* PHOTO: © [2014] BIBLIOTECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA, BY PERMISSION, WITH ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.

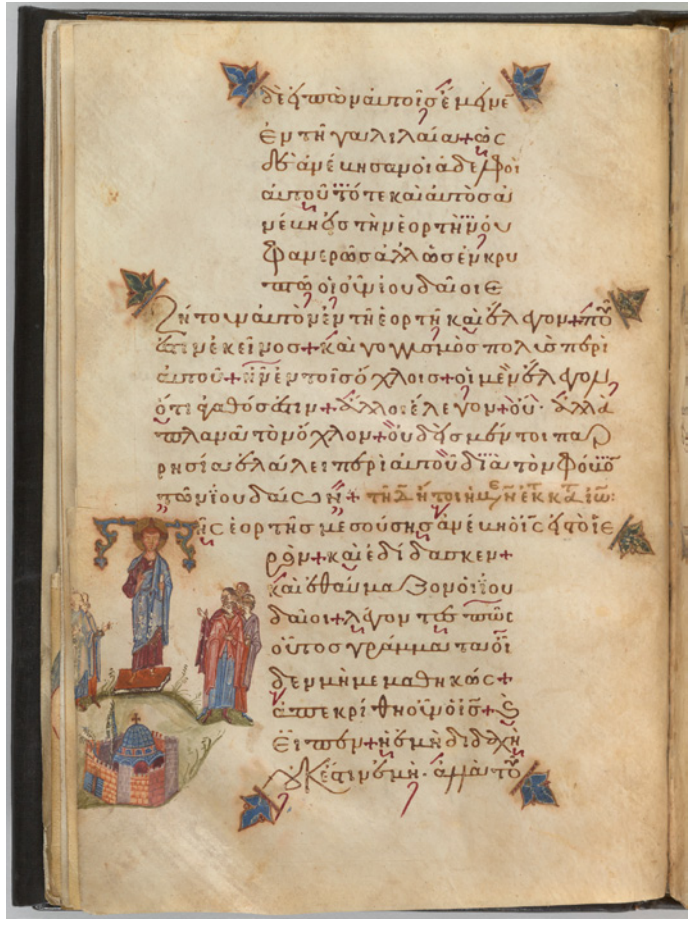

FIGURE 100 **New York, The Morgan Library and Museum, M. 692, fol. 25v.* PHOTO: THE PIERPONT MORGAN LIBRARY, NEW YORK, BY PERMISSION.

FIGURE 101 *Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, ms. W. 530 A, fol. Ar.* PHOTO: COURTESY THE WALTERS ART MUSEUM, BALTIMORE.

FIGURE 102 *New York, The Morgan Library and Museum, M. 639, fol. 1r.* PHOTO: THE PIERPONT MORGAN LIBRARY, NEW YORK, BY PERMISSION.

FIGURE 103 *Athos, Great Lavra, Skevophylakion, s.n., fol. 134v.* PHOTO: COURTESY GREAT LAVRA, ATHOS.

FIGURE 104 *Athos, Dionysiou Monastery, cod. 587, fol. 14v.* PHOTO: COURTESY DIONYSIOU MONASTERY, ATHOS.

FIGURE 105 **Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostoloca Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1156, fol. 194v.*
PHOTO: © [2016] BIBLIOTECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA, BY PERMISSION, WITH ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.

FIGURE 106 *Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, ms. W. 733, fol. 55v.* PHOTO: COURTESY THE WALTERS ART MUSEUM, BALTIMORE.

FIGURE 107 *Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, 78 A 9, fol. 44r.* PHOTO: BPK BILDAGENTUR FÜR KUNST, KULTUR UND GESCHICHTE, BY PERMISSION.

FIGURE 108 *Turin, Biblioteca Reale, MS Var. 484, fol. 59r.* PHOTO: BIBLIOTECA REALE, SU CONCESSIONE DEL MINISTERO DEI BENI E DELLE ATTIVITÀ CULTURALI DE DEL TURISMO.

FIGURE 109 *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Barb. gr. 322, fol. 117v.* PHOTO: © [2016] BIBLIOTECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA, BY PERMISSION, WITH ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.

FIGURE 110 *Athens, National Library of Greece, cod. 7, fol. 228v.* PHOTO: KOSTAS MANOLIS, BY PERMISSION.

FIGURE 111 *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1210, fol. 64r.* PHOTO: © [2016] BIBLIOTECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA, BY PERMISSION, WITH ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.

FIGURE 112 *Athens, National Library of Greece, cod. 16, fol. 250v.* PHOTO: KOSTAS MANOLIS, BY PERMISSION.

FIGURE 113 *Patmos, Monastery of Saint John the Theologian, cod. 707.* PHOTO: COURTESY MONASTERY OF SAINT JOHN THE THEOLOGIAN, PATMOS.

FIGURE 114 *Jerusalem, Greek Patriarchal Library, Stavrou 109.* PHOTO: GREEK PATRIARCHAL LIBRARY, JERUSALEM, BY PERMISSION.

FIGURE 115 *Jerusalem, Greek Patriarchal Library, Stavrou 109.* PHOTO: GREEK PATRIARCHAL LIBRARY, JERUSALEM, BY PERMISSION.

FIGURE 116 *a-b. Patmos, Monastery of Saint John the Theologian, cod. 707.* PHOTO: COURTESY MONASTERY OF SAINT JOHN THE THEOLOGIAN, PATMOS.

FIGURE 117 *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1156, fols. 270v-271r.* PHOTO: © [2016] BIBLIOTECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA, BY PERMISSION, WITH ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.

FIGURE 118 *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1613, p. 346.* PHOTO: © [2016] BIBLIOTECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA, BY PERMISSION, WITH ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.

FIGURE 119 *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1613, p. 371.* PHOTO: © [2016] BIBLIOTECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA, BY PERMISSION, WITH ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.

FIGURE 120 *Copenhagen, Royal Library, GKS 167 2°, fol. 2r.* PHOTO: ROYAL LIBRARY, COPENHAGEN, BY PERMISSION.

FIGURE 121 *Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vind. hist. gr. 6, fol. 3v.* PHOTO: ÖSTERREICHISCHE NATIONALBIBLIOTHEK, VIENNA, BY PERMISSION.

FIGURE 122 **London, British Library, Add. 11870, fol. 67r.* PHOTO: © THE BRITISH LIBRARY BOARD.

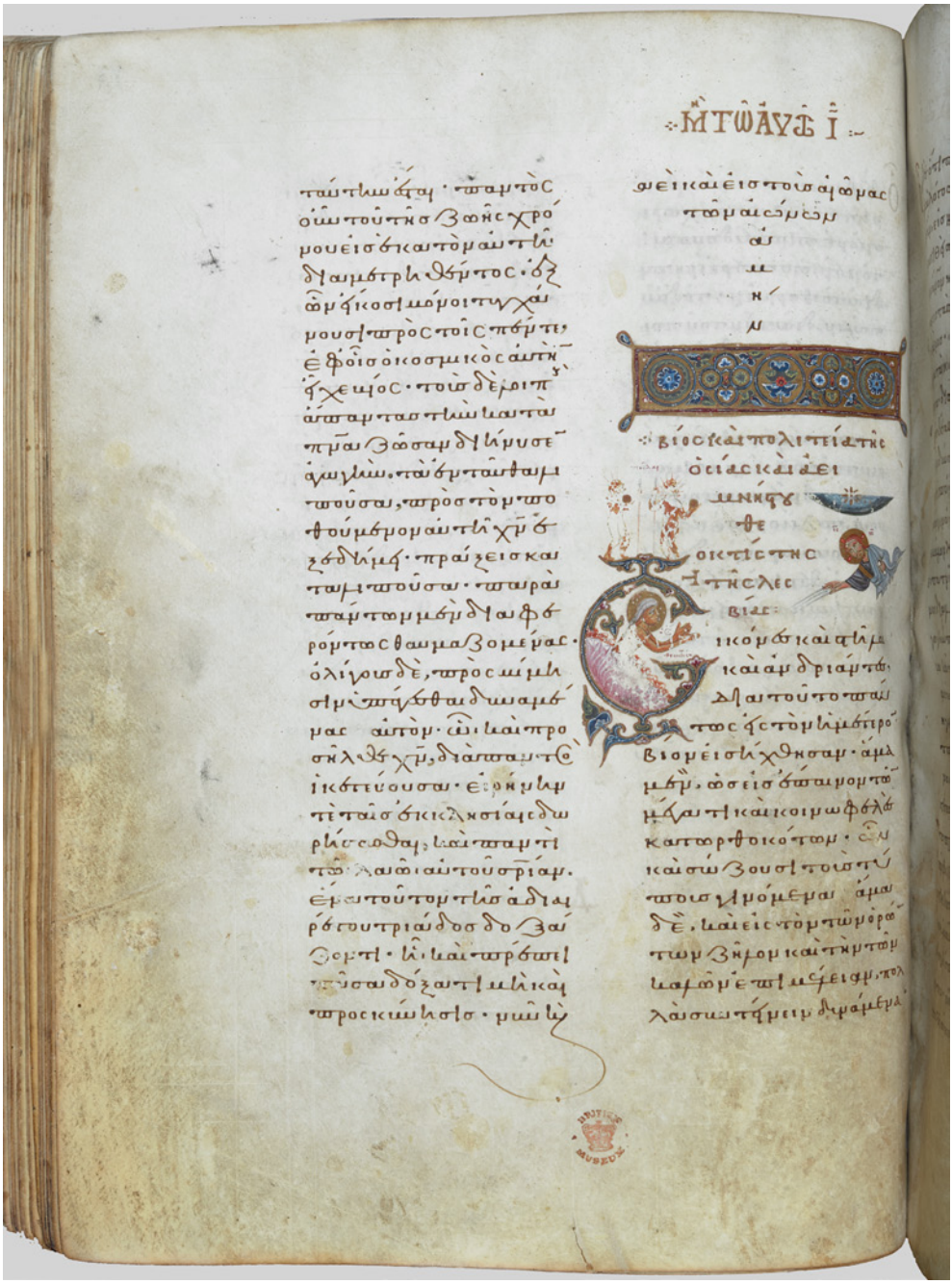

FIGURE 123 **London, British Library, Add. 36636, fol. 7rv.* PHOTO: © THE BRITISH LIBRARY BOARD.

FIGURE 124 *Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, ms. W. 521, fol. 207v.*
PHOTO: COURTESY THE WALTERS ART MUSEUM, BALTIMORE.

FIGURE 125 *Athos, Esphigmenou Monastery, cod. 14, fol. 52r.*
PHOTO: COURTESY ESPHIGMENOU MONASTERY, ATHOS.

FIGURE 126 *Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale, B. II. 4, fol. 95r.* PHOTO: MINISTERO DEI BENI E DELLE ATTIVITÀ CULTURALI E DEL TURISMO, BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE UNIVERSITARIA DI TORINO, BY PERMISSION.

FIGURE 127 *Moscow, State Historical Museum, Synod. gr. 429, fol. 31v.* PHOTO: © STATE HISTORICAL MUSEUM, MOSCOW, BY PERMISSION.

FIGURE 128 *Moscow, State Historical Museum, Synod. gr. 429, fol. 9r.* PHOTO: © STATE HISTORICAL MUSEUM, MOSCOW, BY PERMISSION.

FIGURE 129 *Escorial, Real Biblioteca, R. I. 19, fol. 28v.* PHOTO: © PATRIMONIO NACIONAL, BY PERMISSION.

FIGURE 130 **Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 543, fol. 51v.*
PHOTO: BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE, PARIS, BY PERMISSION.

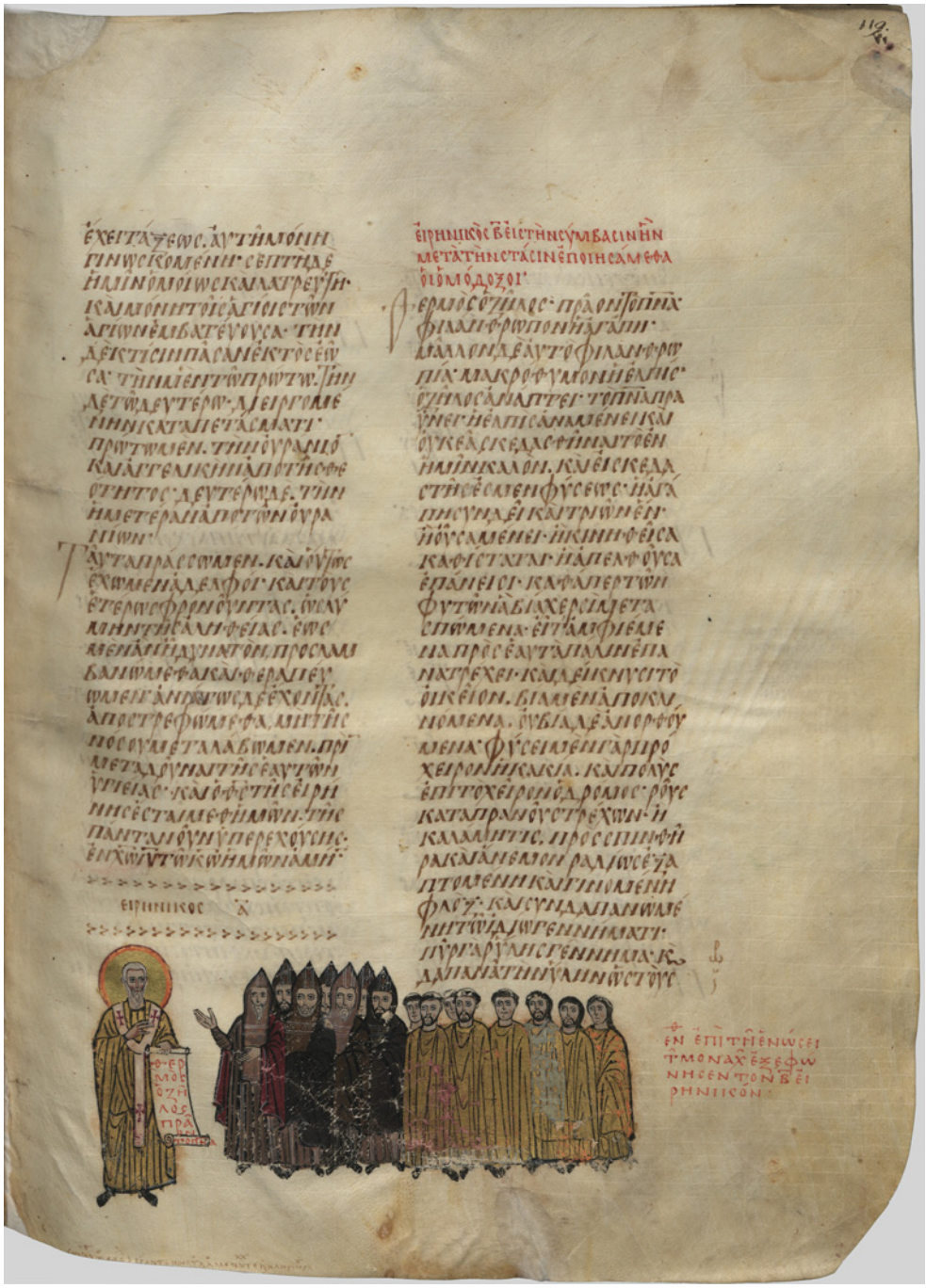

FIGURE 131 *Milan, Biblioteca Ambriosiana, E 49/50 inf., p. 119.* PHOTO: © VENERANDA BIBLIOTECA AMBROSIANA – MILANO/DE AGOSTINI PICTURE LIBRARY.

FIGURE 132 *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 510, fol. 285v.* PHOTO: BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE, PARIS, BY PERMISSION.

FIGURE 133 *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 510, fol. Cv.* PHOTO: BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE, PARIS, BY PERMISSION.

FIGURE 134 *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 510, fol. 78r.* PHOTO: BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE, PARIS,BY PERMISSION.

FIGURE 135 *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 510, fol. 174v.* PHOTO: BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE, PARIS, BY PERMISSION.

FIGURE 136 *Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, gr. 1, fol. 155v.*
PHOTO: BAYERISCHE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK MÜNCHEN, BY PERMISSION.

FIGURE 137 *Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Marc. gr. Z. 97, fol. IIIv.*
PHOTO: BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE MARCIANA, SU CONCESSIONE DEL MINISTERO DEI BENI E DELLE ATTIVITÀ CULTURALI E DEL TURISMO – BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE MARCIANA. DIVIETO DI RIPRODUZIONE.

FIGURE 138 *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 799, fol. 97r.*
PHOTO: BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE, PARIS, BY PERMISSION.

FIGURE 139 *Athens, National Library of Greece, cod. 211, fol. 151v.*
PHOTO: NATIONAL LIBRARY OF GREECE, ATHENS, BY PERMISSION.

FIGURE 140 **Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Coislin 79, fol. 2bisr.*
PHOTO: BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE, PARIS, BY PERMISSION.

FIGURE 141 *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 1208, fol. 73v.* PHOTO: BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE, PARIS, BY PERMISSION.

FIGURE 142 *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 1208, fol. 157r.* PHOTO: BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE, PARIS, BY PERMISSION.

FIGURE 143 *Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Laur. Plut. 9.28, fol. 95v.* PHOTO: FLORENCE, THE BIBLIOTECA MEDICEA LAURENZIANA, MS. PLUT. 9.28, FOL. 95V. REPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION OF MIBACT. FURTHER REPRODUCTION BY ANY MEANS IS PROHIBITED.

FIGURE 144 *Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Laur. Plut. 9.28, fol. 96r.* PHOTO: FLORENCE, THE BIBLIOTECA MEDICEA LAURENZIANA, MS. PLUT. 9.28, *FOL. 96R. REPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION OF MIBACT. FURTHER REPRODUCTION BY ANY MEANS IS PROHIBITED.*

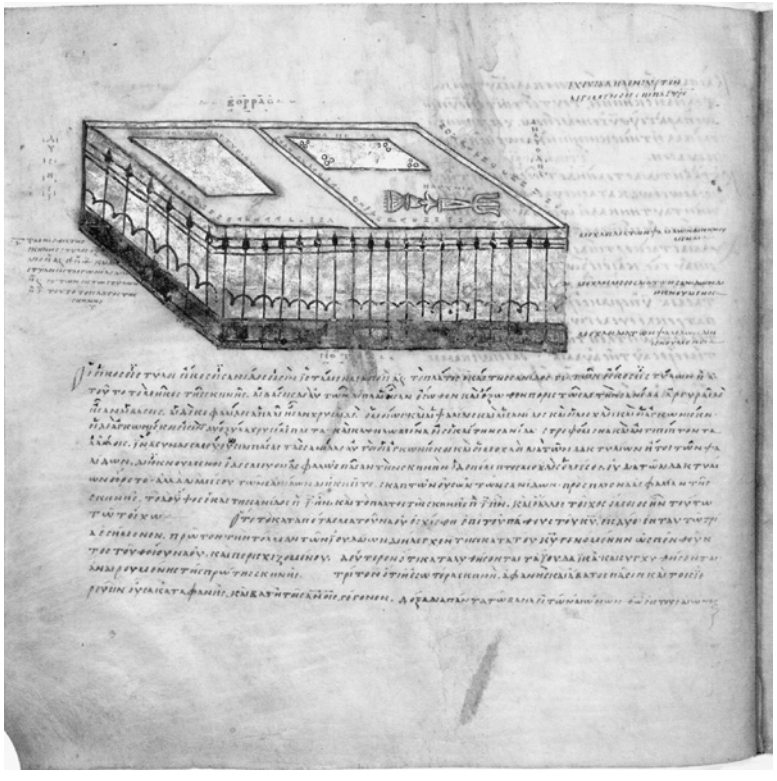

FIGURE 145 *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apotolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 699, fol. 46v.*
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FIGURE 146 *Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine, Sin. gr. 1186, fol. 126v.*
PHOTO: COURTESY MONASTERY OF ST. CATHERINE, SINAI.

FIGURE 147 **Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat.gr. 699, fol. 89r.* PHOTO: © [2016] BIBLIOTECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA, BY PERMISSION, WITH ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.

FIGURE 148 *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 394, fol. Fv.* PHOTO: © [2016] BIBLIOTECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA, BY PERMISSION, WITH ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.

FIGURE 149 *Princeton, University Library, Garrett MS. 16, fol. 76r.* PHOTO: UNIVERSITY LIBRARY PRINCETON, BY PERMISSION.

FIGURE 150 *Princeton, University Library, Garrett MS. 16, fol. 94r.* PHOTO: UNIVERSITY LIBRARY PRINCETON, BY PERMISSION.

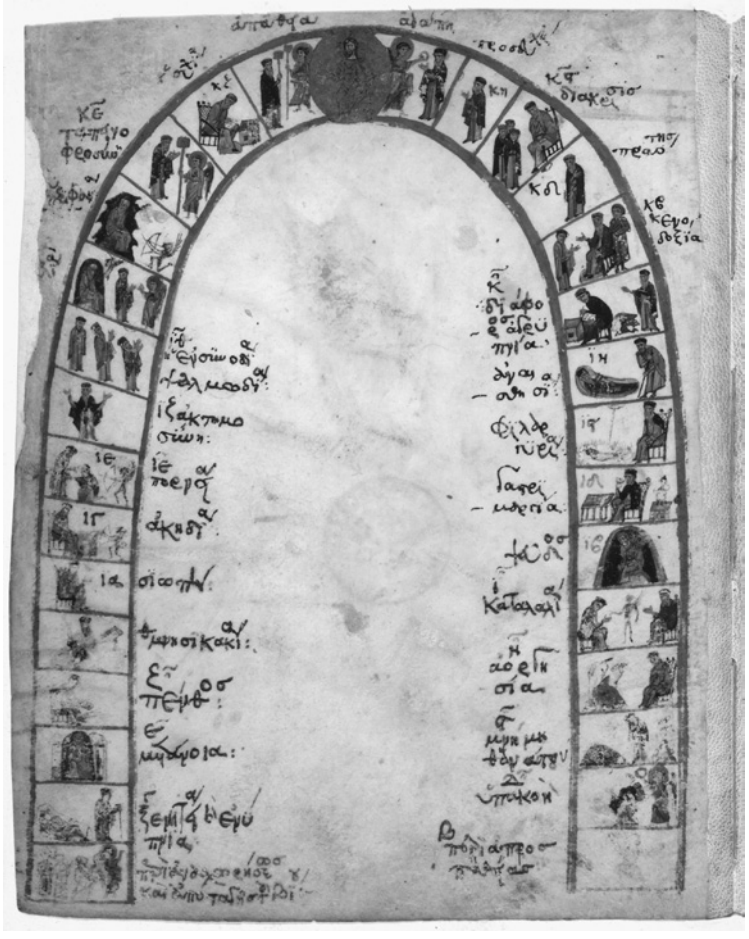

FIGURE 151 *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1754, fol. iv.*
PHOTO: © [2016] BIBLIOTECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA, BY PERMISSION, WITH ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.

FIGURE 152 *Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine, Sin. gr. 418, fol. 279r.*
PHOTO: COURTESY MONASTERY OF ST. CATHERINE, SINAI.

FIGURE 153 *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Ross. 251, fol. 5r.* PHOTO: © [2016] BIBLIOTECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA, BY PERMISSION, WITH ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.

FIGURE 154 *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 394, fol. 89v.* PHOTO: © [2016] BIBLIOTECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA, BY PERMISSION, WITH ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.

FIGURE 155 **Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 923, fol. 208r.*
PHOTO: BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE, PARIS, BY PERMISSION.

FIGURE 156 *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 923, fol. 25r.* PHOTO: BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE, PARIS, BY PERMISSION.

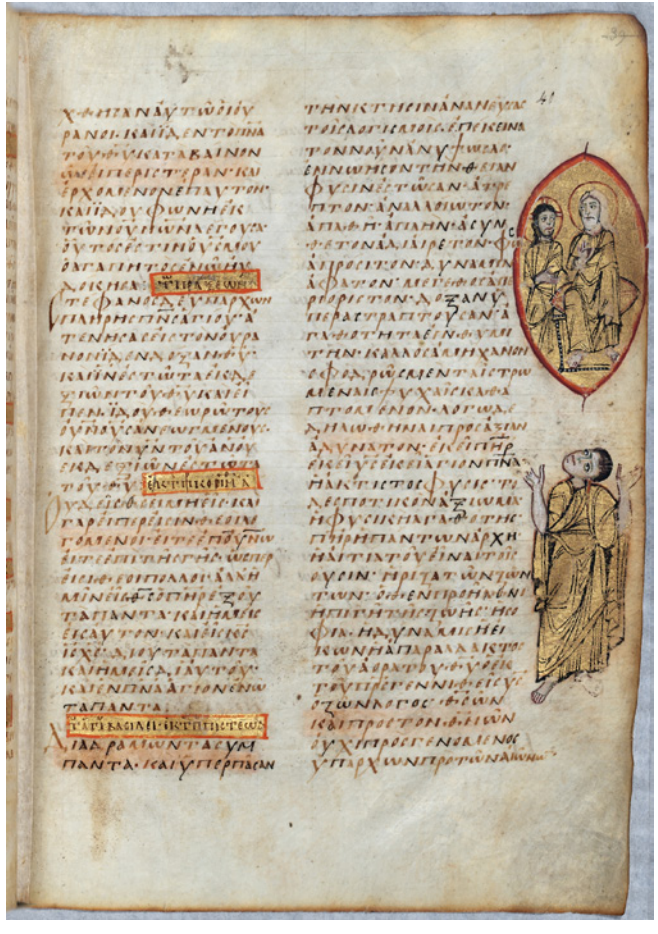

FIGURE 157 *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 923, fol. 40r.* PHOTO: BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE, PARIS, BY PERMISSION.

FIGURE 158 *Moscow, State Historical Museum, Synod. gr. 387, fol. 6r.* PHOTO: © STATE HISTORICAL MUSEUM, MOSCOW, BY PERMISSION)